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The church historians of
England

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL, LONDON

✓
THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF
✓
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. IV.—PART II.

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converted, was bid to step up to the stage; where the people beginning to give a little audience, thus he said; 'O Lord, make haste to help me! tarry not! do not despise the work of thy hands! And you, my brethren! that be students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel: for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God; and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls.' And after that, 'My flesh,' said he, 'repugneth marvellously against the Spirit; but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters! I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God! into thy hands I commend my soul.' As he was oft repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such sort, that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; whose body afterward was with fire consumed.

French History.

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

His words to the students.

Francis Bribard, martyred A. D. 1544.

Francis Bribard was said to be the secretary of the cardinal of Bellay; who being also for the gospel condemned, after his tongue was cut off, did with like constancy sustain the sharpness of burning.¹

William Husson, an Apothecary at Rouen, was persecuted by the High Court of Rouen, by a Widow keeping a Victualling-house in the Suburbs of Rouen, and by a Carmelite Friar. A. D. 1544.

William Husson, apothecary, coming from Blois to Rouen, was lodged with a certain widow in the suburbs of the city; who asking her, at what time the council or parliament did rise, she said at ten o'clock. About which time and hour he went to the palace, and there scattered certain books concerning christian doctrine, and the abuse of men's traditions; whereat the council was so moved, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and diligent search to be made in all inns and hostelries, to find out the author. Then the widow told of the party who was there, and asked of the rising of the council; and shortly upon the same he took his horse and rode away. Then were posts set out through all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Dieppe, and brought again to Rouen; who, being there examined, declared his faith boldly, and how he came of purpose to disperse those books in Rouen, and went to do the like at Dieppe.

Boldness of a constant martyr.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence given, he was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctor, a Carmelite friar, before the great church, who putting a torch into his hand required him to do homage to the image of our Lady, which because he refused to do, his tongue was cut out. The friar then, making a sermon, when he spake any thing of the mercies of God, the said William hearkened to him; but when he spake of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head.² The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lift up his hand to heaven, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a devil. When the friar had ceased his sermon, this godly Husson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the air; and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to heaven, never moving nor stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonished thereat, and were in divers opinions, some saying that he had a devil, others maintained the contrary, saying, If he had a devil, he should have fallen into despair.

Cruelty of the adversaries.

Friar Delanda converted.

This Carmelite friar abovesaid was called Delanda, who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel.³

James Cobard, a Schoolmaster, and many others taken at the same time, A. D. 1545. Their Persecutors were Three Popish Priests, and the Duke of Lorraine.

This James, schoolmaster in the city of St. Michael in the dukedom of Bar in Lorraine, disputed, with three priests, that the sacrament of baptism,

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Custodite vos a simulachris. 1 John v.

(3) Ex Gallie. Hist. Crisp. lib. ii. [That is, 'Histoire des vray tesmoins de la verite de l'Evangile,' p. 131, Edition 1570. Lib. iii. p. 155, Edition 1619.—Ed.]

*French History.*A. D.
1525
to
1560.

and of the supper did not avail, unless they were received with faith: which was as much as to say, that the mass did profit neither the quick nor dead. For this, and also for his confession, which he being in prison sent of his own accord by his mother unto the judge, he was burned, and most quietly suffered.¹

Fourteen blessed Martyrs burnt at Meaux, A.D. 1546. Their Persecutors were the Franciscan Friars, the Doctors of Sorbonne, and others.

Peter le Clerc, brother to John le Clerc burnt before, Stephen Mangine, James Bouchbeck, John Brisebar, Henry Butinot, Thomas Honoré, John Baudouin, John Flesch, Peter and John Picquere, John Mateffon, Philip Petit, Michael Caillon, and Francis le Clerc.

See Appendix.

These fourteen dwelt at Meaux, a city in France, ten leagues from Paris, where William Briconet, being there bishop, did much good, brought to them the light of the gospel, and reformed the church: who, straitly being examined for the same, relented; but yet these with many other remained constant. Who, after the burning of James Pavaues before-mentioned, and seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangine's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasburg. For their minister they chose Peter le Clerc. First they beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in short time to three or four hundred: whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken; of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms; especially the seventy-ninth psalm. To these it was chiefly objected, that they, being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Of these sixty-two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, who were condemned, and racked to confess more of their fellows: but they uttered none. The rest were scourged and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted: but that would not be. Then they, being sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned, by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver called Couberon by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangine's house, it was told them, that they who would be confessed, should not have their tongues cut out; the others should: of whom seven there were, who, to save their tongues, confessed; the other seven would not.² Of the first was Stephen Mangine, who, having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, 'The Lord's name be blessed!' As they were burning, the people sung psalms. The priests seeing that, would also sing their songs: 'O salutaris hostia,'³ and 'Salve Regina,' till the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were afterwards put in prison; from whence being promised to be let go, if they would say that their husbands were damned, they refused so to say.

A French church set up at Meaux.

Peter Chapot, at Paris, A.D. 1546, apprehended by John Andre, Bookseller, Promoter; and examined by three Sorbonist Doctors, M. Nicolas Clerici, Doctor of Divinity; John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard.

Peter Chapot first was a corrector to a printer in Paris. After he had been at Geneva, to do good to the church of Christ like a good man, he came with books of holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. This great zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by John Andre, who was the common promoter to Liset the president, and to the Sorbonists.

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ex Lud. Rab. lib. vi.

(3) Note how God maketh these adversaries, with their own song, to praise the sacrifice of these holy martyrs against their wills. 'O salutaris hostia,' id est, 'O wholesome sacrifice,' is a song which the papists use in praise of the sacrifice of their mass.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith; unto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbon assigned, Nicholas Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him; who when they could find no advantage, but rather shame at his hands, they waxed angry with the judges for letting them dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting together upon his condemnation, could not agree; so that Chapot, as it seemed, might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought and wrought his condemnation; which condemnation was at length concluded thus: that he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly encumbered; for this friar called upon him still not to speak to the people; but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bade him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the mass, but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his execution; and said, unless he would say 'Ave Maria,' he should be burnt quick. Then Chapot prayed, 'O Jesus, son of David! have mercy upon me.' Maillard then bade him say, 'Jesus Maria!' and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak, he could not speak. 'Say,' said Maillard, 'Jesus Maria! or else thou shalt be burned quick.' As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly as it happened, *Jesu Maria!* escaped out of his mouth, but he, by and by, repressing himself, 'O God!' said he, 'what have I done? pardon me, O Lord! to thee only have I sinned.' Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him; notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard, all full of anger, went to the council house, called 'La Chambre Ardente,' declaring what an uproar there had almost happened amongst the people; saying that he would complain upon the judges for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which law diligently afterwards was observed.²

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By whom the cutting off of tongues came into France.

Saintinus Nivet, at Paris, A. D. 1546. Persecuted by M. Peter Liset, President of the Council of Paris.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose names are described before, this Saintinus (who was a lame cripple) with his wife removed out of Meaux to Montbelliard, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of religion and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the church, cast in his mind to return home to Meaux again, and so did. There at last, as he was selling certain small wares in the fair, he was known and apprehended: whereof when information was given, he, being examined, at once confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this inquisition, as they were examining him of certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to what he said, or not? he gave this answer, worthy to be registered in all men's hearts, saying, 'And I ask you again, lord judges! dare you be so bold as to deny, what is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture?' So little regard had he to save his own life, that he desired the judges both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and to consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily, in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel.

At last, being brought to Paris, through the means of M. Peter Liset, a great persecutor, for that they of Meaux should take by him no encouragement, there he was detained, and suffered his martyrdom; where no kind of cruelty was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be put unto.³

(1) To give never so little to the adversaries, is a great matter.

(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

(3) Ex Pantal. et Hist. Gallic.

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Stephen Poulliot, martyred at Paris,¹ A.D. 1546.

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Stephen Poulliot, coming out of Normandy (where he was born) unto Meaux, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a town called La Fere, where he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison, in which he was kept in bands and fetters a long space, where he saw scarcely any light. At length, being called for before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his satchel of books hanging about his neck: 'O Lord,' said he, 'is the world in blindness and darkness still?' for he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he, with much patience, ended this transitory life.²

John English, martyred A.D. 1547.

He was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the high court of Paris for confessing the true word of God.³

Michael Miquelot, a Tailor, martyred A.D. 1547.

This tailor, being apprehended for the gospel's sake, was judged first, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Being asked, whether of these two he would choose? he answered, that he trusted, that He who had given him grace not to deny the truth, would also give him patience to abide the fire. He was burned at Warden by Tournay.

Leonard du Pré, martyred A.D. 1547.

This Leonard, going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, and talking with them about religion, was betrayed by them, and afterwards burned.

Seven Martyrs burned at Langres: John Taffignon, and Joan his Wife; Simon Mareschal, and Joan his Wife; William Michaut; James Boulereau; James Bretany. A. D. 1547.

All these seven, being of the city of Langres, for the word and truth of Jesus Christ were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort: but especially Joan, who was Simon's wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her husband, and all the others with words of singular consolation; declaring to her husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever.⁴

Four Martyrs burned at Paris: Michael Mareschal, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Scraphin. A.D. 1547.

These also, the same year, and about the same time, for the like confession of Christ's gospel were condemned by the senate of Paris, and in the same city also with the like cruelty were burned.⁵

Octovian Blondel, a Merchant of Precious Stones at Paris, A.D. 1548, betrayed by his Host, at Lyons; and by Gabriel de Saconnex, precentor.

This Octovian, as he was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere, so was he a singular honest man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word; who, being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk and superstitious behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing to him a grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel de Saconnex, precentor, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels, of this Octovian.

(1) The names of his persecutors in the story he not expressed.

(2) Ex Crisp. et Adrian.

(3) Ex Pantal. Crisp. et alij.

(4) Ex Pantal.

(5) Ex Pantal. et Crisp.

Thus these two, consulting together, did suborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns, which because Octovian refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods: but such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated of their purpose. Then Blondel, being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine, which he had learned; for which he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to other raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over and changed his confession. Notwithstanding the preceptor, not leaving so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovian being asked again touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to, he, being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. That done, he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.¹

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with good
works

Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a young man, a Tailor, at Dijon,
A. D. 1549.

Hubert, being a young man of the age of nineteen years, was burned for the gospel at Dijon; who, neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the truth unto death.²

Master Florent Venot, Priest, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1549.
Persecuted by Peter Liset, President of the Council of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

This Florent remained in prison in Paris four years and nine days. During that time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow prison or break, so straight, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the hose or boot, 'ad Nectar Hippocratis;' because it is straight beneath, and wider above, like to the instrument wherewith apothecaries are wont to make their hypocras. In this he remained seven weeks, where, the tormentors affirm, that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of life or madness.

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At last, when there was a great show in Paris at the king's coming into the city, and divers other martyrs in sundry places of the city were put to death, he, having his tongue cut off, was brought to see the execution of them all; and last of all, in the Place de Maubert, was put into the fire, and burned the 9th of July at afternoon.³

Ann Audebert, an Apothecary's Wife and Widow, martyred at Orleans, A. D. 1549.

She, going to Geneva, was taken and brought to Paris, and by the council there adjudged to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ; and as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon Michaelmas-even; 'Upon a Saturday,' said she, 'I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again.' And seeing the dung-cart brought, wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders to marvel.⁴

A poor godly Tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, A. D. 1549. Persecuted by Henry II., the French King; apprehended by an Officer of the King's House; examined by Peter Castellane, Bishop of Maçon.

Amongst many other godly martyrs that suffered in France, the story of this poor tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembered. His name is not yet

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

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sought out in the French stories for lack of diligence in those writers; more is the pity. The story is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry II., the French king, at whose coming into Paris divers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is abovesaid, a certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, in the street bearing the name of St. Anthony, was apprehended by a certain officer in the king's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his occupation, and did work for his living. Before he was had to prison, the officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no observation to the holy day?

The tailor imprisoned for breaking a piece of a holy day.

Brought before the king.
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His boldness in answering for his religion before the king.
 Pestilent counsel about the king.

A furnish comparison of a very cardinal.

The death and martyrdom of this tailor.

To whom he answered, that he was a poor man, living only upon his labour; and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the officer began to ask of him many questions; whereunto the poor tailor did so answer, that eftsoons he was clapped in prison. After that, the officer, coming into the court to show what good service he had done for the holy church, declared to certain estates, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a holy day; showing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was noised in the king's chamber, through the motion of those who were about the king, the poor man was sent for to appear, that the king might have the hearing of him.

Hereupon the king's chamber being voided, save only a few of the chiefest peers remaining about the king, the simple tailor was brought. The king, sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellane, bishop of Maçon (a man very fit for such inquisitions), to question with him. The tailor, being entered, and nothing appalled at the king's majesty, after his reverence done unto the prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellane, entering talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of religion; whereunto the tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present audacity, wit, and memory, so answered for the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his questions aptly and fitly correspondent.

Notwithstanding, the nobles there present, with cruel taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with boldness of heart, and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering their persons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a singular admiration, to behold that simple poor artificer to stand so firm and bold, answering before a king to those questions propounded against him. Whereat when the king seemed to muse with himself, as one somewhat amazed, and who might soon have been induced, at that present, to further knowledge, the egregious bishop and other courtiers, seeing the king in such a muse, said, he was an obstinate and stubborn person, confirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the judges, and to be punished. And therefore, lest he should trouble the ears of the said Henry the king, he was commanded again to the hands of the officer, that his cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned, by the high steward of the king's house, to be burned alive. And lest any deep consideration of that excellent fortitude of the poor man might further, peradventure, pierce the king's mind, the cardinals and bishops were ever in the king's ear, telling him, that these Lutherans were nothing else but such as carry vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire, would soon vanish. Wherefore the king was appointed himself to be present at his execution, which was sharp and cruel, before the church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his servant, in suffering his martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king than all the others did before.¹

Claudius Thierry, martyred at Orleans, A. D. 1549.

The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said town of Orleans being apprehended by the way coming from Geneva to his country.²

(1) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. lib. vii.

(2) Ex Crisp.

Leonard Galimard, at Paris, A. D. 1549

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This Leonard, for the confession likewise of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burnt the same time as Florent Venot, above-mentioned, did suffer at Paris.¹

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Mace Moreau, martyred at Troyes, A. D. 1550.

He was burned at Troyes in Champagne (a city in France), remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for the which he was apprehended.²

John Godeau, and Gabriel Beraudine, Martyrs, A. D. 1550.

These two were of the church of Geneva. Afterwards for their friendly admonishing a certain priest, who in his sermon had abused the name of God, they were taken at Chambéry. Godeau standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began a little to shrink for fear of the torments, yet being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recovered again, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out; who, notwithstanding, through God's might, did speak so as he might be understood. Thereupon the hangman being accused for not cutting off his tongue rightly, said that he could not stop him of his speech. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's truth, gave their life for Christ's gospel.³

Thomas de St. Paul, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1551.

His Persecutors were John Andreas, Promoter; Peter Liset, President of the Council of Paris; Maillard and others, Sorbonists; also one Aubertus, a councillor.

This Thomas, a young man of the age of eighteen years, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked there a man for swearing; for which cause he, being suspected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the council of Paris, and put in prison, where he was racked, and miserably tormented; to the intent he should either change his opinion, or confess others of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore, through the setting on of Maillard and other Sorbonists, that the sight thereof made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy against the gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at last was had to Maubert Place in Paris, to be burned; where he, being in the fire, was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? to whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with constant confession of his truth.⁴

Maurice Secenate, martyred in Provence, A. D. 1551.

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He, having interrogations first put to him by the lieutenant of that place, made his answers thereunto, so as no great advantage could be taken thereof. But being greatly compuncted and troubled in his conscience for dissembling the truth, and called afterward before the lord chief judge, he answered so directly, that he was condemned for the same, and burned in Provence.⁵

John Putte, or de Puteo, surnamed Medicus, martyred at Uzez, in Provence, A. D. 1551.

Accused by a Citizen of Uzez.

This Medicus, being a carpenter and unlettered, had a controversy about a certain pit with a citizen of the town of Uzez, where he dwelt. He, to cast, in the law, this Medicus from the pit, accused him of heresy, bringing for his

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

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witnesses those labourers whom Medicus had hired to work in his vineyard: wherefore he, being examined of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned and burned at Uzez, in Provence.¹

Claude Monier, martyred at Lyons, A.D. 1551.

His Persecutors were, the Governor of Lyons, and the Official of the Archdeacon of Lyons.

This man, being well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, for which he was also driven from Auvergne, came to Lyons, and there taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, he went to give warning to a certain familiar friend of his, and so conducted him out of the town. In returning again to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house; and so he, confessing that which he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much afflictions in prisons and dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be so gentle and mild of conditions, and constant withal, and also learned, that certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The said Monier, being in prison, wrote certain letters, but one specially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of these histories shall be inserted. He wrote also the questions and interrogatories of the official, with his answers likewise to the same; which summarily we have here contracted, as followeth:

The sacrament.

The Official: 'What believe you of the sacrament? is the body of Christ in the bread, or no?'

The Martyr: 'I worship Jesus Christ in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father.'

Official: 'What say you of purgatory?'

The Martyr: 'Forasmuch as there is no place of mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any purgation; but necessary it is that we be purged before we pass hence.'

Supremacy.

Official: 'Of the pope what think you?'

The Martyr: 'I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he be a true follower of St. Peter.'

Vows.

Official: 'What say you of vows?'

The Martyr: 'No man can vow to God so much, but the law requireth much more than he can vow.'

Praying to saints.

Official: 'Are not saints to be invocated?'

The Martyr: 'They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his angels about us, to minister in our necessities.'

Official: 'Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with Ave Maria?'

The Martyr: 'When she was on this earth she had need of the angels greeting; for then she had need of salvation, as well as others: but now she is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished unto her.'

Images.

Official: 'Are not images to be had?'

The Martyr: 'For that the nature of man is so prone to idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in those things which lie before his eyes, rather than upon those which are not seen; images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with eyes, that is, God alone, who is a Spirit, and him only we must worship, in spirit and truth.'

Official: 'What say you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?'

The Martyr: 'To hours and times, prayer ought not to be tied: but whenever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any necessity driveth us, then ought we to pray.'

Then the Official asked what he thought of holy oil, salt, with such other

(1) Ex Crisp.

like? to whom the Martyr answered, that all these things were a mere Marranismus,¹ that is, they savoured of the law of the Marrani, and of the superstition of the Jews.

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René Poyet, martyred at Saumur, in Francc, A. D. 1552.

René Poyet, the son of William Poyet, who was chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God, constantly suffered martyrdom, and was burned in the city of Saumur, A. D. 1552.²

John Joery, and his Servant, a young man, martyred at Toulouse, A. D. 1552.

These two coming from Geneva to the country with certain books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master saying, that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man, first going up, began to weep. The master, fearing lest he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master, standing upright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired.³

Hugh Gravier, a Schoolmaster and Minister, of Cortillon, in the Country of Neufchatel, martyred at Bourg, A. D. 1552.

At Bourg, in Bresse, a day's journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burned. He, coming from Geneva to Neufchatel, there was elected to be minister. But first, going to see his wife's friends at Maçon, there, as he was coming away out of the town, he was taken upon the bridge, with all his company; and in the end he, willing for the women and the rest of the company to lay the fault to him for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned, notwithstanding that the lords of Bern sent their heralds to save his life, and also that the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing, but what was agreeable to the Scriptures.⁴

Five Students, Martyrs, namely: Martial Alba, Peter Escrivain, Bernard Seguine, Charles le Fevre, Peter Navihers, at Lyons, A. D. 1553.

Their Persecutors were: Tignac, the Lieutenant of Lyons; Buathier, Official to the Archbishop of Lyons; Mons. de Clepier, Chamberlain; three Orders of Friars; Judge Melier; Dr. Coombes, a Grey Friar; Judge Vilard; the Primacial Official; and Courtrier, a Judge.

*See
A. J. Perutz.*

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne, a certain time, consulted amongst themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and other their friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So, taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained awhile. From thence they went to Lyons, where they, sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to prison, where they continued a whole year; that is, from the 1st of May to the 16th of the same month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed; especially Peter Escrivain, and Seguine.

They were examined sunderly of the sacrament of the Lord's body, of

(1) Maranatha is a Hebrew word mentioned, 1 Cor. xvi. and signifieth curse and malediction to the loss of all that a man hath, and thereof cometh Maranismus: vid. Nic. Lyr. [See App.]

(2) Ex Crisp.

(3) Ex Crisp. et aliis.

(4) Ex Crisp lib. iii.

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purgatory, of confession and invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they burned in the said town of Lyons. Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews; 'The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Pastor of the sheep in the blood of the eternal testament,' &c. Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. Martial Alba, being the eldest, was the last; who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, 'Farewell, my brother.' Likewise the other four, following the same example, bade each one, 'Farewell, my brother.' With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer, and so departed.¹

Their Examinations briefly touched.

Supremacy. *The Friar:* 'Thou sayest, friend! in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church; I will prove the contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: ergo, he is supreme head of the church.'

The Martyr: 'I first deny your antecedent.'

Friar: 'The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: ergo, he is the successor of St. Peter.'

The head of the church.

The Martyr: 'I will grant neither of the two: first, because he who succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the head of the church, but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul.' [Ephes. i.]

Friar: 'Although Christ be the head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here on earth is left to supply his room.'

The Martyr: 'Not so, for the power of his divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence.'

Friar: 'I will prove, that although Christ be king both of heaven and earth, yet he hath here on earth many vicars under him, to govern his people.'

Regiment civil. Regiment spiritual.

The Martyr: 'It is one thing to rule in the civil state, another thing to rule spiritually. For in civil regiment we have kings and princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the observation of public society: in the spiritual regiment and kingdom of the church it is not so.'

Another Friar: 'Thou sayest St. Peter is not the head of the church; I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas; which Cephas is as much to say in Latin, caput: ergo, Peter is head of the church.'

The Martyr: 'Where find you that interpretation? St. John, in his first chapter, doth expound it otherwise: Thou shalt be called Cephas, that is as much (saith he) as petrus, or stone.'

Then the judge Vilard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so; whereupon the friar was utterly dashed, and stood mute.

Friar: 'Thou sayest in thy confession, that a man hath no free will; I will prove it. It is written in the Gospel [Luke x.], how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was spoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. Thomas Aquinas expoundeth this parable to mean free will, which he saith, is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in man to work.'

The Martyr: 'This interpretation I do refuse and deny.'

Friar: 'What! thinkest thou thyself better learned than St. Thomas?'

(1) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. &c.

The Martyr: 'I do arrogate no such learning unto myself. But this I say, this parable is not so to be expounded, but is set forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us charity towards our neighbour, how one should help another.'

Friar: 'Thou sayest in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit: ergo, by works we are justified.'

The Martyr: 'I deny the antecedent.'

Friar: 'St. Paul, in the last chapter of Hebrews, saith, Forget not to do good, and to distribute unto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus; that is, For by such oblations God is merited. We merit God by our works: ergo, we are justified by our works.'

The Martyr: 'The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus; that is, With such sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleased.'

Vilard, the judge, turned to the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of confession? To whom the martyr answered, that confession is only to be made to God, and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

A Black Friar: 'Dost thou not believe the body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove the same. Jesus Christ taking bread,

The Martyr: 'The verb *est* is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as showing the nature of a thing in substance, as in philosophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing signified, after the manner and phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the sign is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is circumcision called by the name of the covenant, and yet is not the covenant; so the lamb hath the name of the passover, yet is not the same; in which two sacraments of the old law, ye see the verb *est* to be taken, not as showing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of. And so likewise in the sacrament of the new law.'

Friar: 'The sacraments of the old law and of the new, do differ greatly; for these give grace, so did not the other.'

The Martyr: 'Neither the sacraments of the old, nor of the new law, do give grace, but show Him unto us, who giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost: of whom it is said, This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,' &c.

Friar: 'The fathers of the Old Testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with us?' [John ii.]

The Martyr: 'Yes, for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did drink of the same spiritual drink with us.'

Friar: 'Jesus Christ saith [John vi.], Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: ergo, they were not partakers of the same grace with us in the New Testament.'

The Martyr: 'Christ here speaketh of those, who did not eat that manna with faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from heaven; and not of them who did eat the same with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, and such others; who, under the shadows of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of Abraham, that he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced;—not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith.'

Here the doltish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but, 'Hear friend! be not so hot, nor so hasty, tarry a while, tarry a while.' At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

Friar: 'I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of

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Justification.

Confession.

Transubstantiation.

Sacraments give no grace.

The true eating of manna.

French History.

A. D.
1525
to
1560.

The fathers of the Old Testament, how they were under the law, and how they were under grace.

the same grace with us. The law (saith St. Paul) worketh anger; and they that are under the law, are under malediction: ergo, they of the old law and testament, were not partakers of the same grace with us.'

The Martyr: 'St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby, forasmuch as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction: not because the law is accursed, or the times thereof under curse, but because of the weakness of our nature, which is not able to perform the law.'

Friar: 'St. Paul [Rom. vii.] declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the New Testament to be grace and mercy, in these words where he saith, Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ.'

The Martyr: 'St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not *gratia Dei*, but *gratias ago Deo, per Jesum Christum*,' &c.

The sacrament.

The Primacial official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, 'Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?'

The Martyr: 'No, Sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles.'

Official: 'Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou callest the sacrament bread.'

The Martyr: 'The Scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth; where we read [Colos. iii.], 'If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God,' &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, who, likewise, doth call it bread four or five times together.' [1 Cor. xi.]

Friar: 'Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life.'

Official: 'Thou naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, &c., where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively; but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded.'

The Martyr: 'Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you.'

Official: 'What sayest thou, lewd heretic! is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?'

The Martyr: 'In nature and substance there is no difference: in quality and in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life.'

And this was the effect of their examinations.¹

Petrus Bergier, at Lyons, A. D. 1553.²

About the same time when these five students above specified were apprehended, this Bergier also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had a wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, who had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment, cried out on God and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with bread such as dogs

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) The name of his persecutor appeareth not in his story.

and horses had refused to eat: so it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayers of this Bergier, he was brought to repentance of himself and knowledge of God; learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached unto him. Touching his conversion he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above mentioned, wherein he praiseth God for them, and especially for this Bergier; declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience, according to the same, his lice, of which he could pluck out before no less than twenty at once, betwixt his fingers, were now so gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, so the alms of good men were extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good: such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth.' — The name of this convert was John Chambone.¹

*French
History.*

A. D.
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1560.

Notable
conversion
of a
thief in
prison.

Stephen and Denis Pelloquine, Brethren, martyred at Ville-Franche, near Lyons, A. D. 1553.

Stephen Pelloquine, brother to this Denis, was taken about two or three years before, with Ann Audebert above mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After whom followed Denis Pelloquine in the same steps of martyrdom, who was his brother. This Denis had been sometime a monk, and changing his weed took a wife, with whom he lived a certain space at Geneva in godly order and modesty of life. Coming afterward to Ville-Franche, six leagues from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remained in prison ten months. From thence he was reversed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The articles wherupon he was condemned, were respecting the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered on the 11th of September, A. D. 1553. In his martyrdom, such patience and fortitude God gave him, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord; to the great admiration of them that looked on.²

*See
Appendix.*

Louis de Marsac, and Michael Gerard, his Cousin; also Stephen Gravot, Carpenter: all martyred at Lyons, A. D. 1553. Their Persecutors were, the King's Lieutenant at Lyons, the Official, and the Friars.

At Lyons the same year these three also were apprehended and sacrificed. Louis had been of the order of the Demi-lances, who served the king in his wars: afterwards coming to Geneva, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers articles he was examined, as the invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary; free-will, merits and good works, auricular confession, fasting, and the Lord's supper. In his second examination, they inquired of him, and also of the other two, touching vows, the sacraments, the mass, and the vicar of Christ; in all which articles, because his and their judgment dissented from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned. The answers of Marsac to the articles are to be seen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, set out by John Crispine.

The lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words: 'Of the four evangelists, but two were pure, Matthew and John; the other two, Mark and Luke, were but gatherers out of the others. The epistles of St. Paul, except that the doctors of the church had authorized them, he would otherwise esteem them no better than the fables of Æsop.'³

Blasphemies
of the pa-
pists.

Item, the said lieutenant said to M. Cope's maid, speaking somewhat of the law, 'Cursed be the God of that law.'

When the sentence of condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praising God, and singing psalms. This troubled the judges sore, to see them so little to esteem their death: inso-much that the lieutenant caused them to be made to hold their peace; saying,

(1) Ex Epist. Johan. Chambone; et ex Crisp; Pantal. &c.

(2) Ex Crisp.

(3) Note, what opinion the papists have of the law of God, when it standeth not with their law.

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'shall these vile abjects so vaunt themselves against the whole state of the realm?' Then as Marsac was going into a corner by, to pray, one of the soldiers would not suffer him: to whom he said, 'That little time which we have, will you not give us to pray?' With that the soldier, being astonished, went his way.

As they were brought out of prison to the stake, the hangman tied a rope about the necks of the other two. Marsac seeing himself to be spared because of his order and degree, called by the way to the lieutenant, that he might also have one of the precious chains about his neck in honour of his Lord; which being granted, so were these three blessed martyrs committed to the fire, where they, with meek patience, yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.¹

Matthieu Dimonet, Merchant; martyred at Lyons, A. D. 1553. The Persecutors were the Lieutenant at Lyons, the Primacial Official, Buathier, the Metropolitan Official, and Orry, an Inquisitor.

See Appendix.

This merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthiness. He was also a secret enemy and searcher-out of good men, when and where they convented together; who, being called notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favour of his word, shortly after was taken by the lieutenant, and Buathier the official, in his own house at Lyons; and so, after a little examination, was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the lieutenant. His answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal church of Christ did truly believe, and all the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy Catholic church, being bid to add also 'Romanam,' that is, the church of Rome, that he refused. Advocates he knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the cross and passion of the Lamb, which purgeth the sins of all the world. True confession, he said, ought to be made not to the priest once a year, but every day to God and to those whom we have offended. The eating of the flesh and blood of Christ he took to be spiritual: and the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that sacrament to be bread and wine under the name and signification of the body and blood of Christ; the mass not to be instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his word and will. For the head of the church, he knew none, but only Christ. Being in prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own flesh, but especially with the temptation of his parents, brethren, and kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his mother: nevertheless the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered on the 15th of July, A. D. 1553.²

William Neel, an Austin Friar, martyred at Evreux in France, A. D. 1553. His Persecutors were Legoux, the Dean of Illiers; and M. Simon Vigor, the Penitentiary of Evreux.

Henry Pantaleon, and likewise Crispine and Adrian, make mention also of one William Neel, a friar Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same year, and was burned at Evreux in France. The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the priests there, and of the dean, named Legoux: for which the dean caused him to be sent to Evreux, to the prison of the bishop. The story of this William Neel, with his answers to their articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth book of Pantaleon, and others.

Simon Laloe, martyred at Dijon, A. D. 1553. His Persecutor was the Bailiff or Steward of the City of Dijon.

Simon Laloe, a spectacle-maker, coming from Geneva into France for certain business, was laid hand of by the bailiff of Dijon. Three things were demanded

(1) Ex Crisp.; Pantal.

(2) Ex Crisp

(3) Ibid.

(4) Lib. ix.

of him: first, where he dwelt? secondly, what was his faith? thirdly, what fellows he knew of his religion? His dwelling (he said) was at Geneva. His religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his fellows (he said) he knew none, but only those of the same city of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was on the 21st of November, A. D. 1553. The executioner, who was named James Silvester, seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr, was so compuncted with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he, with all his family, removed to the church at Geneva.¹

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History.*

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The executioner
con-
verted

Nicholas Nayle, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1553.

This Nicholas, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain fardels of books, was there apprehended; who, stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what fellows he had besides of his profession, and that so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another; but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For this the blind people were so grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.²

Tor-
ments.

Peter Serre, martyred near Toulouse, A. D. 1553. His Persecutors were a Woman of Toulouse, the Official of the Archbishop of Toulouse, and the Inquisitor and Chancellor of the Bishop of Conserans.

Peter Serre was first a priest; then, changing his religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the shoemakers' craft, and so lived. Afterwards, upon a singular love, he came to his brother at Toulouse, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, who was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She, in secret counsel, told another woman, one of her neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the official, and maketh him privy to all. The official, thinking to foreslack no time, taking counsel with his fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor; to whom he made such declaration of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring of what occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a shoemaker: whereby the judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all others in the whole world besides. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief or cutpurse, inquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had been a priest! The judge thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation to ask the king forgiveness, he then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this sentence, he appealed to the parliament of Toulouse:

Priest-
craft a
vile and
a filthy
art.

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ibid.

*French
History.*

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1560.

Con-
stancy
notable.

not for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the king forgiveness, whom he had never offended; also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off; wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned the asking forgiveness of the king, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their religion.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; which because he refused, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off: and so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking up to heaven all the time of burning, as though he had felt nothing; bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said, that way was not the best, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good.¹

Stephen le Roy, and Petrus Denocheau, martyred at Chartres, A.D. 1553. Persecuted by the Provost-Marshal.

Stephen le Roy, after he had been at Strasburg a while, returned again into his country, dwelling in a town bearing the name of St. George, not far from Chautours where he served in the place of a notary, and had under him a clerk named Peter Denoche, who also had been at Geneva, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous swearers, and other offenders. These two were not long together but they were both suspected of Lutheranism, and apprehended by the Provost of the Marches, or the Marshal, and so were carried to Chartres, where, after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they were enclosed in prison, and there sustained long and tedious endurance; during which mean time, Stephen le Roy made many worthy songs and sonnets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when, after long persuasions and fair promises of the bishop and of others, they could not be revoked from the doctrine of their confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the court of Paris, but the council there, confirming their former sentence, returned them again to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire.²

See
A^grensis.

Antoine Magne, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by the Priests of Bruges.

Antoine Magne was sent by the five who were in prison at Lyons, above-mentioned, and by others also that were in captivity at Paris, to Geneva, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them; who, after certain business there dispatched, returned again into France, and there, within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain priests at Bruges, and there delivered by the said priests unto the official. After a few days the king's justices took him from the official, and sent him to Paris, where, after great rebukes and torments suffered in the prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the truth, by their capital sentence he was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and so was burned at Maulbert-place in Paris.³

William Alençon, Bookseller; also a certain Shearman, at Montpelliers, A. D. 1554. Betrayed by false Brethren.

This Alençon did much good in the provinces of France by carrying books. Coming to Montpelliers, he was there circumvented by false brethren, detected, and laid in prison. In his faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7th of January, 1554.

There was the same time at Montpelliers a certain shearman or clothworker, who had been long in durance for religion, but at length, for fear and infirmity, he revolted; to whom it was enjoined by the judges to make public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alençon aforesaid: at the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this man such

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ex Histor. Gallie. per Crisp

(3) Ex Crisp.

boldness, that he desired the judges, that either he might burn with this Alençon, or else be brought again into prison, saying, that he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore, within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the town aforesaid.¹

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Paris Panier, a Lawyer, martyred at Dol, A. D. 1554.

At Dol was beheaded a good and godly lawyer, named Paris Panier, for constant standing to the gospel of Christ, A. D. 1554.²

Peter du Val, Shoemaker, martyred at Nismes, A. D. 1554.

At Nismes in Dauphiné, Peter du Val sustained sore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his body being broken, dissolved, and maimed, yet he, notwithstanding, manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed, A. D. 1554.³

Johannes Filiolus, or Filleul, Carpenter; and Julian le Veille, Point maker, martyred at Sancerre, A. D. 1554. Their Persecutors were Giles le Pers, Lieutenant for the Marshal of St. André, and Inquisitor for the Province of Bourbon; and also John Bergeronius, another Inquisitor or Counsellor.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by Giles le Pers; who, in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly and Judasly pretending great favour to them, and to their religion, which he (as he said) supposed them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them to confess, what was their faith; whither they went with their children; and also why their wives were at Geneva. When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to his horsemen, and so were these simple saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the castle of Nevers. Being in prison, they were examined of many things, whereunto they answered uprightly, according to their faith.

First, touching the sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be against the article of the Creed, which saith that Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore the bread and wine must needs remain in their properties; bearing notwithstanding a sacrament, or a holy sign, of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed, spiritually hath the like operation in the souls of the believers.

Transubstantiation.
A similitude between the bread and the body of Christ.

For the mass, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and mere idolatry; and if we put any part of salvation therein (they said), it was utterly a robbing of the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a christian mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error (they said) more of madmen, than any of sadmen: forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves (said they) will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

Honour to God, not to saints.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and causes of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.

After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of St. Peter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by inventory, and them to be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass.

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ex Pantal.

(3) Ex Crisp.

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From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing amended, where behold the judgment of God. In the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more constant.¹

At last, the decree of the sentence was read against them.

I. For speaking against the sacrament: which they denied.

II. For speaking against baptism: which also they denied.

III. For speaking contumely against the saints: which they in like manner denied.

Torments.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments, which they sustained very extreme, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a friar Dominic, a man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation: but as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung away: for which the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Herein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, 'We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter.' Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, 'Go to,' said Filleul, 'salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh.' Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they, persisting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.²

Denis le Vayre, martyred at Rouen, A. D. 1554. Persecuted by William Langlois, Under-Sheriff, and John Langlois, the King's Procurator.

In the same year suffered, at Rouen, Denis Vayre, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of king Edward VI., he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of king Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Feneillet; where he, going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, albeit he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion: notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them. And as for their torments (he said) he passed not; for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to pass for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, 'Cut out his tongue;' and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up; but the flame went so high, that the hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help, and so did the officers with their staves lay upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never a man would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.³

(1) Note the just vengeance of God upon a wicked persecutor.

(2) EX Crisp. et Paul. et alius.

(3) EX Paul. l. 10.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, 'You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope.' Upon this the Franciscan friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant; and so did. The friars, hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way (said they) lest he fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the friars.¹

To this merchant may also be adjoined the brother of Tamer, who, when he had before professed the truth of the gospel, and afterwards by the counsel and instruction of his brother was removed from the same, fell into desperation and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself.²

Thomas Calbergue, a Coverlet-maker, martyred at Tournay,
A. D. 1554.

This Thomas had copied out certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which (he said) contained nothing but what was agreeing to the Scripture; and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, 'Turn, Thomas! Thomas! yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour.' To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, 'And I trust to be one of that sort;' and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.³

Add also to this, one Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt. These two should have been placed among the Dutch martyrs in the table before.

Richard le Fevre, a Goldsmith, martyred at Lyons, A. D. 1554.
Persecuted by the Latrunculator or Provost-Marshal of Dauphiné; also by the Lieutenant, his Attorney, and a Notary, with divers others.

Le Fevre, a goldsmith, born at Rouen, first being in England, and in London, there received the taste and knowledge of God's word, as in his own epistle he recordeth. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years; and from thence returning to Lyons, he was there apprehended and condemned. Upon this he appealed to the high-court of Paris, through the motion of his friends; where, in the way, as he was led to Paris, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty; which was A. D. 1551.

After that, continuing at Geneva about the space of three years, he came upon business to the province of Dauphiné, and there in Grenoble, as he found fault with the grace said in Latin, he was detected and taken in his inn in the night by the provost-marshal, or him who had the examination of malefactors, who committed him to the prison called 'Porte-Troine' for about twelve days. Thence he was sent to the justice, from him to the bishop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the lieutenant, who sent his attorney with a notary to him in the prison, to examine him of his faith. The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, in his story described, is long; the principal contents come to this effect:

Inquisitor: 'Dost thou believe the church of Rome?'

The Martyr: 'No, I do believe the catholic and universal church.'

Inquisitor: 'What catholic church is that?'

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. vii. (2) Ex Jo. Manlio in dietis Phil. Melaneth. (3) Ex Crisp. ho. iv.
(4) This inquisitor was the advocate that the lieutenant sent with the notary.

<i>French History.</i>	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'The congregation or communion of Christians.'
A. D. 1525	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'What congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?'
to 1560.	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'It consisteth in the number of God's elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head.'
The church.	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'Where is the congregation, or how is it known?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'It is dispersed through the universal world, in divers regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's sacraments.'
	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'Do you think the church that is at Geneva, Lausanne, Bern, and such other places, to be a more true church than the holy church of Rome?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'Yea, verily, for these have the notes of the true church.'
Difference between the church of Rome, and the church of Christ.	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'What difference then make you between those churches and the church of Rome?'
The Virgin Mary no advocate.	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'Much; for the church of Rome is governed only by traditions of men, but those are ruled only by the word of God.'
	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'Where learned you this doctrine first?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'In England; at London.'
	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'How long have you been at Geneva?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'About nine or ten years.'
	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'Dost thou not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'I believe, as in the word of God is testified, that Jesus Christ is the only Mediator and Advocate for all sinners: albeit the Virgin Mary be a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate belongeth not unto her.'
Whether saints do pray.	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'The saints that be in paradise, have they no power to pray for us?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'No, but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with the grace and glory which they have; that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God.'
	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'And what then judge you of those who follow the religion of the church of Rome? think you them to be Christians?'
The church of Rome is not the church of Christ.	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'No, for that church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same.'
	<i>Inquisitor</i> : 'Do you then esteem all those who separate themselves from the church of Rome to be Christians?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'I have not to answer for others, but only for myself. Every man, saith St. Paul, shall bear his own burden.'

And thus the advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his inn, asked him, why grace might not be said in Latin? 'Because,' said he, 'by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood and serveth best to the edification of the hearers.'

Then the friar, bringing forth his 'Benedicite,' 'Agimus tibi gratias,' &c. 'Laus Deo,' 'Pax vivis,' 'Requies defunctis,' &c., began thus to reason :

Praying in a strange tongue.

Friar : 'God understandeth all tongues, and the church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient church and the fathers, who used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be observed in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?'

The Martyr : 'My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers.'

Friar : 'When Christ entered the city of Jerusalem, the people cried, lauding him with *Hosanna filio David*; and yet understood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth.'

The Martyr: 'It may be that Jerome so writeth, that they understood not the prophetic meaning, nor the accomplishment of these words upon Christ's coming: but that they understood the phrase of that speech or language which they spake, speaking in their own language, Jerome doth not deny.'

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Then the friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin tongue, inferred the authorities of councils and doctors, and testimonies of men; which seemed to move the officer not a little, who, then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, also with rebellion against princes and kings, came at last to the matter of the sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquisitor: 'Dost thou believe the holy host which the priest doth consecrate at the mass or no?'

The Martyr: 'I believe neither the host, nor any such consecration.'

Inquisitor: 'Why? dost thou not believe the holy sacrament of the altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?'

The Martyr: 'Touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, I believe that whensoever we use the same according to the representation of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our souls.'

The sacrament.

The friar then inferred the words of St. John's gospel, saying, 'My flesh is meat indeed,' &c. and said, that the doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approved the mass to be a holy memorial of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Martyr: 'The sacrament of the supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a stirring up of our thanksgiving to him; in which sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son.'

And thus the advocate with the friar, bidding the notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed; who after eight days, being accompanied by the said Franciscan, and other friars moe of the Dominics, sent for the said Richard le Fevre again to his house, and thus began to inquire:

Inquisitor: 'Dost thou believe any purgatory?'

The Martyr: 'I believe that Christ with his precious blood hath made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sins.'

Purgatory

Inquisitor: 'And dost thou think then there is no place after this life, where souls of men departed remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?'

The Martyr: 'No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made for the sins of all men, by the blood and sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole world.'

Friar: 'In Matthew xviii., Christ, speaking by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel servant, who, because he would not forgive his fellow-servant, was cast into prison, saith, "That he shall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermost farthing:" by which similitude is signified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins.'

The Martyr: 'First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in these places: Come to me, all you that labour and be burdened, and I will refresh you.² I am the door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved.³ I am the way, verity, and life.⁴ Blessed be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.⁵ Also to the thief who hanged with the Lord it was said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise,⁶ &c. Secondly; as touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish us of our duty, in showing charity, and forgiving one another; which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God.'

Satisfaction for sins.

Friar: 'If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither purgatory nor any limbus, which were against our christian faith and our creed, which saith, He descended into hell,' &c.

Limbus.

(1) John vi. 55.

(2) Matt. xi.

(3) John x.

(4) John xiii.

(5) Apoc. xiii.

(6) Luke xxiii.

<i>French History</i>	<i>Deputy</i> : 'Dost thou not believe there is a limbus?'
A. D. 1525 to 1560.	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'Neither do I believe there is any such place, nor doth the Scripture make any mention thereof.'
The power of the pope.	<i>Friar</i> : 'Where were the old fathers then, before the death of Christ?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'In life, I say, eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the patriarchs, in the seed to come.'
	<i>Deputy</i> : 'What, dost thou believe that the pope hath any power?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'Yea verily.'
	<i>Deputy</i> : 'Dost thou believe that the pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'That I do not believe.'
	<i>Deputy</i> : 'How then dost thou understand the power of the pope?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'I understand the power of the pope so as St. Paul declareth [2 Thess.], saying, that because the world refused to receive the love of the truth unto salvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his ministers, power of illusions and errors, that men should believe lies, and set up to themselves pastors and teachers such as they deserve.'
Christ's vicar in earth.	<i>Friar</i> : 'Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope, for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it hath in heaven. And though the pastors do not live according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teacheth in the 23d of Matthew.'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own, nor obtruding laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their lives were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the scribes and pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives. ¹ But there is great difference, whether they that take the governance of the church do sit in Moses's chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do sit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he saith, that the man of perdition shall sit in the temple of God, vaunting himself insolently above all that is called God. ²
The keys of binding and loosing.	'And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, Christ therein assigned to Peter and other apostles the office of preaching the word of the gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the word, in which word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the church to have two heads, one in heaven, another in earth; the head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth, as St. Paul in many places of his epistles doth teach.' ³
	<i>Friar</i> : 'You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular confession?'
Auricular confession.	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbour, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us.'
	<i>Friar</i> : 'Have you not read in the gospel, how Christ doth bid us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?'
	<i>The Martyr</i> : 'The true church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our sins to the priest's ear. And though the church of Rome hath intruded this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent therefore to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the law.'
	'Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the prophet David full in the Psalms, ⁴ where he saith, that he confessed his sins unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same.'

After this, the friar, proceeding further to make comparison between the

(1) Matt. xxiii.

(3) 1 Thes. i.; Colos. i. &c.

(2) 2 Thess. ii

(4) See Psalms xxxii, li., and cvii.

church of Rome and the church of Geneva, would prove that the pope hath power to set laws in the church without any express word of God: for so it is written (said he) that there were many other things besides, which are not written in this book.¹ Also, where Christ promiseth to his disciples, to send unto them the Holy Ghost, who should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such decrees and ordinances as are in the church, were decided (said he) and appointed by the doctors of the church and by all the councils, directed, no doubt, by the Holy Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the church also of Geneva had their ordinances and constitutions made without any word of God. And for example, he brought forth the order of the Psalms and service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday, in the church of Geneva, as though that day were holier than another.

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The church of Rome and of Geneva compared.

To this the martyr answered again, declaring that the ordinance of those public prayers and psalms on Wednesday in the church of Geneva, was not to bind conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity which either should bind the conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for public resort, to hear the word of God, according as ancient kings and temporal magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the people together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation (as the pope maketh his laws), but only for order's sake, serving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing should be left for doctors and councils to be decided, without the express word of God, that is not so; for that all things be expressed and prescribed by the word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the church, or for the salvation of men; so that there is no need for doctors of the church, or councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul saith, that he durst utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him.² St. John, speaking of the doctrine of Christ Jesus, willeth us to receive no man, unless he bring with him the same doctrine.³ St. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to believe an angel from heaven, bringing another doctrine than that which they had already received.⁴ Christ, calling himself the good shepherd, noteth them to be his sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others.⁵ And St. Peter admonishing the pastors of the church, forewarns them to teach only the word of God, without any seeking of lordship or dominion over the flock.⁶ From this moderation how far the form of the pope's church doth differ, the tyranny which they use doth well declare.

The church ought to be governed only by the voice of the Lord's word.

Friar: 'In the old church priests and ministers of the church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the church; whereas in Geneva no such thing is used, as I can prove by this your own testament here in my hands, that you the better may understand what was then the true use and manner of the church.'

The Martyr: 'What was the true order and manner that the apostles did institute in the church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same; and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution and regiment of the church of Geneva not to be without the public counsel and advisement of the magistrates, elders and ministers of that church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Silas took in ordering the church of Thessalonica, Berea, &c., wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's word, as appeareth in the 17th chapter of the Acts. As likewise also in establishing the church of Antioch, when the apostles were together in council for the same, there was no other law or doctrine followed, but only the word of God, as may appear by the words of the council, Quid tentatis Deum, jugum imponere? &c. And albeit the ministers of the church of Rome, and the pope, were not called to the institution of the aforesaid church of Geneva, yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that church or any other.'

Churches may be instituted without the pope.

Baptism in the pope's church, is no necessary cause to follow all the pope's errors.

Friar: 'You were first baptized in the church of the pope, were ye not?'

The Martyr: 'I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God: he may renovate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaseth.'

(1) John xxi.
(2) Gal. ii.

(2) Rom. xv.
(5) John v.

(3) 2 John.
(6) 1 Peter v.

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Agreement in
the principal
points of doctrine
in the
churches
reformed.

A Councillor: 'I would wish you not to stick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the churches in Germany, how they dissent one from another: so that if you should not submit your judgment to the authority of the general councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity.'

The Martyr: 'To mine own wisdom I do not stick, nor ever will, but only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, although the world doth count it foolishness. And where ye say, that the churches of Germany dissent among themselves one from another; that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of christian faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should rise up a new Christianity, unless the church be balanced with authority of the councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the prophet David, in Psalm xxxiii., and in other places of Scripture, that the councils of the nations and people shall be overthrown and subverted, by the Lord,¹ &c. Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and his word, and prefer the authority thereof before all other counsels and judgments of men. And thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and settle myself in this little Christianity, be it ever so small, than in that populous papality, be it ever so great in multitude.'²

And thus was this godly le Fevre commanded again by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and from thence shortly after removed to Lyons, not by the open and beaten way, but by secret and privy journeys, lest perhaps he should be taken from them again, as he was before.

^{sup}
A. pendax.

After he was come to Lyons, he was brought before Tignac the judge, and a doctor of Sorbonne, called L'Enfumé, who questioned with him touching sundry articles of religion. But in conclusion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatening terrors stir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray those whom he knew not, who took him away before from his keepers, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him first to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteousness' sake, thus finishing his martyrdom, on the 7th of July, A.D. 1554.³

Nicholas du Chesne, martyred at Gray, by Besançon, A.D. 1554.
Persecuted by an Inquisitor Monk.

False
deafening.

The cause and occasion why this Nicholas came in trouble was, for that he, going from Lausanne (where he abode for his conscience), to fetch his sister, and her husband, and certain other of his friends; as he went from Besançon, toward the town of Gry, did not do homage to a certain cross in the way; where a certain monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the same monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gray; where the justice of the place coming in incontinent took him. Nicholas seeing how he was by the monk, his conductor, betrayed; 'O false traitor!' said he, 'hast thou thus betrayed me?' Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, by the way he was promised, that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he should be let go as a passenger. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said, he would rather die, than commit such an act: who, calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently.⁴

John Bertrand, a Forester, or Keeper of the Forest of Marchenoir, martyred at Blois, A.D. 1556. Persecutors: The Seigniors or Lords of Estnay and Ciguongnes, dwelling by the town of Marchenoir; and Denis Barbes, councillor of Blois.

For the religion and gospel of Christ this John was apprehended by these persecutors here specified, and led bound to Blois, where he was examined by Denis the councillor, of divers points: as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints, and the she-saints of para-

(1) Psalm xxxiii.

(3) La Crisp; Fant. et alii.

(2) 'Parvus Christianismus potior populo papatu.'

(4) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. [p. 814.]

dise? whereunto he said, No. Item, whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? which he granted, for that he, finding no mass in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven would bring any other gospel besides that which was already received, he should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would have him to be confessed, and presented to him a cross to kiss: but he bade the friars with their cross depart; 'That is not the cross,' said he, 'that I must carry.' Entering into the cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the post, he sang Psalm xxv. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding cheerful and amiable, his eyes looked up to heaven. 'O the happy journey,' said he, seeing the place where he should suffer, 'and the fair place that is prepared for me!' When the fire was kindled about him, 'O Lord,' cried he, 'give thy hand to thy servant; I commend my soul unto thee;' and so meekly yielded up his spirit: whose patient and joyful constancy so astonished the people, that of long time before nothing did seem to them so admirable.¹

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Peter Rousseau, martyred A. D. 1556. Persecuted by his own Brother-in-law.

Peter Rousseau, coming from Geneva and Lausanne to his country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then, being constant in his confession which he offered up, he was put to the rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterwards he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times; and when he was half burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, 'Jesus Christ, assist me.' And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God.²

Cruelty.

Arnold Moniere, and John de Cazes, martyred at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1556. The name of his Persecutor was Anthony de Lescure, the King's Attorney.

After that Arnold Moniere was taken and examined of the justice, and so was laid in prison, John de Cazes, resorting to the same town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be impeached of heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon a hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, glaves, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause (they being two simple poor men), yet the magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many earnest exhortations unto the people. But, to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound, who, during all the time of their suffering, never ceased. The hangman, preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding recovering himself, he went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, 'My God! my Father!' and so gave up his life.

Trumpets brought in to stop the hearing of God's saints.

And further, to note the work of God that followed when these two mild and

(1) Ex Gallie. Hist. per Crisp. lib. vi.

(2) Ex Crisp.

*French
History.*

A. D.
1524
to
1560.

Fear sent
among
God's
enemies.

See
Appendix.

martyred saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, without matter or cause, such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the justices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked for them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in such haste fleeing away, that they overran one another. The prior of St. Anthony's fell down, so that a great number went over him. The notary Pontac on his mule, with his red robe, fleeing as the other did, was overthrown with the press in the street called Poetevine, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a widow, and there cried within, 'Hide me; save my life; I am dead! I see even the like matter as at the last commotion! My friends! hide my mule, that no man see her nor know her.' Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every man shut up his house. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive, who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of any adversary about them.¹ This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by John Crispine [lib. vi.], also in the book of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrian.

* Bartholomew Hector, martyred at Turin, A. D. 1556. Persecuted by a gentleman called Perriere; by M. Bartholomew Eme, President; and by M. Augustine d'Eglise, Councillor.

First, this Hector was a traveller about the country, and a seller of books, having his wife and children at Geneva. As he came into the vale of Angrogne, in Piedmont, to get his living with selling of books, he was taken by a certain gentleman, and there arrested and sent to Turin, then examined, and at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened, that if he spake any thing to the people, his tongue should be cut off; nevertheless he ceased nothing to speak. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake, if he would convert; which he refused. Then he prepared himself to his death, which he took patiently: whereat many of the people wept, saying, 'Why doth this man die, who speaketh of nothing but God?'² *

Philip Cene, and James his fellow, martyred at Dijon, A. D. 1557.³

This Philip Cene was an apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at Dijon, and there imprisoned, and in the same town of Dijon he, with one James his companion, was burned. As this Philip went to his death singing psalms, the friar, standing by, stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the people wept bitterly, saying, 'Be of good courage, brethren! be not afraid of this death;' which when one of the adversary part heard, he said to one of the magistrates, 'Do you not see how almost the half part of the people is on their side, and doth comfort them?'⁴

Archambaut Seraphion, and M. Nicholas du Rousseau, martyred at Dijon, A. D. 1557.

These two were in prison together with Philip and James above-mentioned, at Dijon. Archambaut, going about with a packet of pedlary-ware to get his living, and coming towards his wife, heard of certain prisoners at Dijon, to whom he wrote, to comfort them with his letters. The next day after, he was searched at Aussy, and letters of certain scholars of Paris found about him. Then he was brought to Dijon, where he, with the other, called M. Nicholas du Rousseau, constantly suffered.

The same Archambaut had been also condemned three years before at Toul, and as he was led to Bourdeaux, he escaped.⁵

(1) 'Impius fucit, et nemo persequitur.'

(2) Ex. Hist. Gal. per. Crisp. lib. vi. [See also Edition 1596, p. 835.—ED.]

(3) The accusers appear not in the story.

(4) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

(5) Ex ejus epist. ad uxorem, apud Crisp. lib. vi.

Philbert Hamlin, martyred at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1557. Persecuted by the King's Attorney of Saintes.

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1525
to
1560.

See Appendix.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest: he then went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that he was made minister at the town of Allevert, in Saintonge, in which and in other places he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Saintes, and with him his host a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel; and after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president. As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture, to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert, seeing to be revested, came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, 'Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?' The jailor, hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him; whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen withal; and there he continued eight days. A little before, perceiving the priest his host to decline from the truth, he did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, 'O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth? Know you therefore, that although you have, by your foolishness, avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates.' He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen who had a quarrel with him: whereof when Master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the providence of God, which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

The zeal of Philbert.

Philbert prophesieth.

The marvellous judgment of God against apostates.

At last the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so, being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palm-Sunday eve.¹

Trumpets blown to stop the hearing of Philbert.

Nicholas Sartoire martyred at Aosta, in Piedmont, A. D. 1557. His Persecutors were Ripet, a Secretary; Anthony Eschaux, Bailiff; and the King's Procurator.

Nicholas Sartoire, of the age of six-and-twenty years, born in Piedmont, came from Chambery to Aosta in Lent, where a certain warden of the friars in the city of Aosta had preached on Good Friday upon the Passion. The report of which sermon being recited to this Sartoire by one that heard him, Sartoire reprehended the error and blasphemies thereof, which were against the holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him went to a secretary, named Ripet, who covertly came to entrap Nicholas, demanding him of the friar's sermon: 'And did not our preacher, said he, preach well?' 'No,' said Nicholas, 'but he lied falsely.' Ripet, entering further with him, demanded, 'And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?' to whom Nicholas then answered again, 'That is against our creed, which saith, that he ascended up and sitteth,' &c. Incontinently Ripet went to the friar and his companions, to cause him to be apprehended. The friends of Nicholas, perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and save himself, and also accompanied him out of the town about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eschaux, bailiff of the town, and other justices, before whom he answered with great boldness for his faith. Then they brought him to the rack, and when the serjeant

(1) Ex Gallie. Hist. Crisp. lib. vi.

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refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the lords of Bern wrote for him to the city of Aost, requiring to have their own subject delivered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned; which sentence he received with such constancy, that neither the king's receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body.¹

George Tardif, with John Caillon of Tours, a Broderer; also Nicholas, a Shoemaker, of Joinville. The first was martyred at Sens; the second at Tours, A. D. 1558; and the third at Joinville, the same year.²

The printer of the story of the French martyrs, named Crispine, among other moe maketh also memorial of George Tardif; also of a broderer of Tours, and of Nicholas of Joinville, declaring that all these three were together in prison, and afterwards were discovered, to suffer in sundry places one from the other; of whom, first, George Tardif was executed in Sens.

The embroiderer of Tours, as he was coming with five or six others out of a wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he was examined, he desired the judges that he might pray; which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the judges, for the king, and all estates, and for the necessity of all Christ's saints, he answered for himself with such grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken, unto the shedding of tears; seeking (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent unto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdom.

The third, who was Nicholas, being but young of years, and newly come from Geneva to his country for certain money, by means of a lady there dwelling was caused to be apprehended. When he was condemned and set in the cart, his father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the officers not suffering it, would have struck the old man. The son, crying to the officers, desired them to let his father alone, saying, that his father had power over him to do with him what he would. And so going to the place where he should suffer, having a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the town of Joinville, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, A. D. 1558.³

The Congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, A. D. 1558; by the Priests of the College of Plessis; the Doctors of Sorbonne; Dr. Demochares; Cenalis, Bishop of Avranches; Martin, the King's Attorney; the Cardinal of Lorraine; Maillard; and lastly, Henry II., the French King.

In 1558, the 4th of September, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convented at Paris, in a certain house having before it the college of Plessis, in the street of St. James, and behind it the college of Sorbonne, who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's supper: but incontinently that was discovered by certain priests of Plessis, who, gathering together such as were of that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcry, that the watch might come and take them; so that in short time almost all the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city; who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none should escape. The faithful, albeit God had given them leisure to finish their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the suddenness of the thing, were struck with great fear; who then, being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men who had weapons should adventure through the press. Only the women and children remained in the house, and a few

The fury
of this
world
against
the poor
Ch
istians.

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. (2) The accusers be not named in the story.

(3) Ex Tyllotsp's Crisp. lib. vi.

men with them who were less bold than the others, to the number of six or seven score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, who, notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopped, and the fires made, did all escape save only one, who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the women, afterwards leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the magistrates came. The women who were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted, seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying 'Mercy!' and showing their innocent intent, required ordinary justice. Thus as they were inclosed about six or seven hours, at last came Martin the king's attorney, with force of commissaries and serjeants, who, with much ado appeasing the rage of the people, entered into the house; where he, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient of their innocency, insomuch that in considering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious usage of the people by the way, how despitefully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt. Neither were they better treated in the prison, than they were in the streets; for all the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians placed in their room.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who, in their railing sermons, and other talk, cried out on the Lutherans, persuading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there, putting out the candles, they intended to commit most filthy abominations: adding moreover (to make the lie more likely), that certain nuns also and monks were with them. Also that they should conspire against the king, and other like heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could invent, for defacing of the gospel. With such like malicious misreports and slanders, Satan went about to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out of candles, and filthy whoredom, &c. These sinister rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner given out, but they were as soon received, and spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the estates of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine the same time bare a great sway in the court, who then procured a certain judge of the castle to come in, declaring to the king, that he found there lying on the floor of the aforesaid house, divers couches and pallets, which they intended to use for evil purposes; also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous feast or banquet: wherewith the king was mightily inflamed against them, neither was there any one person that durst contrary it.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, was overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation were among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families: secondly, to stop the running bruits of their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people: thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles: wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their enemies, especially of Satan, who ever, from the beginning of the church, hath gone, and still doth go about

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One of the congregation beaten down in the streets and martyred.

A false and malicious slander raised against the congregation.

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The apology of the congregation against false reports.

(1) Mercy here importeth no offence acknowledged, but to be saved from the rage of the people.

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The true church of Christ ever from the beginning oppressed with slanderous tongues. Dr. Demochares, a persecutor.

Lying lips.

Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, a persecutor.

Bells made the mark of the true church. The commodity of bells in the pope's church.

to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Declaring further, by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the church hath ever been to suffer vexations, and slanderous reports and infamation by the malignant adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the king, they craved that their cause might not be condemned, before it had had indifferent hearing, &c.

Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose; forasmuch as the adversaries incontinently denied all that was written to the king, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretended; neither was there any person that durst reply again. But the other apology, to the people, did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumours, and defending the true cause of the gospel. Whereupon certain doctors of Sorbonne began to write both against the apology and the persons, of whom one was called Demochares, who, taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all heretics, cried out for justice, with bills, glaves, fire and sword.

Another Sorbonist, more bloody than the first, not only exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them as men who maintained that there was no God, and denied the divinity and humanity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh; and briefly, all the articles of true religion. And thus he charged them without any proof, moving both the king and people, without any form of law, to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

The third that wrote against them was Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, who debated the same matter, but with less vehemency than the others, defending impudently, that their assemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the judges because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their softness was the cause why the number of them so much increased. Among other points of his book this one thing he disputeth marvellous pleasantly, touching the signs and marks of the true church; first, presupposing this one thing, which is true, that the true church hath its signs, by which it may be known from the false church: and thereupon (making no mention at all either of preaching, or ministration of sacraments) thus he inferreth: that their church, which was the catholic church, had bells¹ by which their assemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath elaps of harquebusses and pistolets for signs, whereby they (as it is commonly bried) are wont to congregate together. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, grounding his matter, he vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great conquest, and made a long antithesis or comparison, by which he would prove that bells were the marks of the true church. 'The bells,' said he, 'do sound; the harquebusses do crack or thunder. The bells do give a sweet tune and melodious; the signs of the Lutherans do make a foul noise and terrible. The bells do open heaven; the others do open hell. Bells chase away clouds and thunder; the others engender clouds, and counterfeit thunder:' with many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the church of Rome is the true church, because it hath those bells.

Mark, good reader! the profound reasons and arguments which these great doctors had, either to defend their own church, or to impugn the apologies of the Christians.

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story: as the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again with their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other open places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, the 17th day of September, commission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and councillors appointed to over-

(1) Note well the true notes of the pope's holy church.

see the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted gossellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, as anon, Christ willing, you shall hear.

Henry Pantaleon,¹ partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to A. D. 1557, which the French chronicles do assign to the year 1558; and addeth moreover, that the Germans being at the same time in a certain colloquy at Worms, divers learned men resorted thither from Geneva and other quarters, desiring of the princes and protestants there, that they, by their ambassadors sent to the French king, would become suitors unto him for the innocent prisoners, who, for the cause abovesaid, were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of their intercession (saith he) and especially for that the French king was then at war, as God provided, with Philip king of Spain, a great part of the captives were rescued and delivered; albeit certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the German ambassadors, the names and martyrdom of whom hereunder do ensue.²

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God's
help in
time of
need.

Nicholas Clinet, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by certain Priests of the College of Plessis; and by Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist.

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was Nicholas Clinet, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster to youth at Saintonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where, for his godly conversation, he was made one of the elders or governors of the church. For his age he was suspected of the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chiefest of the Sorbonists, and especially Maillard, whom he did so confute both in the Scriptures, and also in their own Sorbonical divinity (wherein he had been well exercised and expert), in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the said lieutenant confessed that he never heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Dr. Maillard
confuted.

Taurin Gravelle, a Lawyer, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Dr. Maillard, a Sorbonist.

Taurin Gravelle was first a student of the law at Toulouse: after that he was made an advocate in the court of Paris: lastly, for his godliness, he was ordained an elder to the said congregation, with Clinet above mentioned. This Taurin, having in his hands the keeping of a certain house of one M. Barthomier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of a room, received them into the said house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard, especially, he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well, even from his youth upwards, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts, &c., that neither they who heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of immorality, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as were their holy assemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, these two godly elders, in cruel pains of the fire, finished their martyrdom.

†
Note the
holy life
of these
Sorbonical
doctors.

(1) Lib. xi.

(2) Ex Crisp.; et Pantal. lib. xi.

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Philippe de Luns, a Gentlewoman, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by the Lieutenant-Civil; Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist; Mosnier, Lieutenant; evil Neighbours; Bertrand, Lord-Keeper of the Seal, and Cardinal of Sens; and the Marquis of Trane.

Next unto Clinet and Gravelle above said, was brought out Mme. Philippe, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years. She came first from the parts of Gascony with her husband, who was lord of Graveron, unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been a senior or elder; who, in the month of May before, was taken with an ague, and deceased, leaving this Philippe a widow, who nevertheless ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, especially Maillard; but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the others did before, and bade him, 'Avant wretch!' saying she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this: that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and die. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: 'How is that possible,' said she, 'to be the body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it, and tear it in pieces?' Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and that twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their infant being baptized; for it was baptized in the church of the Lord. Among her other neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germain in the suburbs; between whom, incontinent, arose a strife, wherein one of them struck the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened of the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trane, to have the confiscation of her goods.

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The sacrament.

The just hand of God against false and bloody witnesses.
The martyrdom of Clinet, Gravelle, and Philippe de Luns.

These three holy martyrs above recited, were condemned on the 27th of September, by the process of the commissioners and the lieutenant-civil: and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them, but their valiant constancy remained unmovable. After that they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked of a doctor, whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, 'Yea;' and that he had said nothing but what he would prove by his authority.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said, that she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain councillors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every one to bear his cross, she answered, 'My lords!' said she, 'you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willet us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of.'

The cross.

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation; and being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, 'I see well,' said he, 'that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not.' And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would return, he said, that was not so contained in the arrest, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it; but afterwards, perceiving the same so to be agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words: 'I pray you pray to God for me.'

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: 'Seeing I do not stiek to give my body, shall I stiek to give my

tongue? 'No, no.' And so these three, having their tongues cut out, were brought to Maulbert-place. 'The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groanings to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection by praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, who neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in mourning weed, after the manner of the country; but the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse Jesus Christ. And thus these three, with singular constancy, were burned: Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philippe, the gentlewoman, was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame with her feet and visage; and so she ended her martyrdom.¹

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Precious
in the
sight of
God is the
death of
his saints.

Nicholas Cene and Peter Gabart, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558.

Their Persecutors: the Lieutenant, Dr. Maillard, Councillors, and Friars.

Of the same company was also Nicholas Cene, a physician, brother to Philip Cene above mentioned and martyred at Dijon, and Peter Gabart; which two, about five or six days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, on the 2d of October.

Nicholas Cene was but newly come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which then was congregated in the street of St. James; and (as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God) he came thither even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about the age of thirty years, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a great number of scholars in the little castle, whom when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy, 'No, no,' said he, 'let us forget these worldly matters, and learn how to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, which lies here in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour.' And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of christian doctrine as well as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only studied divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; where, notwithstanding, he ceased not to sing psalms, that the others might well hear him. He had a nephew in prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had said to the judges? He said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix, painted. 'O thou naughty boy!' said he, 'have not I taught thee the commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,' &c. And so he began to expound to him the commandments; whereunto he gave good attention.

A whole-
some les-
son for
all stu-
dents.

Images
forbid-
den.

In their examinations, many questions were propounded by the doctors and friars, touching matters both of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the sacrament: whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other brethren from blame, saying that they would live and die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceived that their judges had intended, that if they would relent, they should be strangled; if not, they should burn alive, and their tongues be cut from them: which torments being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, they offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain: whom the people in rage and madness, followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, maugre the hangman. The cruelty of their death was such as hath not lightly

Their
tongues
cut out.

Cruelty.

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

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been seen; for they were holden long in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed saints ceased not in all these torments to turn up their eyes to heaven, and to show forth infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire also many Testaments and Bibles at the same time were burnt.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the friends of the other prisoners who remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said judges, requiring other commissioners to be placed. But the king, being hereof advertised by his solicitor, sent out his letters patent, commanding the said causes of refusal to be frustrated, and willed the former judges to proceed, all other lets and obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the presidents should have power to choose to them other councillors, according to their own arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent; amongst whom also the said solicitor was received, instead of the king's procurator, to pursue the process.¹ By these letters patent it was decreed, that these stubborn sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the king were advertised. These letters aforesaid stirred up the fire of this persecution not a little, for the judges at this refusal took great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called Albert Hartung, born in the country of Brandenburg, and godson to the late Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, by the king's commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the Germans.²

Albert
Hartung
delivered.
*See
Appendix.*

Frederick Danville, and Francis Rebezies, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecutors: Two Presidents, twenty-five Councillors, the Lieutenant-Civil, Doctors, Friars, Sorbonists, Benedictine a Jacobite monk, Demochares, and Maillard.

Mention was made above of certain young scholars and students who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart. Of that number of scholars were these two, Frederic Danville, and Francis Rebezies, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing do make record; the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: and first touching Frederic Danville.

The lieutenant-civil, who before was half suspected, but now thinking to prove himself a right catholic and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture, 'Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father,'³ &c.: that done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament. To whom Frederic answered that if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words (as they call them) then should he believe a thing contrary to the holy Scripture, and to the creed, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father: also to the testimony of the angels, who spake both of the ascending of Christ, and of his coming down again.⁴ After this he questioned with him touching invocation of saints, purgatory, &c., whereunto he answered so that he rather did astonish the enemies, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, on the 12th of September, the said Frederic again was brought before Benedictine a Jacobite, and his companion a Sorbonist Doctor, called Noster Magister; who thus began to argue with him.

Question: 'Which think you to be the true church, the church of the Protestants, or the church of Paris?'

The Martyr: 'I recognise that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles.'

(1) See here, how the whole power of the world was confederate together against the poor saints of God, according to the prophecy of the second Psalm: 'Astiterunt reges terre et principes conveniunt in unum, adversus Dominum,' &c.

(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

(3) Matt. x.

(4) Acts i.

Quest.: 'And think you the church of Geneva is such a one as you speak of?'

The Martyr: 'I so judge it to be.'

Bened.: 'And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?'

The Martyr: 'Yea, if you shall prove it by the Scripture.'

Bened.: 'Or will you believe St. Austin and other holy doctors innumerable?'

The Martyr: 'Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God.'

Bened.: 'By the authority of St. Austin the church is there where is the succession of bishops; whereunto I frame this argument: there is the church, where is the perpetual succession: bishops: in the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: ergo the church of Paris is the true church.'

The Martyr: 'To your major I answer, that if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments are duly administered, and not in the church of Paris. But otherwise, if St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted.'

Bened.: 'Calvin is there by his own thrusting in, and only by the choosing of the people.'

The Martyr: 'And that soundeth more for him to be of God's divine election, forasmuch as by him the gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no man shall bring me.'

After this disceptation, the 19th of the same month came against him the same Doctor, with two other Sorbonists; who, bringing forth a scroll out of his bosom, pretended that a certain scholar, coming from Geneva, made his confession, wherein was contained, that in receiving of the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same confession.

The Martyr: 'Whatsoever I have said unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word *really*, I know right well, that they of Geneva do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination.'

Doctor: 'I marvel much that you so refuse the word *really*, and use only *spiritually*, seeing that Calvin himself doth use the same word *really*.'

The Martyr: 'Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.'

Doctor: 'What say you of confession auricular?'

The Martyr: 'The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, that I take it for a plantation, not planted by God in his word.'

Doctor: 'The Almain, in their confession which they sent to our king to be approved, have these words:¹ We do not reject auricular confession; for it is a gospel secret and privy. And also Melancthon, in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium Secretum*.²

Another time the said Frederic was called again before the lords, the 20th of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain questions, as where he was born, and whether he had heard in his country at Oleron, that M. Gerard, the bishop there, did sing mass. 'Yea,' said he. 'And why do not you also,' said they, 'receive the same?' He answered, 'Because *he* did it, to retain and keep his bishopric.' The martyr, for lack of paper, could proceed herein no further.

The examinations of the aforesaid Francis Rebezies.

Rebezies had three sundry examinations: the first with the lieutenant-civil: the second with the presidents and the councillors: the third with the friars. First, the lieutenant, inquiring of his name, country, and parents, asked whether he

(1) 'Confessionem auricularem non improbamus; est enim Evangelium secretum.'

(2) Melancthon, in his Common Places, speaking of the popish confession which consisteth in the enumeration of sin, saith, that it is a snare of conscience, and against the gospel; and otherwise maketh there no mention of '*Evangelium Secretum*': no more doth the confession of the Almain.

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The church.

See Appendix.

Confession auricular.

The first examination.

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The second examination.

Mass.

Purgatory.

was at the communion, whether he received with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a servitor to M. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation? Whereunto he said, 'Yea.' Also whether he was a distributor of the tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied.

Then he was brought into the council chamber, before two presidents, and twenty-five counsellors; who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was (said he) that he knew there two or three. Who were they? M. Gravelle, Clinet, and John Sansot, feigning that name of himself. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautified temples, to hear mass, or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up of the devil. Whether he did not acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the whole world. The death of Christ is the principal (said they), but thou must also believe another. Alas (said he), can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John i. Apocalypse v. Hebrews ix. Isaiah xliiii., where the Lord himself saith, that it is he, who, for his own sake, putteth away our iniquities, &c. As St. Paul also saith, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, &c. And on the contrary, when they objected the words of the parable, Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing:¹ to this he answered, that the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters civil; and this word 'until' meaneth there, as much as never.

After that he was charged there by one, for reading the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The president asked, if he were not afraid to be burned as were the others before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, that all who would live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution;² and that to him either to live or to die, were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his parents, Christ himself (said he) doth premonish, that whosoever loveth father or mother more than him, is not worthy to be his, &c.³ 'Jesus Maria!' said the president, 'what youth are these now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong into the fire!' And so was he commanded away.

The third examination.

See Appendix.

Thirdly, He was brought before Benedictine the Jacobite, the Master of the doctors of Sorbonne, and another Jacobite whose name he knew not, on the 14th of October; where he, chancing to speak of 'the Lord,' Benedictine began thus to object as followeth:

The difference between 'the Lord,' and 'our Lord.'

Benedictine: 'See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoun, *our*. So may the devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.'

The Martyr: 'The devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the adulteress before him, and called him master; yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his disciples: whose case I trust is nothing like to ours, who know, and confess (as we speak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do.'

The church.

Bened.: 'I know well you hold the church to be, where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments are sincerely administered, according as they are left by Christ and his apostles.'

The Martyr: 'That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.'

Bened.: 'Do you not believe that whosoever is without that church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?'

The Martyr: 'Whosoever doth separate himself from that church, to make either sect, part, or division, cannot obtain, as you say.'

Churches.

Bened.: 'Now let us consider two churches, the one wherein the word is rightly preached, and the sacraments are administered accordingly as they be

(1) Matt. v.

(2) 2 Tim. iii.

(3) Matt. x.

left unto us: the other, wherein the word and sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?

The Martyr: 'The first.'

Bened.: 'Well said. Next is now to speak of the gifts given to the said church: as the power of the keys, and confession for remission of sins after we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the same church truly administered, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is administered, and the gospel is truly preached.'

The Martyr: 'Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole commonalty of Christians. And as concerning the power of the keys, and your confession, I believe, that for the remission of our sins we ought to go to no other but only to God, as we read 1 John i., If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to pardon our offences, and he will purge us from all our iniquities, &c. Also in the prophet David, in the 19th and 32d Psalms: I have opened my sin unto thee,' &c.

Bened.: 'Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?'

The Martyr: 'The power that Christ gave to his apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which here I confess) that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by the same word.'

Bened.: 'Do you then deny auricular confession?'

The Martyr: 'Yea verily I do.'

Bened.: 'Ought we to pray to saints?'

The Martyr: 'I believe not.'

The Master of the Doctors of Sorbonne: 'Tell me what I shall ask: Jesus Christ being here upon the earth, Was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole world, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?'

The Martyr: 'Yes.'

Doctor: 'But we find that when he was here on earth, his apostles made intercession for the people: and why may they not do the same as well now also?'

The Martyr: 'So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing human succours together; but now, being in paradise, all the prayer that they make, is this: that they wish that they who be yet on earth, may attain to their felicity; but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have our recourse only to his Son.'

Doctor: 'If one man have such charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an intercessor?'

The Martyr: 'I grant.'

Doctor: 'Well then, you say there is but one intercessor: whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe.'

The Martyr: 'You understand not, Sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight: for if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin; and if the heavens be not pure in his eyes, what shall be thought then of man, so abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh iniquity like water, as Job doth say?'

Then Benedictine, seeing his master doctor to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth:

Bened.: 'Nay, my friend! as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand, and now to speak of ourselves, this we know, that God is not displeased with those who have recourse unto his saints.'¹

The Martyr: 'Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth: For this is the trust that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his will, he will hear us.'²

Bened.: 'As no man cometh to the presence of an earthly king, or prince,

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Power of
the keys.
Confession.

See
Appendix.

Intercession of
saints.

(1) Note this blasphemous doctrine, which maketh saints equal intercessors with Christ.

(2) 1 John v.

French History. without means made by some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above,' &c.

A. D. *The Martyr:* 'To this earthly example, I will answer with another contrary example of the prodigal son, who sought no other means to obtain his Father's grace, but came to the Father himself.'

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Worship-
ping of
saints.

See
Appendix.

Then they came to speak of adoration, which the said martyr Rebezies disapproved by the Scripture, Acts x. xiii. xiv.; Apocalypse xix. xxii.; Hebrews x. xii. xiv.: where is to be noted, that whereas the martyr alleged the fourteenth chapter to the Hebrews; the doctors answered, that it was in the eleventh chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the eleventh, nor in the fourteenth, but in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts. So well read were these doctors in their New Testament. ∞

The pre-
cence
of Christ
in the
host.

Bened.: 'Touching the mass, what say you? believe you not that when the priest hath consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as he was, hanging upon the cross?'

The Martyr: 'No, verily; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth by Hebrews x., 1 Cor. xv., Colossians iii. And therefore (to make short with you) I hold your mass for none other, but for a false and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by which you do annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body; and you know right well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.'

Bened.: 'You deceive yourselves about that 'reiteration,' for we do not reiterate it so as you think; as by example I will show. You see me now in this religious garment; but if I should put upon me a soldier's weed, then should I be disguised, and yet for all that I should remain the same still within my doublet, that I was before in my friar's weed. So is it with the sacrifice: we confess and grant, that Naturaliter, that is, naturally, he was once offered in sacrifice; and also is sitting Naturaliter, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but Supernaturaliter et subscriptivè, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. Supernaturaliter we sacrifice him; but that sacrifice is only disguised, to wit, he is contained under that curtain and that whiteness which you see.'

Naturali-
ter.

Superna-
turaliter,
et sub-
scriptivè.

The dis-
guised
sacrifice
of the pa-
pists.

The body
of Christ
spiritual-
ly receiv-
ed in the
sacra-
ment.

The Martyr: 'Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice is a diabolical sacrifice; and of that I am quite convinced.'

Bened.: 'And how is your belief touching the holy supper?'

The Martyr: 'That if it be administered unto me by the minister, in such usage, as it hath been left of Christ and his apostles preaching also the word purely withal; I believe that, in receiving the material bread and wine, I receive with lively faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually.'

Doctor: 'Say corporally.'

The Martyr: 'No, Sir, for his words be spirit and life; and let this content you.'

Matrimo-
ny of mi-
nisters.

Doctor: 'What say you, Is it lawful for a priest to marry?'

The Martyr: 'I believe it to be lawful for him, in such sort as the apostle saith, Whosoever hath not the gift of continency, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn. And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of bishops and elders, 1 Timothy iii. and Titus i.'

And thus these doctors, affirming that he denied priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, 'God have mercy on you!' 'So be it,' said he.

After this, about the 22d of October, the said Rebezies and Frederic Danville were brought up to a chamber in the castle to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the congregation; in which chamber they found three councillors, who thus began with them: 'Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image here thou seest' (showing him a great marmoset there painted on paper); whereunto Rebezies answered, 'Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart.' 'Why dost not thou swear to us,' said the councillors, 'as we say unto thee?' 'Because,' said he, 'it is a great blasphemy against the Lord' Then the councillors read their depositions, and, first beginning with Rebezies, said, 'Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of

this assembly?' Rebezies named, as he did before, Gravel, Clinet (which were already burnt), and John Sansot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the torture or rack; and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, and being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he neither would receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion's mouth: and so, being drawn and stretched in the air, he began to cry, 'Come, Lord! and show thy strength, that man do not prevail,' &c. But they cried, 'Tell truth, Francis! and thou shalt be let down.' Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the councillors said, 'Wilt thou say nothing else?' 'I have nothing else,' said he, 'to say.' And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side. Who, being loosed, said to them, 'Do you handle thus the poor servants of God?' And the like was done to Frederic Danville also, his companion (who at the same time was also very sick, of whom they could have no other answer but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own letters and confession it doth appear.¹

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The martyrs racked.

The constancy of these martyrs.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow-prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederic did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, why he so did? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterwards. 'Notwithstanding,' said he, 'be strong, brethren! and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who hath succoured us, and also will comfort you.' Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, 'Away from me, Satan!' Frederic being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; 'but by the grace of God,' said he, 'he shall do nothing against me.'

Brotherly compassion.

The comfort of God's saint.

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the councillors, and required to show what fellows they had more of the said assembly: which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Malbert place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterwards be strangled; and so be turned into ashes.

Afterwards came the friars and doctors, Demochares, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss, which they refused. Then Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the sacrament. 'What,' said Frederic, 'will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father?' Demochares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederic asked them, if they required any miracle? 'No,' said they; and so stood mute, save only that Demochares prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would gaze his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederic answered, that he knew it was contrary.

Dr. Maillard gareth his soul.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. 'Let God,' saith they, 'reign alone.' The people standing by, 'Ah mischievous Lutheran!' said they. 'Nay, a true Christian I am,' said he. When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers made, when they were bid to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said, 'Be strong, my brother! be strong: Satan, away from us!' As they were thus exhorting, one

(1) Ex literis Franc. Rebez. in Crisp. lib. vi.

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to
1560.

The
death and
martyr-
dom of
Rebezies
and Dan-
ville.
The
Switzers
make
supplica-
tion to
the
French
king for
the mar-
tyrs.

standing by said, 'These Lutherans do call upon Satan.' One John Morel (who afterwards died a martyr), then standing by at liberty, answered, 'I pray you let us hear,' said he, 'what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God.' Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, 'Assist us, O Lord.' And so they, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom.¹

After the martyrdom of these two abovesaid, the intention of the judges was to dispatch the rest one after another in like sort, and they had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain gentlewoman, then prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of exceptions or refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the mean time, as this persecution was spread into other countries, first the faithful cantons of the Switzers perceiving these good men to be afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their churches, sent their ambassadors to the king to make supplication for them. The same time also came letters from the county palatine, elector, tending to the same end, to solicit the king for them. The king, standing the same time in great need of the Germans for his wars, was contented at least that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to abbeys, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to be constrained to be present at the service of idolatry, especially the young scholars; of whom some shrunk back, others being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the official to make their confession, and to receive absolution ordinary. Divers made their confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c.²

René du Seau and John Almaric, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558.

These two young men were also of the company above specified, and were in prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almarick could not go when he was called to the court to be judged. And being upon the rack, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, who came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure confession of Christ's church.³

John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, Peter Bourdon, André de la Fon, martyred in the Country of Brasil, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Villegaignon, a French Captain.

Mention is made in the French story of one Villegaignon, lieutenant for the French king, who made a voyage into the land of Brasil with certain French ships, and took an island nearly to the same adjoining, and made therein a fortress. After they had been there a while, Villegaignon (for lack of victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a ship to the river Plata, towards the pole Antarctic, a thousand miles off.⁴ In this ship were these four here mentioned; who, forsaking their ship by occasion of tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the land of Brasil, and afterwards to their own countrymen. Villegaignon, being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his leave. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false suspicion and vain dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy spies by the Brasilians, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of treason: but the cause was religion. For albeit sometime he had been a professor of the gospel, yet afterwards, growing to some dignity, he fell to be an apostate, and cruel persecutor of his fellows. But when no proof or conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he, knowing them to be earnest protestants, drew out certain articles of religion for them to answer, and so entrapping them upon their confession, he laid them in

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

(2) Ibid. Et ex Pantal. lib. xi.

(3) Ibid.

(4) He sent them far enough then, because they should never return, pretending that he lacked victual, but the cause was religion.

irons and in prison, and secretly, with one executioner and his page, he took one after another, beginning with John Bordel, and first brought him to the top of a rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the sea; and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murdered and drowned; to wit, John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, and Peter Bourdon. The fourth, who was Andre de la Fon, he caused by manifold allurements somewhat to incline to his sayings, and so he escaped the danger; not without great offence taken of a great part of the Frenchmen in that country.¹

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Geffery Varagle, martyred at Turin, in Piedmont, A. D. 1558.
Persecuted by the King's Lieutenant.

See Appendix.

In the same year, 1558, suffered also Geffery Varagle, preacher in the valley of Angrogne, at the town of Turin, in Piedmont, who first was a monk, and said mass the space of seven and twenty years. Afterwards, returning from Busque toward Angrogne to preach, as he had used before to do, sent by the ministers of Geneva and other faithful brethren, he was apprehended in the town of Barges, and brought before the king's lieutenant; where he was questioned with, touching divers articles of religion: as of justification, works of supererogation, free-will, predestination, confession, satisfaction, indulgences, images, purgatory, the pope, &c. Hereunto he answered again in writing, with such learning and reason, alleging against the pope's own distinctions,² that as the story reporteth, the court of Turin, marvelling at his learning, condemned him more for reproach of shame, than upon true opinion grounded on judgment. When he was brought to the place of execution, the people who stood by and heard him speak, declared openly, that they saw no cause why he should die. A certain old companion of his, a priest, calling him by his name, 'Master Geffery,' desired him to convert from his opinions: to whom he patiently answered again, desiring him, that he would convert from his condition. And thus after he had made his prayer unto God, and had forgiven his executioner, and all his enemies, he was first strangled, and then burned. In the aforesaid story, relation is made moreover, concerning the said Geffery, that at the time of his burning a dove was seen, as was credibly reported of many, flying and fluttering divers times about the fire; testifying, as was thought, the innocency of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the story addeth, that upon such things we must not stay: and so concludeth the martyrdom of this blessed man.³

The report of a dove flying about the fire.

Benet Romaine, a Mercer or Haberdasher, at Draguignan in Provence, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Lanteaume Blanc; De Lauris, Councillor and Son-in-law to Miniers, Lord of Opede, the cruel Persecutor; Anthony Revest, the Lieutenant; Barbosi, Judge-ordinary of Draguignan; Joachim Portanier, the King's Advocate; Caval and Cavalieri, Consuls; the Official; Gasper Siguicre, Officer in Draguignan; and also a Friar observant.

The lamentable story of Benet Romaine is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This Benet, having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living used to go about the country with certain mercery ware, having cunning also amongst other things, how to dress corals. As he was coming toward Marseilles, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he happened upon one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc, who, being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was one of Geneva, went to a councillor of the parliament of Aix, being then at Draguignan, whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the great persecutor against Merindol,⁴ &c. This De Lauris, consulting together with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral which he saw to be very fair,

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. et ex Comment. Gallic. de statu Relig. et Reipub.

(2) The pope's own distinctions, as follow: Dist. xix. cap. 7. 'Ita Dominus;' Distinct. xxi. cap. 2. 'In Novo;' Distinct. xxii. cap. 1. 'Omnes,' et cap. 2. 'Sacrosancta.' (3) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. page 897.

(4) Of Minerius or Miniers, the great persecutor, read hereafter in the story of Merindol.

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Interrogatories ministered to Romaine.

†

Romaine sealeth the confession of his faith.

Romaine refuseth to escape.

Barbosi, persecutor.

A gross question of a gross judge.

A free answer of a poor prisoner.

and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, sent to the officer of the town to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, who sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods; and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise. Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romaine examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other councillors, where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent? Also he was bid to say his 'Pater Noster,' the 'Credc,' and 'Ave Maria;' which two first he did, but refused to say 'Ave Maria.' Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women-saints and men-saints, and when he heard mass? He said, he would worship none but God alone: mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would. Hereupon he was committed to a stinking and loathsome place, with iron chains upon his legs. De Lauris thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry that he did so usurp upon his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding the same day, the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romaine to come before him, of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and the cause of his coming; also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto, being required (because he could not write), he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answer taken, certain faithful brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to escape out from his enemies, who sought nothing but his death; and showed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant. But he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to see him, and asked, 'What do they believe,' said he, 'in any God in Geneva?' Romaine looking upon him, 'What art thou,' said he, 'that so wretchedly dost blaspheme?' 'I am,' said he, 'the judge-ordinary of this place.' 'And who hath put thee,' said Romaine, 'such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva, do deny their God? No! no! we believe in God, we invoke his name, and repose all our trust in him,' &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romaine, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi and others, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was at the same time an observant friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He, being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intent about the business, to set the matter forward, said, that he would go and say mass of the Holy Ghost,¹ to illuminate their intents to have the said Romaine condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the high court of parliament, if he would not after that sort condemn Romaine to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing lest by his racking danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romaine again in the prison certain instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God: but when the lieutenant came, the poor man forgot his instructions; so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.²

When the time came that the judges were set, and the process should be read, Barbosi, with others whom the friar had procured, had agreed before, that

(1) Mass, a common instrument for all things, and also to blow the fire.

(2) 'Fili hujus seculi prudentiores in sua generatione quam filii lucis.'

he should be fired alive, and put to the rack, to disclose his fellows, and also gagged that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the advocates (albeit a man wholly superstitious), who, seeing the rage of the others, gave contrary advice, saying, that Romaine should be sent home again, for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, or had they any informations against him; and that which he had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other out as other young men did follow, who were either of the one part, or of the other; and therefore that here remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give his verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The friar-observant in the mean while was not idle, inciting still the consuls and the people, who, at the ringing of a bell being assembled together with the official and the priests in a great rout, came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in semblable wise did the same to the other judges and advocates: the official moreover added, that if it were not better seen to than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors, that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges after their minds, in all post-haste the people contributed together, that at their own charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix, and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process unto judgment, every man crying, 'To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!'

The lieutenant, being not able otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix, and so he did. They, hearing the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and the prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, who would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent out to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates, as their old order required, and to certify them again within eight days. And so Romaine, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled, and before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his company; from which sentence Romaine then appealed, saying that he was no heretic. Hereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the Commandments as he passed by the town of Draguignan: which when the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, that he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him. Romaine answered again, 'God will judge us all in the last day of judgment.' After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the councillors, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a fumish friar sent, who, being three hours with him, and not able to remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the sentence given before of his condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At this return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes unto the curates, that they should signify to their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; they also caused to be cried through the town by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the 14th of May, the poor servant of God was first brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, irons, and weights, to terrify him. Then, said they, he must utter his accomplices, and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, that he had no other accomplices or companions, neither would he hold any other faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province to

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Good counsel of an advocate.

The friar still bloweth the coals of persecution.

The cause of Romaine removed to the parliament of Aix.

His sentence and condemnation.

The king's advocate repenteth.

Returneth again from Aix to Draguignan.

See Appendix.

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Drawn most piteously upon the rack. Thereon, not able to go, he is borne to the fire. Cruelty of friars.

Upon this he was put upon the gin or rack, where he, being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but he would not. Hereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead; for which they sent him to the barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid lest he had been past, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So, after they had essayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron which was let down upon the faggots. Romaine, seeing himself to be alone lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say 'Ave Maria:' which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but as soon as they descended down from the wood, he began to pray to God again in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romaine thought at first, that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romaine lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great temptation. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people to more hatred, cried out and said, 'He blasphemeth! he blasphemeth! he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!' Whereat Barbosi cried, 'Stop his mouth, let him be gagged!' The people cried, 'To the fire! let him be burned!' Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romaine still remained hanging in the air till he died. When all his nether parts were burnt well near, he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips, without any cry: and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God!

A slandering friar.

The cruel death and martyrdom of this blessed Romaine.

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and sundry bruits. Some said that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that those priests and monks who were about him, were whoremasters and infamous.

Others said, that he had wrong, and that a hundred of that company there were, who more deserved death than he, especially among those who condemned him. Others went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished of this valiant and thrice blessed martyr and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.²

Francis Civaux martyred at Dijon, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by the Covent of the Jacobite Friars at Dijon, and a Priest of that Place.

This Francis Civaux was secretary to the French ambassador here in England in queen Mary's time, who afterwards, being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was placed to be secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain business, he came to Dijon.

There was at the same time a priest that preached at Dijon such doctrine, that the said Francis, being worthily offended thereat, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, showing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well instructed to dispute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest incontinent went

See Appendix.

(1) 'Crucifige, crucifige eum!'

(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. p. 902.

to the Jacobite friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast time Francis, unawares, should be apprehended there.

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When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobite friar, who, pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content, and to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his fellow were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobite in the mean time went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobite was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar. Moreover, the same night Francis had in his dream, that the said friar should commit him to the justice. But he, either not caring for his dreams, or else not much passing for the danger, committed himself to the hands of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the covent of the Jacobites, Francis, thus betrayed of the priest, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned.¹ And as touching the fellow and companion of this Francis above-mentioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in prison; but because he was but a young novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

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A privy Judas.

Francis admonished by his dream.

Peter Arondeau, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1559. His Persecutors were the Priests of Rochelle, Manroy a Priest, the Lieutenant of Rochelle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and two Presidents, to wit, Magister and St. André.

The town of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commodity because of the sea, so was it not inferior to other good towns in France, for nourishing and supporting the holy assemblies of the Lord. Unto this town, about A. D. 1559, resorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of base condition, with a little packet of mercery ware there to sell: who there, being known to join himself to the church and congregation of the faithful, was demanded by certain ministers of Antichrist, whether he would go to hear mass or no? He said, that he had been there too oft to his great grief; and that since the time that the Lord had taken the veil from his eyes, he knew the mass to be abominable, forged in the shop of the enemy of all mankind. They to whom he thus answered were priests; amongst whom was one named Manroy, who, taking the others there present for witnesses, brought him straight to the lieutenant. The deposition being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinently, that his body should be attached. And although by one of his friends he was admonished to save himself, and to avoid the danger, yet he ceased not to put himself into his enemy's hands; and so was led prisoner. As he was in prison, many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only those who came to comfort him, but also the others who were there prisoners with him. The priests left no diligence unsought to stir up the lieutenant, who was of himself too much inflamed in such matters.

The mass.

Arondeau, after many interrogations, and threatening words, and also fair promises of his pardon, still continued the same man. Then the lieutenant seeing his constancy, condemned him to death. Arondeau, praising God for his grace given, did not a little rejoice that he might suffer in that quarrel, and in token of rejoicing, did sing a psalm, being fully resolved to accept the said condemnation, without any appeal. But his friends, not pleased with his resolution, came to him; and so persuaded with him not to give his life so very cheaply over to his enemies' hands, that he was turned from that, and made his appeal. The appeal being entered, the lieutenant, seeking to gratify the adversaries of the gospel, and especially the cardinal of Lorraine, secretly, by the backside of the town, and out of the highway, conveyed the poor prisoner unto Paris; who,

Peter Arondeau condemned

He appealeth.

(1) Ex scripto testimonio Senatus Genevensis.

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being brought unto Paris by privy journeys, as is said, was put into prison, committed to the custody of two presidents, to wit, Magister, and St. Andre; by means of whom the sentence of the lieutenant was confirmed, and also put in execution the 15th day of November, in the year above said; on which day the said Arondeau was burned quick at the place called St. John, in Greve, at Paris. The constancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a mirror or glass of patience unto M. Anne du Bourge, councillor in the parliament of Paris, and to divers others then prisoners; and was to them a preparation toward the like death, which shortly after they suffered.

Not long after the happy end of this blessed martyr, the aforementioned Manroy, who was the principal accuser and party against him, was struck with a disease called apoplexia,¹ and thereupon suddenly died.

By this, and many other such like examples, the mighty judgment of God most evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth use to begin his judgment with his own household in this world, yet neither do his adversaries themselves always escape the terrible hand of his justice.

God's
just
ven-
geance
upon the
lieute-
nant, a
persecu-
tor.

See
Appendix.

Also the lieutenant who was his condemner, tarried not long after the priest, but he was arrested personally to appear before the king's council, through the procurement of a certain gentleman of Poland, called Anthony de l'Eglise, against whom the said lieutenant had given false and wrong judgment before; by reason whereof the aforesaid gentleman so instantly did pursue him before the lords of the council, that all the extortions and pollings of the lieutenant were there openly discovered, and so he condemned to pay to the gentleman a thousand French crowns of the sun, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Also he was deposed from his office, and there declared unworthy to exercise any royal office hereafter for ever, with infamy and shame perpetual.²

Thomas Moutard, martyred at Valenciennes, A. D. 1559. Persecuted by a Priest of that Town.

In the town of Valenciennes, not far from France, in the same year, which was 1559, in the month of October, suffered Thomas Moutard; who, first being converted from a disordered life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great gracious mercy towards his elected Christians. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus: that his God of the host was nothing but an abomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as if spoken in drunkenness; but the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no, he said, 'Yea; for it is an abuse,' said he, 'to seek Jesus Christ any where else than in heaven, sitting in the glory and at the right hand of God his Father: and in this he was ready to live and die. His process being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But, as he was carried from the town-house to the place of punishment, was never seen a man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to rejoice at that great honour which God had called him unto. The hangman hastened as much as was possible, to bind him, and dispatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, cried to the Lord that he would have mercy on his soul; and so in great integrity of faith and perseverance, he gave up his life to God.'

Against
the heathen
presence
of Christ
in the
host.

Constan-
cy of a
good con-
science.

This Dutch story should have gone before with the Dutch martyrs; but seeing Valenciennes is not far distant from France, it is not much out of order to adjoin the same with the French martyrs; who, at length, shall be joined altogether in the kingdom of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. Amen!

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the

(1) Apoplexia is a sickness engendered in the brain by abundance of gross humours, which deprive them that have it of speech, feeling, and moving. Most commonly it assaileth gluttons, drunkards, and surfeiters.

(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. p. 967.

[3] Ibid.

table of the French, and also of the Dutch martyrs, unto the time and reign of queen Elizabeth, that is, to the year 1560. Since that time also divers have suffered both in France and in the lower country of Germany; whose story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of queen Elizabeth. In the mean season it shall suffice for this present to insert their names only, which here do follow.

*Spanish
History.*

A. D.
1540
to
1560.

The residue of the French Martyrs.

Anne du Bourge, councillor, at Paris; Andrew Coffier, John Isabeau, John Judet, martyrs at Paris; Geffery Guerin, John Morel, John Barbeville, Peter Chevet, Marin Marie, Margerite Rich, Adrian Daussi, Giles le Court, Philip Parmentier, Marin Rousseau, Peter Milet, John Beffroy: besides the tumult of Amboise, and the Persecution of Vassy; also Austin Marlorat, and Master Mutonis.

The residue of the Dutch Martyrs.

James de Lo, at Lisle in Flanders; John des Buissons, at Antwerp; Peter Petit, John Denys, Simon Guilmin, Simeon Herme, at Lisle in Flanders; John de Lannoy, at Tournay; Andrew Michel, a blind man, at Tournay; Francis Varlut, at Tournay; Alexander Dayken, of Braine-le-Chateau; William Cornu, in Hainault; Anthony Caron, of Cambray; Renaudine de Francville. Certain suffered at Tournay: Michel Robillart, of Arras; Nicaise de le Tombe; Roger du Mont.

*See
Appendix.*

To the catalogue of French martyrs above rehearsed, the story of Merindol and Cabriers, with the lamentable handling of them, is also to be annexed.¹ But because the tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a short discourse, therefore we have deferred the same to a more convenient room, after the table here following next of the Spanish and Italian martyrs, where better opportunity shall be given to prosecute more at large that tragical persecution, the Lord so permitting.

A TABLE OF CERTAIN MARTYRS, WHO, FOR THE CAUSE OF RELIGION, SUFFERED IN SPAIN.

The Spanish Martyrs.

Franciscus San Romanus, at Burgos, in Spain. Persecuted by certain Spanish Merchants in Antwerp, and also by the Friars of that City.

In the year 1540 this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp to Bremen, to take up money due, to be paid by certain merchants there; where he, being at a sermon, hearing Master Jacobus (prior some time of the Austin friars of Antwerp) preach, was so touched and drawn, through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly business set apart), there recited the whole contents of his sermon every word (as they said, who heard the said minister of Bremen preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space he was grown to great towardness and ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister, marvelling at the sudden mutation of the man, and also seeing the vehemency of his zeal joined withal, began to exhort him

The conversion of San Romanus.

(1) Touching the story of Merindol, vide infra.

Spanish History.

A. D.
1540
to
1560.

Francis writeth to the merchants of Antwerp.

Also to the emperor.

Francis betrayed by Spanish merchants.

The faith and confession of San Romanus.

The pope's Antichrist.

The pope's crown and the friars' bellies not to be touched Francis brought into prison.

how to temper himself with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel, which he so greedily did receive, as one that could never be satisfied; and so remained he with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business, and the message that he was sent for, unto his fellow who came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books as he could get to read; and again, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Master Jacobus, and also by Master Maccabeus (who was there the same time), he was able in a short time to judge in the chief articles of our religion; insomuch that he took upon him to write letters unto his countrymen the merchants of Antwerp. In these letters first he gave thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy word which he had received: secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and gross blindness of his countrymen; desiring God to open their eyes and ears, to see and understand the word of their salvation: thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of God, which he had received: fourthly, he declareth to them his purpose in going also to Spain, intending there likewise to impart to his parents and other friends at Burgos, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Beside this, he addressed other letters also to Charles the emperor, opening to him the calamities and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof: especially that he would reform the miserable corruption of the church of Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a catechism, and divers other treatises, in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one month's space.

In the mean time the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters both his change of religion and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly a fair countenance of much good will, but secretly practising his destruction; for at the day appointed for his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, who took him coming down from his horse, rifled his books, and had him into a merchant's house near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again disputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran; and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn him also. At this disputation within the house, divers Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to show of what faith and religion he was; 'My faith,' said he, 'is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into blindness most miserable.' And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed.

This done, then the friars asked, whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, and being able to bind and loose? also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will and arbitrement? Hereunto Francis answered again, that he believed none of all this, but on the contrary did affirm that the pope was Antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour; and who moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory. The friars could suffer him meanly well to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis, seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards then, supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months; in which time of his imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would

change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own importunity; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Hereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of prison, which was about the time when the emperor was in his council at Ratisbon. A. D. 1541.

San Romanus, being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, unto a certain friend of his, named Francis Dryander (who also afterwards died a martyr), with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion; who gave him counsel not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a good conscience, and do much good. And as touching religion, his counsel was, that he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but so that he required notwithstanding in the same a sound and right judgment, conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might chance to him as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good and to edify, destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. 'It is God,' said he, 'that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such as rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling.'

This advertisement of Dryander, Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerably. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear; for, passing from Dryander he went to Ratisbon, and there, having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God; with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and so do therein, as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third time, unto the emperor, who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with a greater ardency the fourth time to speak to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who, incontinent, without all further hearing or advising in the cause, would have thrown him headlong into the river Danube, had not the emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By this commandment of the emperor he was reserved and detained with other malefactors in bonds, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa. Then Francis, with other captives following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies, but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmovable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these:

The Articles of San Romanus.

That life and salvation in the sight of God come to no man by his own strength, works, or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists do account available, 'ex opere operato,' for the remission of sin both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

That auricular confession with the numbering up of sins, also that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, be mere blasphemy against the living God.

Spanish History.

A. D.
1540
to
1560.

San Roman delivered out of prison. Francis Dryander.

Boldness of San Roman to the emperor.

The emperor's gentle answer.

San Roman brought into Spain.

Spanish History.

A. D.
1540
to
1560.

Barabbas delivered, and

Christ taken. The manner of Christians is not to worship wood. A great Spanish miracle.

Francis constant to the death.

His martyrdom.

The English ambassador banished the Spanish court.

Item, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid. After the inquisitors perceived that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for a heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed: he only for the gospel, being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, wherunto Francis was required to do homage; which he refused, answering, that the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and he was (said he) a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden cross. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeness of that people, that they did impute this to the divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped by a heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their swords did hew it in pieces, every man thinking himself happy who might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the friars were busy about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire to lift up his head toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing less in him, the adversaries, being frustrated of their expectation, willed him to be thrown in again; and so was he immediately dispatched.

After that the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummated, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell,¹ and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics, whosoever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless certain of the emperor's soldiers gathered of his ashes; also the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor; wherefore the soldiers, going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was upon the same sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable martyrdom of this blessed San Romanus.²

Roche, martyred at St. Lucar in Spain, A. D. 1545. Persecuted by an Inquisitor.

A carver burned for breaking his own image.

Apprentiz.

Roche was born in Brabant, his father dwelling in Antwerp. By his science he was a carver or graver of images; who as soon as he began first to taste the gospel, he fell from making such images as use to serve for idolatry in temples, and occupied himself in making seals, save only that he kept standing on his stall an image of the Virgin Mary artificially graven, for a sign of his occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain inquisitor passing by in the street, and beholding the carved image, asked of Roche what was the price thereof: which when Roche did set (not willing belike to sell it), the inquisitor bad him scarce half the money. The other answered again, that he could not so live of that bargain. But still the inquisitor urged him to take his offer; to whom Roche again: 'It shall be yours,' said he, 'if you will give me that which my labour and charges stand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yet had I rather break it in pieces.' 'Hey!' saith the inquisitor, 'break it: let me see thee.' Roche with that took up a chisel, and dashed it upon the face of the image, wherewith the nose or some other part of the face was blemished. The inquisitor, seeing that, cried out as he were mad, and commanded Roche forthwith into prison: to whom Roche cried again, that he might do in his own works what he listed; and if the workmanship of the image were not after his

(1) The inquisitors of Spain take Christ's office, to judge the quick and the dead.

(2) Ex Franc. Encena. Hispano, teste oculato. [Cispin.]

fantasy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Roche, but within three days after sentence was given upon him that he should be burned, and so was he committed to the executioners. As Roche was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there stood by, if any man of Flanders were there? It was answered, yea; and also that there were two ships already fraught, and appointed to sail to Flanders. 'Then,' said he, 'I would desire some of them to signify to my father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cause which you all have heard.' And thus, after his prayers made to God, this good man, being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this blessed end, A.D. 1545.

Spanish History.

A. D.
1540
to
1560.

The martyrdom of Roche.

And lest this so rare and strange example of cruelty should seem to lack credit, in the fifth book of the History of Pantaleon there is recorded that a certain Spaniard, coming to Antwerp, made diligent inquisition there amongst the image-makers, to find out the parents of this Roche, and signified to them what had happened to their son, as hath been by his said parents and friends declared; insomuch that it is also testified, that his father, at the hearing of the said message, for sorrow thereof, died shortly after.¹

Furthermore, besides these above-recited, and also before their time, I hear and understand by faithful relation, that divers others have been in the said country of Spain, whose hearts God had marvellously illuminated, and stirred up, both before, and also since the coming in of the inquisition, to stand in defence of his gospel, and who were also persecuted for the same, and are said to have died in prison; albeit their names as yet are unknown, for the stories of that country be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly some intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the inquisition of Spain, speaking something of the ceremonial pomp and also of the barbarous abuse and cruelty of the same.

Divers good men and martyrs of Spain died in prison.

The Form and Manner of the execrable Inquisition of Spain.

See Appendar.

The cruel and barbarous inquisition of Spain first began by king Ferdinand and Isabella his wife, and was instituted against the Jews, who, after their baptism, maintained again their own ceremonies: but now it is practised against them that be ever so little suspected to favour the verity of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great divines there, do hold that this holy and sacred inquisition cannot err, and that the holy fathers, the inquisitors, cannot be deceived.

The Spanish inquisition cannot err.

Three sorts of men most principally be in danger of these inquisitors: they that be greatly rich, for the spoil of their goods: they that be learned, because they will not have their misdealings and secret abuses to be espied and detected: they that begin to increase in honour and dignity, lest they, being in authority, should work them some shame or dishonour.

Three sorts of men chiefly in danger of the inquisition.

The abuse of this inquisition is most execrable. If any word shall pass out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, though no word be spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison, and then find out crimes against him at leisure, and in the mean time no man living is so hardy as once to

(1) Ex Pantal, lib. v.

*Spanish History.*A. D.
1510
to
1560.

open his mouth for him.¹ If the father speak one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favourer of heretics: neither is it permitted to any person to enter in to the prisoner; but there he is alone, in a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is; and is not suffered either to read or write, but there endureth in darkness palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miserable, wrestling with the assaults of death.

Miserable
handling
of God's
people in
Spain.

By this it may be esteemed what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and cogitations they sustain, who are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. Add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, and scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and showed forth in some higher place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there, some many years, and murdered by long torments, and whole days together treated much more cruelly, out of all comparison, than if they were in the hangman's hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the process, no person knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors, who are sworn to execute the torments. All this is done in secret, and (as great mysteries) pass not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these torments so many years endured in the prison, if any man shall be saved, it must be by guessing; for all the proceedings of the court of that execrable inquisition are open to no man, but all is done in hugger-mugger and in close corners, by ambages, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatsoever is done is secret, neither is the poor prisoner ever advertised of any thing. If he can guess who accused him, whereof and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his life: but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath long time endured infinite torments; and this is called their 'Penitence,' and so is he let go: and yet not so but that he is enjoined, before he pass the inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a garment of yellow colours for a note of public infamy to him and his whole race. And if he cannot guess right, showing to the inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof and wherefore (as is before touched), incontinent the horrible sentence of condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate heretic. And so yet the sentence is not executed by and by, but after he hath endured imprisonment in some heinous prison.

Divers
quartys
in Spain
since the
time of
Queen
Eliza-
beth.

And thus have ye heard the form of the Spanish inquisition. By the vigour and rigour of this inquisition many good true servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these latter years, since the royal and peaceable reign of this our queen Elizabeth; the names and stories of whom we will partly here recite, according as we have faithful records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The others which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will defer till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.

(1) Example of the same well appeareth in Roche above mentioend.

Spanish History.

THIRTY CHRISTIAN PRISONERS BROUGHT BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF THE INQUISITION.

A. D.
1559.*See Appendix.*

In the year 1559, May 21, in the town of Valladolid, where commonly the council of the inquisition is wont to be kept, the inquisitors had brought together many prisoners both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also the coffin of a certain noble woman, with her picture lying upon it, who had been dead long before, there to receive judgment and sentence. To the hearing of which sentence, they had ordained in the said town three mighty Theatrics or stages. Upon the first was placed the princess Juana, sister to king Philip, and chief regent of his realms; also prince Don Carlos, king Philip's son, with other princes and states of Spain. Upon another scaffold mounted the archbishop of Seville, prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors, with the council of the inquisition; also other bishops of the land, and the king's council with them. On the third sat the prisoners.¹

Three stages.

After that the princes and other spiritual judges and councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers and harnessed soldiers, with four heralds-at-arms also giving their attendance to the same, and the earl of Buendia bearing the naked sword, all the market-place where the stages were being environed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the world there standing, and gazing out of windows and houses to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition; then after all were brought forth, as a spectacle and triumph, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number (as is aforesaid) of thirty, clothed with their 'Sanbenito,' as the Spaniards do call it, which is a manner of vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning *cierges*² in their hands; also before them was borne a crucifix covered with black linen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreover they that were to receive the sentence of death had mitres of paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call 'Coracas.' Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one above another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that highest up of all sat doctor Cazalla, an Austin friar, a man notable and singular in knowledge of divinity, preacher sometime to Charles V. emperor, both in higher and lower Germany.

The ceremonial pomp of the Spanish inquisition

The Spanish mantle of St. Benet of the yellow colour, with red crosses both before and behind, called Sanbenito.

These things thus disposed, then followed a sermon made by a Dominic friar,³ which endured about an hour. After the sermon finished, the procurator-general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to minister a solemn oath unto them upon the crucifix painted in the mass-book; the tenor of which oath was this:

'Your majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same; but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour hereafter, to see all them to be executed, who shall swerve from the church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soever they be.'

The oath given to the princes by the inquisition of Spain.

(1) See the Appendix.

(3) This Dominic was Master Melchior Cano.

(2) 'Cierges;' wax-tapers.—ED.

*Spanish
History.*

And thus much for the first article of the oath ; the second was this, as followeth :

A. D.
1559.

Item, 'Your majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same ; and also to give your aid against all them, whosoever shall hold of the heresy of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.'

*See
Appendix.*

In this sort and manner, when all the princes and states, every one in their degree, had taken their oath, then the archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his benediction, saying, " God bless your highnesses, and give you long life !" This solemn pageant thus finished, at last the poor captives and prisoners were called out, the procurator-fiscal first beginning with Dr. Cazalla, and so proceeding to the other in order, as hereafter in this table followeth, with their names and their judgments described :

1. Dr. Cazalla, a Friar Augustine, burned. The Persecutors of Dr. Cazalla and the others that follow, were these : The Inquisitors of Spain ; the Procurator-fiscal ; the Archbishop of Seville, the Bishop of Palencia, and the Bishop of Orense.

Before the procurator-fiscal first was called forth doctor Austin Cazalla. This doctor was a friar of Austin's order, a priest, canon of Salamanca, and preacher sometime to the emperor Charles V., a man well accounted of for his learning ; who, for that he was thought to be as the standard-bearer to the gospellers (whom they call Lutherans) and preacher and doctor unto them, therefore being first called for, was brought from his stage nearer to the procurator-fiscal, there to hear the sentence of his condemnation ; which was, that he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his goods confiscate, to the profit and advancement of justice.

2. Francis de Bivero, Priest, and Brother to the aforesaid Cazalla, burned.

The second prisoner, and next to doctor Cazalla that was called, was Francis de Bivero his brother, a priest, and curate of Hormigos in the diocese of Palencia, who received likewise the same sentence of condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the abuse, of the sacred inquisition, as he before had done both within and without the prison with much boldness ; and also because he was much favoured of the people ; to the end therefore that no commotion should come by his speaking, his mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one word.

3. Donna Beatriz de Bivero, burned.

The third was Donna Beatriz, sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like sentence, as upon the brethren before.

4. Juan de Bivero.

The fourth was Juan de Bivero, brother to the same kindred, who was also judged a heretic, and condemned to perpetual prison ; and to bear his ' Sanbenito ' all his life long, which is an habiliment of dishonour ; and all his goods to be confiscate.

5. Donna Constance de Bivero, Sister to the same aforesaid.

Donna Constance de Bivero was the fifth, sister to the others before specified,

widow of Hernand Ortiz, dwelling sometime at Valladolid, who was also condemned with the like sentence with her brother Juan de Bivero.

*Spanish
History.*

A. D.
1559.

6. The Coffin with the Dead Corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the Mother of these aforesaid, burned.

The sixth thunderbolt of condemnation was thundered out against a poor coffin, with the dead corpse of dame Leonore de Bivero, mother to these above-named, being herself the sixth, and being already dead long before at Valladolid. Above her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corpse to be burned for a heretic; and yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture did hold, either with or against the church of Rome. This good mother,¹ while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of the saints in her house for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corpse and image also being brought before the fiscal, was condemned likewise (as the mother with her seven children in the Book of Maccabees) to be burned for a Lutheran heretic, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of the superior powers, and also her house utterly to be rased and cast down to the ground; and for a memorial of the same, a marble stone was appointed to be set up in place of the said house whereon the said cause of her burning should be engraved.

*See
Appendix.*

7. Master Alphonso Perez, Priest, of Palencia, burned.

In the seventh place was condemned Master Alphonzo Perez, a priest of Palencia, first to be degraded, and after to be burned as a heretic, and all his goods likewise confiscate and seized, to the behoof of the superiority.

When these seven aforesaid had received their sentence, then the bishop of Palencia, in his Pontificalibus, caused Dr. Cazalla, Francis his brother, and Alphonso Perez, to be apparelled and revested in priestly vesture. Which done, he took from them first the chalice out of their hands, and so all their other trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnity. And thus they, being degraded, and all their priestly unctions taken from their fingers, also their lips and their crowns rased, so were their yellow habits of Sanbenito put over their shoulders again, with their mitres also of paper upon their heads. This done, Dr. Cazalla began to speak, praying the princes and the lords to give him audience: but that being not granted unto him, he was rudely repulsed, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, that his faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure and clear word of God; for the which also he was prest and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as a heretic: besides many other worthy sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, while the judges were busy in their sentences against the residue of the martyrs.

The de-
gradation
of Dr. Ca-
zalla,
Francis
his bro-
ther, and
Alphonso

Dr. Ca-
zalla not
suffered
to speak.

8. Don Pedro Sarmiento de Roxas, Knight of the Order of Alcantara.

The eighth that was brought before the aforesaid fiscal was Don Pedro Sarmiento de Roxas, knight of the order of Alcantara, dwelling at Palencia, and son of the first Marquis de Poza, who was pronounced a heretic, and judged to bear the mark and habit of dishonour all his life, and condemned to perpetual prison, with the loss of his order and of all his goods; to whom moreover it was enjoined, never to wear any more gold, silver, pearls, or any precious stone about him.

9. Donna Mencia, Wife of the said Don Peter.

Ninthly, after him was called Donna Mencia de Figueroa, wife of the aforesaid Don Peter Sarmiento; who likewise being proclaimed for a heretic, was condemned to the same punishment as her husband was.

(1) This good mother, with her children, burned by Antichrist, resembled the mother with her seven children burned in the Second Book of Maccabees, chap. vii. 1.

*Spanish
History.*

10. Don Louis de Roxas, Son and Heir of the Marquis de Poza.

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1559.

Next after her was called and brought forth Don Louis de Roxas, son and heir of the marquis de Poza; who being also declared a heretic, for the great suit and labour that was made for him, was condemned only to bear his Sanbenito unto the town-house, and his goods to be confiscate.

11. Donna Anne Henriques.

*See
Appendix.*

After whom, eleventh in order, followed Donna Anne Henriques, daughter of the Marquis d'Alcanizes, and grand-daughter by her mother's side to the aforementioned first Marquis de Poza, and wife to the lord Alphonso de Fonseca Mexia: who in like sort was declared a heretic, and condemned to bear her Sanbenito to the town-house, and her goods to be confiscate.

12. Christobal de Ocampo, burned.

Christobal de Ocampo, citizen of Zamora, was the twelfth, who, after he was declared a heretic, was judged to be burned, and his goods to be seized.

13. Christobal de Padilla, burned.

The like sentence was also given upon Christobal de Padilla, citizen of Zamora.

14. Anthony de Herezuelo, burned.

The fourteenth was the licentiate Anthony de Herezuelo, a lawyer dwelling at Toro; who, after he was proclaimed heretic and his goods confiscate, was condemned to be burned; and moreover had his mouth stopped, for that he should not speak and make confession of his faith unto the people.

15. Katharine Romain, burned.

Then was called from her seat, fifteenth in order, Katharine Romain, dwelling in Pedrosa; who, receiving the like sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her goods confiscate.

16. Hernand de Herrera, burned.

The sixteenth was the licentiate Hernand de Herrera, born in Pagnaranda, judge of the court against smugglers at Logrono, whom they condemned to be burned alive, and all his goods likewise confiscate.

17. Katharine de Ortega, burned.

After him succeeded in the next sentence of martyrdom Katharine d'Ortega, dwelling in Valladolid, daughter of Hernand Diaz, fiscal of the royal court of Castile, and widow of captain Loaisa, pronounced with the other to be a heretic; and forso much as she was reckoned to be a schoolmistress to the rest, she was judged to be burned, and her goods confiscate.

18. Isabel d'Estrada, 19. Jane Blasquez, burned.

Eighteenth and nineteenth in order, came Isabel d'Estrada, and Jane Blasquez, both dwelling in Pedrosa; who likewise were condemned to be burned, and all their goods confiscate.

20. Juan Garcia, a Goldsmith, burned.

A goldsmith, named Juan Garcia of Valladolid, for entertaining assemblies in his house, and for watching with them, received also with them the like sentence, to lose both life and goods for the gospel's sake.

21. A Jew, burned.

With these also was joined a Portuguese, named Gonzales Bacz, of Lisbon,

who was born a Jew, afterward baptized, and then returned again to his Judaism; who, for more shame to the other, was put also in the same tale and number (as the two thieves were joined with Christ); and was also with them condemned to be burned, and his goods seized.

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22. Donna Juana Silva de Ribera.

After these was called Donna Juana Silva de Ribera, wife to Juan de Bivero, brother to Dr. Cazalla, to whom it was enjoined to bear a mantle all her life, for penance and token of her trespass, and all her goods confiscate.

*See
App. ad. x.*

23. Leonore de Cisneros, Wife of Herezuelo.

In like manner was called for Leonore de Cisneros, wife of the aforesaid Anthony Herezuelo, licentiate in the law.

24. Marina de Sajavedra.

Item, Marina de Sajavedra, wife of Juan Cisneros de Soto.

25. Daniel de la Quadra.

Item, Daniel de la Quadra, born at Pedrosa: all which three persons were pronounced heretics, and condemned to do penance in perpetual prison, with their mantles, and confiscation of all their goods.

26. Donna Maria de Roxas.

Donna Maria de Roxas, sister of Elvira de Roxas, the marchioness d'Alcañizes, and daughter of the first marquis de Poza, because she was in a cloister, and was come of a good house, was therefore judged to bear her mantle to the town-house, and all her goods confiscate.

27. Anthony Dominick.

Anthony Dominick de Pedrosa, being then brought out, was judged and condemned to three years' penance in prison for his heresy, clothed with the mantle of yellow, and all his goods confiscate.

28. Anthony Wasor, an Englishman.

Last of all was produced Anthony Wasor, who for that he was an Englishman he was judged to bear his mantle of yellow to the town-house in penance for his crime, and incontinent was thrust into a cloister for one year, to the intent he might there be instructed in the Catholic ordinances of the church of Rome, as they be called.

After these sentences being thus pronounced, they that were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon the same, were committed to the secular magistrate and their executioners, who were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an ass, their faces turned backward, and led with a great garrison of armed soldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the gate of the town, called Del Campo.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fastened according to the fashion of Spain, they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to ashes, save only Anthony Herezuelo, who, forsomuch as he had both within and without the prison vehemently detested the pope's spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to

Fourteen
martyrs
in Spain
burned at
once.

*Italian History*A. D.
1559.

death as sheep to the shambles; who not only most christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty-seven other prisoners, at the said town of Valladolid, reserved to another tragedy and spectacle of that bloody inquisition.¹

See Appendix.

Furthermore, whereas the story of the said inquisition, being set out in the French tongue, doth reckon the number of the martyrs above-mentioned to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more than eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, that either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said company were returned back without judgment into the prison again.

And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the church of Spain in their inquisition against the Lutherans; that is, against the true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other countries also, besides Spain, subject unto the same inquisition, as Naples and Sicily; in which kingdom of Sicily, I hear it credibly reported, that every third year are brought forth to judgment and execution a certain number, after the like sort of christian martyrs; sometimes twelve, sometimes six; sometimes more, sometimes less. Among them there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, A. D. 1559, who, coming from Geneva to Sicily, upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hands on; and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said that he would feel the fire. And so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, who, being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify what he then saw.

A christian martyr burned in Sicily.

Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious table, to comprehend also such martyrs as suffered for the verity and true testimony of the gospel, in the places and countries of Italy; which table consequently here next ensueth.

A TABLE OF SUCH MARTYRS AS SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL IN ITALY.

The Italian Martyrs.

Alenda.

N. Eneenas, otherwise called Dryander, martyred at Rome, A. D. 1546. Persecuted by certain Popish Spaniards at Rome.

This Eneenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, born at Burgos, was brother to Franciscus Eneenas, the learned man so oft before mentioned; and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of religion to Diazius,² the godly martyr above recorded. He was sent by his superstitious parents, being young, unto Rome; who there, after long continuance, growing up in age and knowledge,

(1) Ex quin. parte Mart. Gall. Impress. p. 474. [The same enumeration appears in the 6th Livre, folio 538, of the 'Histoire des vray Tesmoins;' edit. 1570; and in the same work under the title 'Histoire des Martyrs persecutez. See the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) See p. 357 of this vol.—Ed.

but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, after he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken by certain of his own countrymen, and some of his own household friends at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his brother Francis Encenas, in Germany. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his countrymen, was brought before the cardinals, and there committed strait to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which, in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and constantly defended; so that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. The cardinals first, before the sentence of death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it (after the manner of the Spaniards), the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Saubenit's cloth, made in form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red cross. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful servant and witness of Christ was judged and condemned to the fire; where he, in the sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the apostolic see pretended, gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.¹

Italian History.

A. D.
1516
to
1560

And forasmuch as mention hath been made both in this story, and many others before, of Francis Encenas his brother, here is not to be pretermitted, how the said Francis, being a man of notable learning as ever was any in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered unto the emperor Charles V. the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For this he was cast into prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, on the 1st of February, A. D. 1545, at eight o'clock, after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to slift for himself; and so, issuing out of the prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, he escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

See Appendix.

The imprisonment and escape of Francis Encenas.

Fanino, martyred at Ferrara, A. D. 1550. Persecuted by Pope Julius III.

Fanino, born at Faenza, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue (having no perfect skill in the Latin), was converted from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word; wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind persuaded, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his verity, ought in no case to bide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the pope's clients espied, apprehended, and committed to prison. Albeit he remained not long in prison, for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; insomuch that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of

Fanino overcome by his wife and brethren.

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. vi., ex Crisp. et alifis.

*Italian History.*A. D.
1516
to
1560.Again
imprison-
ed

Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Whereupon, being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country of Romagna, publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring it so fell out that he was apprehended again, A. D. 1547, in a place called Bagnacavallo, where also he was condemned to be burned: but he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, A. D. 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, A. D. 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good men came to visit him, for which the pope commanded him to be inclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominic friars might have got him into their house, as they went about. Thus Fanino, removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where were divers great lords, captains, and noble personages there committed, for stirring up commotions and factions (as the country of Italy is full of such), who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council. To whom Fanino again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the doctrine which he professed, was no humour or opinion of man's brain, but the pure verity of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored: which verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fantasies of men. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage; so likewise as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence or authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his gospel, which he both preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and accounted him for a holy person: to whom he proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins were forgiven: like as all their sins also should be remitted to them through their faith in Christ only, they believing his gospel.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Fanino, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this Fanino was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor family; to whom he answered again, that his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny Him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein, for his end (he said) he knew to draw near: and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died pope Paul III., and after him succeeded Julius III., who then sent letters and commandment that Fanino should be executed; whereof when one of the magistrates' officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long

The most
answer of
Fanino
to his
fellow-
prisoners.Prisoners
converted
by Fani-
no.Pope Ju-
lius III.

sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, in case he would change his opinion, he should save both this life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little children and his wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. Fanino answered, that he had left them with an overseer, who would see unto them sufficiently: and being asked who he was? 'The Lord Jesus Christ,' said he, 'a faithful keeper, and a conserver of all that is committed to him.' After that the messenger was thus departed from Fanino, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. Fanino, in all ways, his words, his gestures, and his countenance, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners and tranquillity of mind, that they that before were extreme against him, thinking him rather to have a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, that divers of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes then came to him, and said, that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he, having but small skill in the Latin, yet recited so many and sundry places of the Scripture without book, and that so truly and promptly, as though he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocund and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? 'Christ,' said he, 'sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts, with hell and death, due unto us; by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all.' Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer, who, after his prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake, where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled of the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his body in the same place was burned. At the burning thereof such a fragrant and odoriferous scent came to all them there present, and so struck their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less than his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

The custom of that city is, that the bones and ashes which be left, should be carried out of the city; but neither the magistrate, nor the bishop, nor his great vicar or chancellor, nor any divine else, would take any charge thereof, every man transferring that burden from themselves, to him who was the cause of his death. Hereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all they had of that good and blessed man. At last, people took his burned bones, with the cinders, and carried them out of the street of the city.¹

Dominicus de Basana, martyred at Placenza, A. D. 1550.²

The same year that the aforesaid Fanino suffered in Ferrara, Dominicus also suffered in the city of Placenza. This Dominicus was a citizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor in Germany, where he received the first taste of Christ's gospel, wherein he increased more and more by conferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in a short time he was able to instruct many; and so he did, working and travelling in the church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeding to Placenza, preached there likewise unto the people, of true confession, of purgatory, and of pardons. Furthermore, the next day he treated of true faith and good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market-

(1) Ex Hen. Pantal. lib. vii. [p. 200.] Ex [Acta Martyrum, qui hoc sæculo in Gallia, Germania, Anglia, Flandria, Italia, constans dederunt nomen Evangelio; Genevæ. Apud] Joh. Crispinum, [1:56] p. 363.—Ed.

(2) The name of the persecutor in the story appeareth not.

*Italian
History.*

A. D.
1546
to
1560.

Christ
preferred
before
wife and
children.

Life re-
fused.

How
Christ
feared
death
himself,
and yet
hath he
taken
away the
fear of
death
from
others.

Anti-
christ
cannot
abide to
be de-
tected.

*Italian History.*A. D.
1516
to
1560.

The martyrdom of Dominicus de Basana.

place, and deliver himself to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, that he did much marvel that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of exercise. From thence he was led to the bishop's chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function? He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, who so accepted him, as worthy to glorify his name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison, where after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer; but still he remained constant in his doctrine: whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market-place, where he had preached, and there was hanged; who, most heartily praying for his enemies, so finished his days in this miserable wretched world.¹

Galcazius Treccius, at the City of Lodi, called Laus Pompeia, in Italy,
A. D. 1551. Accused by the Bishop of St. Angelo and his Priests.

Injurious and fraudulent dealing of the papists.

St. Angelo, is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, within Lombardy, not far from the city called Lodi, belonging also to the same diocese. In this fort of St. Angelo was a house of Augustine friars, unto whom used much to resort a certain friar of the same order, dwelling at Pavia, named Mainard, a man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Mainard, divers not only of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the poor, who, first by conference with the friars, and also with his brother-in-law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more thoroughly by Cælius Secundus Curio, who, then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to the said place of St. Angelo. In process of time, as this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal in setting forward the wholesome word of God's grace, as a light shining in darkness he could not so lie hid, but at last, A. D. 1551, certain were sent from the beforenamed city of Lodi, to lay hands upon him, who brought him to the bishop's palæe; where he was kept in bands, having under him only a pad of straw. Although his wife sent unto him a good feather-bed with sheets to lie in, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

Galeazius relenteth and repenteth.

A sentence of a martyr to be marked.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his kinsfolk and friends, the other cold gospellers laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance and bewailing of his fact, that he became afterwards (according to the example of Peter, and St. Cyprian, and others) doublewise more valiant in defence of Christ's quarrel; neither did he ever desire any thing more than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that which he had lost before by denial; affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart, than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the truth; and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped afterwards from the same by dissimulation: declaring, moreover, to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with testimony of the verity, than life with the least denial of truth, and loss of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius, mourning for his fall in prison, after he heard of his friends that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. vii.

glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort; and when they would have left with him a book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his disciples: also what happened both to Christ and himself, and to his apostles, for confessing the word of truth.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they who talked with him, continued all the day without meat or drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion again to recover himself from his fall, it followed in short time that the inquisitors and priests repaired to him again in the prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them; and required him so to do. Galeazius, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former doctrine, with much more boldness of spirit confessing Christ, as he did before, and detested images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and verity: also that there be no more mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently, by his suffering, hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they that depart hence in this faith, are certain of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation, with such other like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the pope's proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled; who, at last, perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Italian History.

1546
to
1560.

Galeazius returneth to his former confession of truth.

Committed to the secular power.

Thus Galeazius, being brought early in the morning out of prison to the market-place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing stock for all men to look upon. In the mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. If he passed not for his life, nor for his country where he should live, nor for his goods and possessions, which should be confiscated, yet he should somewhat respect his wife whom he loved so well, and his young children; at least he should consider his own soul. This counsel gave those, who more esteemed the commodities of this present life, than any true soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr: wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, saving only these words heard in the middle of the flame, 'Lord Jesu!' This was A. D. 1551, November 24.

His death.

Touching the story of this blessed martyr, this by the way is to be given for a memorandum, that a little before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should go to his burning. He, hearing thereof, sent word to both the parties to agree, for he himself, of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note, moreover, here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captivity, certain of the papists, perceiving that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, under colour to release her husband, that she should lay out a sum of money to be sent to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, called Ferrarus Gonzaga, to the end that she should treat both with her husband, and with the senate, for Galeazius's life, which money when they had thus juggled unto their hands, Galeazius notwithstanding was burned; and so was the silly woman robbed and defeated, both of her husband, and also of her money.¹

D. Johannes Mollius, a Grey Friar; also a certain Weaver of Perugia; martyred at Rome, A. D. 1553. Persecuted by the following parties: Cornelius, a Professor of Bologna; Cardinal Campeius, and Cardinal del Campo: also by Bonaventure, General of the Order; six Cardinals; and Pope Julius III.

See Appendix.

Johannes Mollius Montileinus, being but twelve years old, with his brother Augustine, was set by his parents in the house of the Grey Friars, where he in

(1) E: Cælio.

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1533.]Laurentius
Spatha,
general
of the
Grey
Friars.

short time, having a fresh wit, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal sciences. So growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that he was sent to Ferrara to study, where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned by Vigerius, general of that order, to be doctor, and then reader in divinity; who then, with his sophistry, opposed himself as an utter enemy against the gospel. From thence he went to Brescia, and the next year following to Milan, where he read or professed openly. Again, from thence he was taken by Franciscus Sfortia, and brought to the university of Pavia, there openly to profess philosophy, where he remained four years. After that he was called to the university of Bologna, by Laurentius Spatha, general of the order, where he was occupied in reading the books of Aristotle 'De Anima.' In the mean time God wrought in his soul such light of his word and of true religion, that he, waxing weary of professing philosophy, began secretly to expound the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. As the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his pen and ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betimes to take up the first places, where they might best hear; which was about A. D. 1538. There was the same time, at Bologna, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler, who, envying the doings of Johannes, took upon him, at the request of cardinal Campeius, to expound the said epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of the said Johannes, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Contrary, Johannes extolled and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect. For the auditors who first came unto him, began by little to fall from him; and the concourse of the other man's auditors more and more increased.

When Cornelius perceived this, he persuaded Campeius, that unless he provided that man to be dispatched, the estimation of the church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised, that Cornelius and Johannes should come to open disputation; which disputation endured till three o'clock after midnight. At length when neither part could agree, Johannes was bid to return home to his house, who, as he was come down to the lower steps where the place was straitest, so that his friends could not come to rescue him (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills), was there taken and laid fast in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself; also Campeius the cardinal, and the bishop there, were both contemned by the students. The next day the bishop of Bologna sent his chancellor to Johannes in the prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause not being heard.

In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha above-mentioned, being general of that order, in most speedy wise posted up to Rome, and there so practised with the cardinal Stæ. Crucis, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Grey Friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to Campeius, that he should deliver the said John out of prison; so that he, notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus, on the thirtieth day of his imprisonment, he was delivered; who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollius, Cornelius was also cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by the cardinal Stæ. Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollius gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, that the gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before pope Paul III., humbly he desired, that the cause being so weighty might come in public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs; which he diligently performed, entreating of original sin, justification by faith, free-will, purgatory, and other such like; proving the said articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon

Mollius
taken, and
imprisoned
by cardinal
Campeius.Delivered
out of
prison by
means of
Spatha.Appear-
eth before
the pope.

this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to have the cause in hearing; who disputed with him three days, and could not refute what he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus: that it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see; wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the epistles of St. Paul,¹ and so return again safe to Bologna, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bologna, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campeius, being more offended than before, obtained of the pope, that the general of the order should remove the said John Mollius from Bologna, and place him somewhere else. So Mollius from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so departing from thence, he went wandering in Italy, from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when cardinal Campeius was dead, he was called again unto Bologna, by a good abbot named De Grassis, A. D. 1543,² where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's epistles after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Whereupon, by the means of cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventure the general of the order, he was apprehended the second time in August, and brought to Faenza, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison, where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his indurance, he wrote a commentary upon the books of Moses; but that labour, by the malignity of the adversaries, was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the earl of Belcastro, and of the aforesaid good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the abbot of St. Vitalis, and there again taught the gospel of Christ as before: and whensoever he spake of the name of Jesu, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, his sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority, who, being stirred up of God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison; of whom, one of the said sureties took the said Mollius home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the church of Rome: whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to Rome, where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give over his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, was brought, with certain other men (who were also apprehended for religion), into the temple of St. Mary, called 'De Minerva,' on the fifth day of September, A. D. 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge, before whom preached a Dominic friar, who, cruelly inveighing against the poor prisoners, incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands, of whom some for fear of death revolted: but this doctor Mollius, with a weaver of Perugia, remained constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but Antichrist, and that his sectaries do figure the whore of Babylon. Moreover, he cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from him: whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the weaver to

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[1538.]Mollius
in great
danger at
Naples.Appre-
hended
again for
reading
St. Paul's
Epistles.Again
deli-
vered.His fer-
vent zeal.Mollius
the
fourth
time im-
prisoned.Constancy of
Mollius,
and of the
weaver.
Mollius
cited the
pope to the
tribunal
seat of
Christ.

(1) The pope's church cannot abide St. Paul's epistles. Paul's epistles must give place to philosophy.

(2) Pope Paul III. died A. D. 1549.—E. D.

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the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the camp or field, called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then, willing the hangman to execute his office likewise upon him, began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other Saviours but Christ alone; for he only is the mediator between God and man. And so was he also hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterwards laid in the fire and burned. The people having divers judgments upon him, some said he died a heretic, some said he was a good man.¹

Two Monks of the House of St. Austin in Rome, martyred, A. D. 1554, having been impeached by the Senate of Milan.

Furthermore, in the same city of Rome, and about the same time, in the monastery of St. Austin, were found two monks in their cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals, as witnesseth Manlius. Such was the cruelty then, of the malignant adversaries.²

Francis Gamba, martyred at Como. Persecuted in the Diocese, and by the Senate, of Milan, A. D. 1554.

Francis Gamba, born in the city of Brescia, in Lombardy, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva, to confer about certain necessary affairs with them that were wise and learned in that church, which was about the time when the Lord's supper was administered there at Pentecost; who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterwards, on his return home, as he was passing over the lake of Como, he was taken and brought to Como, and there committed to ward. During the time of his imprisonment, divers and sundry, as well nobles as others, with doctors also, especially priests and monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most fair promises, to reduce him from his opinions, which seemed to some but fantasies coming of some humour. To some they seemed uncatholic or heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the opinions which he defended, not to be any vain speculations or imaginary fantasies of man's dotting brain, but the pure verity of God, and the evident doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his word, necessary for all men to believe, and also to maintain unto death: and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found false to Christ and his word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to Christ's gospel, to the effusion of his blood.

Thus when he could in no wise be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate of Milan, that he should be executed with death; which execution as they of Como were about to prepare, in the meanwhile came other letters from Geneva, written by the emperor's ambassador and other nobles of Milan, by which his death was delayed for a time, till at length other letters were sent again from the senate of Milan, requiring execution of the sentence. Nevertheless, through intercession of his friends, one week's respite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the pope's church; that is to say, lost from God. Thus he, being mightily and long, both assailed by friends, and by enemies terrified, yet by no persuasions would be expugned, but gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this world and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son; and so went he cheerfully unto his death. Then came certain Franciscan friars to him to hear his confession, which he refused. Also they brought in their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep him from desperation at the feeling of the fire; but his mind, he said, was so replenished with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their cross nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of those heavenly joys above which God hath prepared for his, because he should speak no more to the people, his tongue was bored through; and so being immediately tied to the stake, there he was strangled till he was dead; every man there, who saw his constancy, giving testimony, that he died a good man.³

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. ix. [A. D. 1553, p. 263.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Johan. Man. in dictis Phil. Melanet: [apud Pantal. 265.—Ed.]

(3) Ex Epist. enju-d. nobilis Camensis apud Pant. lib. x. et Calium.

The
blind
judgment
of the
world, in
God's
matters.

Patience
in perse-
cution.

Gamba's
tongue
bored
through.

Pomponius Algerius, at Rome. Persecuted by Pope Paul IV., and the Magistrates of Venice, A. D. 1555. *Italian History.*

Pomponius Algerius, born in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua, where he, not being able to conceal and keep close the verity of Christ's gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace, ceased not both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For this he was accused of heresy to pope Paul IV., who, sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice, caused him to be apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice, where he was long detained in prison and bonds, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which the Venetians soon accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were essayed to remove this virtuous and blessed young man from his sentence: but when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

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Being in prison at Venice, he wrote an epistle to the afflicted saints; which, for the notable sweetness and most wonderful consolation contained in the same, in showing forth the mighty operation of God's holy power working in his afflicted saints that suffer for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principal monument amongst all other martyrs' letters, not only with the other letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they that be, or shall be hereafter, in affliction, may take consolation; and also they that yet follow the trade of this present world, in comparing the joys and commodities thereof with these joys here expressed, may learn and consider with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their souls. The copy of the letter, first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

A Comfortable Letter of Pomponius Algerius, an Italian martyr.¹

To his most dearly beloved brethren and fellow-servants in Christ, who are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion; grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour!

To mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectations and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him. I shall utter that which no man will believe when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe what I shall say? or what man will ever think in the deep dark dungeon to find a paradise of pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquillity and hope of life? in a cave infernal, to be found joy of soul? and where other men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where others do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my sweet brethren! doth minister unto me. Behold, he that was once far from me, now is present with me; whom once I could scarcely feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness; he ministereth strength and courage; he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. O how

(1) For the original see Pantaleo, pp. 328—332.—Ed.

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good is the Lord, who suffereth not his servants to be tempted above their strength! O how easy and sweet is his yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn, ye wellbeloved! how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, who visiteth his servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Will the blind and incredulous world, think you, believe this? or rather will it not say thus: 'No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable; the rebukes and frowning faces of men, how wilt thou suffer? Dost thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this life? dost thou forget the solace of thy sciences, and fruit of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travails, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? Oh what a fool art thou, who for one word speaking mayest salve all this, and wilt not! What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be entreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, such prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages,' &c.

But now to answer: Let this blind world hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? and likewise what snow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharp, or crooked, than this present life which here we lead? what thing more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me, What country can we have more sweet than the heavenly country above? what treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our kinsmen, but they that hear the word of God? Where be greater riches, or dignities more honourable, than in heaven? And as touching the sciences, let this foolish world consider, be they not ordained to learn to know God, whom unless we do know, all our labours, our night watchings, our studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose; all is but labour lost.

Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me, What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men? and how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the way, verity, and life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The sultry heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of weather? or what eareth he for the pinching frost, who burneth with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew; here floweth the pleasant nectar; here runneth the sweet milk; here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there be any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some be overthrown, some be victors; some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the mount Sion: here I am already in heaven itself; here standeth first Christ Jesus in the front. About him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, and apostles, and all the servants of God: of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, others are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example: for here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder and quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot cauldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon: it would ask a long time if I should recite all!

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To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate; yet notwithstanding, all living, and all safe. One plaster, one salve cureth all their wounds: which also gives to them strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishs and small afflictions with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Neither do I fear mine adversaries who here persecute me and oppress me: for He that dwelleth in the heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear not thousands of people who compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder; for he only is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's cause make us jocund; for so it is written, 'If ye be rebuked and scorned for the name of Christ, happy be you; for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.' [1 Pet. iv.] Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes which are laid upon us redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firm to me; and therefore I travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offereth itself unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entered already on my journey, where my house standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, honours never failing. As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapours, and ruinous walls. Briefly, all is but very vanity of vanities, where hope and the substance of eternity to come are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me: and now do the same begin to work and to bring forth fruits in me. I have travailed hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travails begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true countenance of God is sealed upon me; the Lord hath given mirth in my heart; and therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest [Psalm iv.]. And who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our years be cut off? What man can now cavil that these our labours are lost, who have followed and found out the Lord and Maker of this world, and who have changed death for life? My portion is the Lord, saith my soul, and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebel, who blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, 'The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you.' Wherefore let the doltish world with its blind worldlings (who in the bright sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as beetles) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it: to whom thus we answer again with the holy apostle, 'Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ. We are slain all the day long; we are made like sheep ordained to the shambles' [Rom. viii.]. Thus do we resemble Christ our head, who said, that the disciple cannot be above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him [Luke ix.]. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren and fellow-servants! and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your patience be perfect on all parts; for so is it foreshowed us before, and is written, that they that shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore afflictions and death be as tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let us then be glad and sing to the Lord, when we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death: for better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it so be the will of the Lord, than doing evil [1 Pet. iii.]. We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity did quell and murder; and now we bless and magnify them that then suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself out of these troubles, when with

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1560.

one word I may. Oh the blindness of man! who seeth not the sun shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words. Consider therefore what he saith, 'You are the light of the world. A city builded on the hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house.' And in another place he saith, 'You shall be led before kings and rulers; fear ye not them that kill the body, but Him which killeth both body and soul.' 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father.' Wherefore seeing the words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority will this wise councillor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men; for it is written, 'Blessed is the man that hath not gone in the ways of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsels of the ungodly, and hath not sat in the chair of pestilence' [Psalm i.]. God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set more by my life, than by my soul; neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here present. Oh how foolishly speaketh he who argueth me of foolishness!

Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or unseeming for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the apostles, that we ought to obey God before men. After that we have served and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next to obey the potestates of this world; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord: they are just; but yet Christ, the seat of justice, is lacking in them: they are wise; but where is in them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? they are called virtuous; but yet I wish them more absolute in christian charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodness and grace: they are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of glory, who is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. 'Understand ye kings, and learn you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Hearken to doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness. Why fret you, why fume you, O gentiles? O you people! why cast you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why conspire you so together against Christ, and against his Holy One' [Psalm ii.]. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts: for this you must needs confess, that they that persecute the Lord's servants, do persecute the Lord himself: for so he saith himself: 'Whosoever men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to myself.'

And now let this carnal politic councillor and disputer of this world tell, wherein have they to blame me, if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not ourselves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he himself doth fore-witness, saying, 'When ye shall be brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you' [Matt. x.] Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I, that could resist his will? If any shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, who did that I purposed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them show it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord; and then who be they that shall accuse me? a people of prudence? or who shall condemn me? just judges? And though they so do, yet nevertheless the word shall not be frustrated, neither shall the gospel be foolish, or therefore decay; but rather the kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Israelites, and shall pass the sooner unto the elect of Christ Jesus: and they

who shall so do, shall prove the grievous judgment of God; neither shall they escape without punishment, that be persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved! lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God. He showed unto us of late an image of his plague, which was to our correction: and if we shall not receive him, he will draw out his sword, and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that shall rise against Christ.

These things have I written to your comfort. Dear brethren! pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with a holy kiss, my good masters, Sylvius, Pergula, Justus; also Fidel Roche, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although being absent. Item, the lord Syndic of the university, and all other, whose names be written in the book of life. Farewell, all my fellow-servants of God! fare ye well in the Lord, and pray for me continually.

From the delectable orchard of the Leonine prison, the 12th of the Calends of August, A.D. 1555.

It is written of one Cleombrotus, that when he had read the book of Plato 'De Immortalitate Animæ,' he was so moved and persuaded therewith, that he cast himself down headlong from a high wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those heathen philosophers, having no word of God, nor promise of any resurrection and life to come, could so soon be persuaded by reading the works of Plato, to condemn this world and life here present; how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many evidences and promises of God's most perfect word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable peregrination; and that for a double respect, not only in seeing, reading, and understanding so many examples of the miseries of this wretched world; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly joys and consolations of the other world, remaining for us hereafter in the life to come; for a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this present letter of Algerius above-prefixed, for the taste of the same, and a lively testimony for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our table of Italian martyrs.

[Cicero, Quæst. Tusc. l. 34.]

Johannes Aloysius, martyred at Rome, and Jacobus Bovellus at Messina. Persecuted by Pope Pius IV., A. D. 1559.

Of Johannes Aloysius, we find mention made in a letter of Simon Florellus; which Aloysius was sent down from Geneva to the parts of Calabria, there to be their minister; who afterwards was sent for up to Rome, and there suffered.

Jacobus Bovellus was likewise sent from Geneva to the said parts of Calabria, with Aloysius; who also, being sent for up to Rome, was sent down to the city of Messina, and there was martyred, A. D. 1559.¹

Divers that suffered in the Kingdom of Naples, A. D. 1560.

After pope Julius III. came Marcellus II. After him succeeded pope Paul IV. This Paul being dead, followed pope Pius IV., who, being advanced to that room, began hot persecution in all the territories of the church of Rome against them that were suspected for Lutherans; whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many noble men, with their wives and others, are reported there to be slain.²

Pope Pius IV.

(1) Ex Epist. D. Simonis Florelli. Vide Pantal. lib. xi. i. p. 337.

(2) Ibid.

*Italian History.***Eighty-eight Martyrs in one Day, with one butcherly Knife, slain like Sheep.**A. D.
1530
to
1547.SIXTEEN HUNDRED OTHERS ALSO, CONDEMNED IN CALABRIA,
A. D. 1560.

In Calabria, likewise, at the same time, suffered a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, put together in one house, to the number of eighty-eight persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife were all killed in order: a spectacle most tragical for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore, for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit, to believe what is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florellus, preacher of God's word in the city of Chiavenna, among the Rhetians, unto a certain friend of his named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and doctor of physic in the university of Basil. This Gratalorus translated the same into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th book of Pantaleon, p. 337, the English whereof is as followeth.

The end of a certain Letter of Simon Florellus, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable Slaughter of Eighty-eight Christian Saints in the parts of Calabria.

News out
of Italy,
A. D. 1560.

As concerning news I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the city of Cosenza, the one called St. Sisto, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto; the other called la Gardia, situate upon the sea-coast, and twelve miles from St. Sisto: the which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, or, as some write from the city of Rome, no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter, was servant to Aseanio Carraccioli. The country and people there I well know, which take their first original of the Waldenses, and are of good doctrine and still better life; for before my departure from Geneva, at their request, we sent them two schoolmasters and two preachers. The last year the two preachers were martyred; the one at Rome, named Giovanni Ludovico Pascali, a citizen of Coni; the other at Messina, named James Bovell; both of Piedmont. This year the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit.

Pascali
and Bo-
vell,
preachers
and mar-
tyrs.

Now followeth the copy of the letter sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Cosenza, bearing date the 11th of June, 1560. The writer of this letter, as ye may perceive, was one of them that call themselves Catholics, and followers of the pope. The words of the letter be these, as here follow.

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter sent from Montalto in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain Friend of his in Rome, containing News of the Persecution of Christ's People in Calabria, by the new Pope Pius IV., A. D. 1560.

Hitherto, most noble lord! I have certified you, what here daily hath been done about these heretics. Now cometh next to signify unto your lordship the

horrible judgment begun this present day, being the eleventh of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans; which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep; for they, being all thrust up in one house together, as in a sheep-fold, the executioner cometh in, and amongst them taketh one, and blindfoldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth his throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler (which the Italians call 'benda,') all of gore blood, cometh again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he dispatched them all, who were to the number of eighty-eight. This spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your lordship's judgment; for to write of it, I myself cannot but weep: neither were there any of the beholders there present, who, seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do: notwithstanding, the most part of them died with that cursed obstinacy of theirs. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore-blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so dispatching them all no otherwise than doth a butcher kill his calves and sheep.

It is moreover appointed (and the carts be come already) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so be conveyed in the carts to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they will be hanged upon poles in the highways and other places, even to the confines of the same country. Unless the pope's holiness and the lord viceroy of Naples shall give in commandment to the lord marquis of Buccianico, governor of the said province, to stay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all others, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh dispatch them all.

This day it is also determined, that a hundred of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many men so many women: and thus have you what I can say of this justice. Now is it about two o'clock in the afternoon: shortly, we shall hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest; and they will be burned alive.

The heretics that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of sixteen hundred, but as yet no more but these aforesaid eighty-eight are already executed. This people have their original of the valley named Angrogne, near to Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples, there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant, without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I hear, very devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake.

From Montalto the 11th of June:

And thus much writeth this Romanist.¹

Here moreover is to be noted, that the aforesaid marquis Buccianico above specified, had a son or brother, unto whom the said new pope (Pius IV., belike) is reported to have promised a cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of christian blood, in the said country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides these godly Italian martyrs in this table above contained, many others also have suffered in the same country of Italy, of whom some before have been specified, some peradventure omitted. But

*Italian
History.*

A. D.
1530
to
1547.

Horrible
persecu-
tion in
Calabria.
Eighty-
eight
Christi-
ans
killed like
calves.

*See
Appendix.*

(1) For the foregoing letters, see Pantaleon, p. 337.—ED.]

Provence many more there be, whose names we know not; whereof as soon as
 A. D. knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose, God willing, to impart
 1530 the same, loving reader! unto thee.

to Now in the mean time it followeth (according to my promise made
 1540 before), next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert
 also the tragical persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock
 of Christ, inhabiting in Merindol in France, and in the towns adja-
 cent near unto the same, in the time of Francis I., the French king.
 The furious cruelty of this miserable persecution, although it cannot
 be set forth too much at large, yet (because we will not weary too
 much the reader with the full length thereof) we have so contracted
 the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have compre-
 hended in such sort, that, as we on the one part have avoided prolixity,
 so on the other we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy
 to be forgotten. The story here followeth.

A notable History¹ of the Persecution and Destruction of the People of Merindol and Cabriers, in the Countrey of Provence:

WHERE NOT A FEW PERSONS, BUT WHOLE VILLAGES AND
 TOWNSHIPS, WITH THE MOST PART OF ALL THE AFORESAID
 COUNTRY, BOTH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, WERE PUT
 TO ALL KINDS OF CRUELTY, AND SUFFERED MARTYRDOM
 FOR THE PROFESSION OF THE GOSPEL.

They that write of the beginning of this people² say, that about
 two hundred years ago, A. D. 1360, they came out of the countrey of
 Piedmont to inhabit in Provence, in certain villages destroyed by
 wars, and other desert places: wherein they used such labour and
 diligence, that they had abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, almonds,
 with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much cattle.
 Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert, and not
 inhabited: but these good people (in whom God always had reserved
 some little seed of piety), being dispersed and separated from the
 society of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts in that waste
 and wild desert, which notwithstanding, through the blessing of God,
 and their great labour and travail, became exceeding fruitful. Not-
 withstanding, the world in the mean time so detested and abhorred
 them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies railed against
 them in such despiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy
 that the earth should bear them: for they of a long continuance
 and custom had refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed
 ever a more perfect kind of doctrine than others, delivered unto them
 from the father to the son, ever since the year of our Lord 1200.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the king,
 as contemners and despisers of the magistrates, and as rebels: where-
 fore they were called by divers names, according to the countreies and
 places where they dwelt. In the countrey about Lyons, they were

(1) 'A notable history.' &c. This appears to be taken from a small French volume, entitled
 'Histoire memorable de la persecution et saccagement du peuple de Merindol et Cabrieres et autres
 circonvoisins, appelez Vandois; 8vo. (no place) L'an 1556.' or from 'Histoire des vrayes Testmoins de
 la verite de l'Evangile, qui de leur sang l'ont signee, depuis Jean Hus jusques au temps present.'
 &c. (folio Fanere de Jean Crespin, 1570;) pp. 114—116. It occurs also in Latin, in 'Jo. Camerarii
 historica narratio de fratrum orthodoxorum ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia,' &c.; 8vo
 Heidelbergæ, 1665; pp. 303, 110.—Ed.

(2) For the original of this people, see vol. ii. page 216.

called the Poor People of Lyons; in the borders of Sarmatia, and Livonia, and other countries towards the north, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupines, from a desert where wolves did haunt. In Dauphiné, with great despite, they were called Chagnards, because they lived in places open to the sun, and without house or harbour. But most commonly they were called Waldois, from Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued until the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most hated and abhorred.

Notwithstanding, in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly, and so justly, that in all their life and conversation there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure books of the holy Scriptures, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardly wits in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries, yea even to the furthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, born in Dauphiné, a godly preacher of their own, and whom they had of their own charges brought up in learning, and Petrus Latomus, a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the church of God, namely with Ecolampadius at Basil; at Strasburg, with Bucer and Capito; and at Bern, with Bartholdus Hallerus, as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dijon, and cast into prison; Maurellus escaped, and returned alone to Merindol, with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany; and declared to his brethren all the points of his commission, and opened unto them how many and great errors they were in, into which their old ministers, whom they called Barbes¹ (that is to say, uncles), had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion.

When the people heard this, they were moved with such a zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience, of all Calabria² and Apulia, to consult with them touching the reformation of the church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks, in all Provence, with great rage against them. Amongst others, there was one cruel wretch called John de

Provence.

A.D.

1530

to

1540.

See
Appendix.

(1) 'Barbes' these were their ministers for lack of better, until they came to more sincere knowledge: who instructed them most commonly by night abroad in caves and quarries, for fear of persecution.

(2) Of these Calabrians, vide infra.

Provence. Roma, a monk, who, obtaining a commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kinds of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised: he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them upon their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire; and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

A. D.
1530
to
1540.

Johannes de Roma, a wretched persecutor.

Michelottus Serra, W. Melius, martyrs.

The first whom he thus tormented were Michelottus Serra and W. Melius, and a number more. Wherefore Francis the French king, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monk, sent letters to the high court of Parliament of Provence, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of process and order of law he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his condemnation. The monk, being advertised hereof by his friends, conveyed himself to Avignon, where he thought to enjoy the spoilings, which he, like a notorious thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians: but shortly after, he who had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together by his own household servants; whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, strange and unknown to any physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his body, that no ointment, no fomentation, nor any thing else, could ease him one minute of an hour: neither was there any man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For this cause he was carried from the Jacobites to a hospital, there to be kept; but the stench and infection so increased, that no man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by piecemeal.

Just judgment of God against a cruel persecutor.

See Appendix.

While he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, "Oh who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions that I have done to the poor men?" And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this blasphemer and most cruel homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come near him to bury him; but a young novice, newly come to his order, instead of a more honourable sepulture, caught hold with a hook upon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

A spectacle to all persecutors.

Peironet and Meiranus, cruel persecutors.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official Peironet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison, of whom some by force of torments revolted from the truth; the others who continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the judge ordinary, who at that time was one Meiranus, a notable cruel perse-

utor, who, without any form of process or order of law, put such as the official had pronounced to be heretics to death, with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner. *Provence.*
A. D.
1540.

After the death of the good president Cusinetus, the lord of Revest, being chief president of the parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death; who afterwards, being put out of his office, returned to his house of Revest, where he was stricken with such a horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, neither his wife, nor any that were about him, durst come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing. Another example of God's terrible judgment.

After him succeeded Bartholomew Chassance, likewise a pestilent persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden death. In the time of this tyrant, those of Merindol, in the persons of ten, were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But they, hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For this cause the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, no not the little children and infants; the town to be rased, and their houses beaten down to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, as well olive-trees as all others, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness. Another example.

A bloody decree against the Merindolians
See Appendix.

This bloody arrest or decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all Provence there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the advocates, and men of learning and understanding: insomuch that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn oath which all such as are received to office in courts of parliament are accustomed to make; that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every man's right regarded, without respect of persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the said arrest to be just and right, said, that in the case of Lutheranism the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, that upon their sayings it would ensue, that the judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form, in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesseth that the priests, scribes, and pharisees followed, in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning, our Lord Jesus Christ. Even so the pharisees proceeded against Christ the Son of God.

By these and such other talks, the said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assembly or banquet where it was

*Provence.*A. D.
1540.The
bishop's
banquet.

not disputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the arrest was given out, there was a great banquet in the town of Aix; at which banquet were present M. Bartholomew Chassance, president, and many other councillors and other noble personages and men of authority. There were also the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix¹, with divers ladies and gentlewomen, amongst whom was one who was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix's concubine. They were scarce well sat at the table, but she began thus to talk. "My lord president! will you not execute the arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol?"¹ The president answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain nobleman asked of her, what arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory: whereunto they that were at the banquet gave diligent ear, without any word speaking, until she had ended her tale.

The lord
of Alenc
a good
man.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! you have learned this tale either of some who would have it so, or else it is given out by some parliament of women." Then the lord of Senas, an ancient councillor, said unto him; "No, no, my lord of Alenc! it is no tale which you have heard this gentlewoman tell; for it is an arrest given out by a whole senate: and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the court of Provence a parliament of women." Then the lord of Alenc began to excuse himself, with protestation that he would not speak any thing to blemish the authority of that sovereign court; notwithstanding he could not believe all that which the said gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the arrest of the said court of parliament of Provence, and especially the women, and little children and infants; and the town to be rased for the fault of ten or twelve persons, who did not appear before the said court at the day appointed. And the lord

The Lord
de Beau-
jeu.

de Beaujeu also answered, that he believed not the said court to have given out any such arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the greatest tyrants in the world would judge to be a thing most detestable: and he said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol, who seemed unto him to be men of great honesty: and my lord president (said he) can certify us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto women's tales. Then the gentlewoman who had rehearsed the arrest, stayed not to hear the president's answer, but suddenly looking upon the bishop of Aix, said, "I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this company who would defend these wicked men." And lifting up her eyes to heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, she said, "Would to God that all the Lutherans who are in Provence, yea, and in all France, had horns growing on their foreheads; then we should see a goodly many of horns!" To whom the lord de Beaujeu suddenly answered, saying, "Would to God that all priests' harlots should chatter like pies!" Then said the gentlewoman, "Ha! my lord de Beaujeu, you ought not so to speak against our holy mother the church, for that there was never

A catholic
wish of
a priest's
harlot.

(1) See the Appendix, — Ld

(2) There is no cruelty too cruel for a harlot.

dog that barked against the crucifix, but he waxed mad ;” whereat the bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, “ By my holy orders, my minion ! well said ; I con you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my lord de Beaujeu : remember well the lesson that she hath given you.” Here the lord de Beaujeu, being wholly moved with anger, said, “ I care neither for her school nor yours, for it would be long before a man should learn of either of you either any honesty or honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the bishops and priests are paliards, adulterers, blind idolaters, deceivers, thieves, seducers, I should not speak against the holy church, but against a heap and flock of wolves, dogs, and filthy swine. In speaking these things I should think a man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth.”

Then the archbishop in a great fury answered, “ My lord de Beaujeu, you speak very evil, and you must give account, when time and place serveth, of this your talk, which you have here uttered against the churchmen.” “ I would,” said the lord de Beaujeu, “ that it were to do even this present day, and I would bind myself to prove more abuses and naughtiness in priests than I have yet spoken.” Then said the president Chassanee, “ My lord de Beaujeu, let us leave of this talk, and live as our fathers have done, and maintain their honour.” Then said he in great anger, “ I am no priest’s son, to maintain their wickedness and abuse :” and afterward he said, “ I am well content to honour all true pastors of the church, and will not blame them that show good example in their doctrine and living ; but I demand of you, my lord of Arles ! and of you, my lord of Aix ! when our Lord Christ Jesus called the priests, deceiving hypocrites, blind seducers, robbers, and thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong ?” And they answered, “ No ; for the most part of them were such men.” Then said the lord de Beaujeu, “ Even so is it with the bishops and priests whom I have spoken of, for they are such kind of men, or rather worse ; and I so abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not speak the one half of that which I know ; and therefore in speaking the truth, to cool the babbling of a harlot, I do them no injury.”

The
pope's
church-
men
worse
than the
old phari-
sees.

The Monsieur de Senas, an ancient councillor, said, “ Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here assembled and come together to make good cheer.”¹ And afterwards he said, “ M. de Beaujeu ! for the love and amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein. The first is, that you, neither by word nor deed, aid or assist those that you hear to be Lutherans. Secondly, that you do not intermeddle openly to reprove ladies and gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasures. Thirdly, that you do never speak against the life and living of priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, ‘ Do not touch mine anointed.’ ”

To whom M. de Beaujeu answered, “ As touching the first point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranism, except you do call those Lutherans, who profess the doctrine of the gospel ; neither yet will I ever allow any arrest which shall be given out to death against men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against women and young infants : and I am assured, that

(1) Churchmen, be they never so evil, must not be spoken against. 1 Par. [Chron.] xvi.

Provence. there is no court of parliament in all France, which will approve or allow of any such arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove ladies and gentlewomen, if I knew any kinswoman of mine, who would abandon herself unto a priest or clerk, yea, albeit he were a cardinal or bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her there-for, but at least I would cut off her nose. And as touching priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their business, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come from henceforth within mine house; for as many as I shall find or take there, I will set their crowns so near their shoulders, that they shall need no more to wear any hoods about their necks." The like also said the president Chassanee.

A. D.
1530
to
1547.
How
priests'
harlots
should be
handled.

See
Appendix.

Well
spoken,
and like
a harlot.

Two'
strumpets
well
compared
together.

Then the bishop of Aix's sweetheart, who had begun the quarrel, said, "I shall not be in quiet, except I speak yet one word more unto M. de Beaujeu." "Do you think," said she unto him, "that all the cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and all those holy religious men, who go oftentimes to gentlemen's houses, and haunt the castles and palaces of princes and noblemen, go thither to commit wickedness? Also you must not think evil of all those ladies and gentlewomen that go to bishops' houses of devotion, and to reveal those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the pulpit upon pain of excommunication. If so be you will maintain those words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of treason both to God and man; for here be those in this company, who shall make you give an account thereof."¹ She had not so soon ended her talk, but M. de Beaujeu said unto her, "Avaunt, O Herodias, thou filthy and impudent harlot! is it thy part to open thy mouth to talk in this company? Dost thou well understand and know what treason to God and man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou must solicit others to shed innocent blood?" With these words the gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All men thought that this talk had been at an end, and every man began to invent some merry communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

God
sendeth a
shrewd
cow
short
lorns
The
cruel
heart of
a harlot.

At last the gentlewoman, advising herself, and thinking that she was too much injured, in that it was said that she went about to shed innocent blood, brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, "Monsieur de Beaujeu, if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to prove that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent blood. Do you call the blood of these wicked men of Merindol, innocent blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of Merindol, and such as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And to see the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my friends, and do spare neither body nor goods to work the ruin and destruction of these people, and to rase out and to deface their memory from amongst men. Do you then, Monsieur de Beaujeu, call the slaughter of these Lutherans the effusion of innocent blood? And say you what you will, I will not refrain for no man living, to go either by day either by

(1) As Herodias wrought the death of John Baptist, so this woman seeketh the death of the Merindolians.

night unto the houses of bishops, in all honesty¹ and honour, for the devotion which I bear unto our holy mother² the church, and also I will receive into my house all religious men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death." *Provence.*
 A.D.
 1540.

But as Monsieur de Beaujeu took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young gentleman, who, merrily jesting, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! it must needs be that these poor people, unto whom you do wish this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure." "Then," said she, "I may well take an oath, that I never knew one of these wretched people, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them; and I had rather to meet ten devils than one of those naughty knaves, for their opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they that never heard tell of them.³ And I was not then well advised at what time by curiosity, I, seeing the bishop of Aix so much troubled and angry that he could neither eat nor drink, did desire him and constrain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he, perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the cause, that is to say, that there were certain heretics, who spake against our holy mother the church, and among other errors they maintained, yea, to death, that all bishops, priests, and pastors, ought to be married, or else they should be basely handled:⁴ and hearing this I was marvelously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enjoined unto me by penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these heretics to death." After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatenings, which were too long here to describe.

The
 pope's
 clergy
 cannot
 abide ho-
 nest mar-
 riage to
 die for it.

Then the president Chassanee and the councillors and the gentlemen departed and went their ways, hither and thither. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together,⁵ to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater than that of John de Roma, the Jacobite monk: "for otherwise," said they, "our state and honour is like to decay; we shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many doctors of divinity and men of the religious order, divers senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the nobility (if we may so say), and that of great renown, yea, even of the chiefest peers in all Europe, begin to contemn and despise us, counting us to be no true pastors of the church; so that except we see to this mischief, and provide for remedy betimes, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now wealthily enjoy; but also the church, being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to miserable ruin, and

See
 Appendix.

(1) The visor of honesty on a harlot's face.

(2) Like mother, like daughter.

(3) Oderunt me gratis. John xv.

(4) 'Basely handled.' Genitalia amittant. Vid. orig.—Ed.

(5) 'Quærebant principes sacerdotum et scribæ, quomodo interfecerunt Jesum,' Luke xvi

Provence. utter desolation.¹ This matter therefore now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celerity.”

A. D.
1540.

See
Appendix.

Then the archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtleties and policies gave his advice as followeth :

Against the nobility we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress, and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, to exasperate them, in any case; but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our friends again by gifts and presents: and by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

The bishop of Aix then answered,—

A most
butcherly
religion
which
worketh
all by
blood.

It is well said, but I can show you a good remedy for this disease: we must go about with all our endeavour, and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rustical peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, although they be of the blood royal, once to open their mouths against us or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon, in which city we shall find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men, who will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother the church.²

This counsel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon, there to assemble out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to treat of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking upon him to be the chief orator, began in a manner as followeth:

An Oration of Cataline, that is, the Oration of the Bishop of Aix, seditious and bloody.

O ye fathers and brethren! ye are not ignorant that a great tempest is raised up against the little bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger and ready to perish. The storm cometh from the north, wherefrom all these troubles proceed. The seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow and beat upon our house, and we, without speedy remedy, are like to sustain shipwreck and loss of all together. For oblations³ cease, pilgrimage⁴ and devotion wax cold, charity⁵ is clean gone, our estimation⁶ and authority is abased, our jurisdiction⁷ decayed, and the ordinances⁸ of the church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over nations and kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow, whatsoever is against our holy mother the church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our own possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever, the whole rout of the wicked Lutherans: those foxes (I say) who destroy the vineyard of the Lord; those great whales which go about to drown the little

(1) Note, how the pope's church is led, not with any conscience of truth, but only with love of livings. (2) Cathedra pestilentia.

(3) Your oblations be against the Scripture.

(4) Your pilgrimage is idolatry.

(5) Your charity is gone indeed, when ye seek so the blood of your brethren.

(6) Your estimation is Pharisaical.

(7) Your jurisdiction is tyrannical.

(8) Your ordinances serve not to Christ's glory, but your own.

bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible arrest against these cursed heretics of Merindol: now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder what we have so happily begun; and let us take good heed that our gold and silver do not witness against us at the day of judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a sacrifice unto God.¹ And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of mine own costs and charges a hundred men well horsed, with all other furniture to them belonging; and that so long, until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed caitiffs be fully performed and finished.'

Provence.
A. D.
1540.

This oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one doctor of divinity, a friar Jacobite, named Bassinet, who then answered again with this oration.

See
Appendix.

An Oration of Bassinet, in reply to the Bishop of Aix.

This is a weighty matter and of great importance; we must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable people wrongfully, when the king and the nobility shall hear of such a horrible slaughter, we shall be in great danger lest they do to us, as we read in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Baal. For my part I must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many processes against those who have been accused of heretical doctrine: but now I do protest before God, who seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine assignings, I have had no quietness in my conscience, considering that the secular judges, at the report of the judgment and sentence given by me and other doctors my companions, have condemned all those unto most cruel death, whom we have adjudged to be heretics. And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, is this; that now of late, since I have given myself more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. Albeit hitherto, to maintain the honour of our holy mother the church, and of our holy father the pope, and of our orders, I have consented to the opinions and doings of other doctors, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any thing against the will and pleasure of the prelates and vicars general: but now it seemeth unto me, that we ought not any more to proceed in this matter, as we have done in time past. It will be sufficient to punish them with fines, or to banish them, that shall speak too intemperately and rashly against the constitutions of the church and of the pope; and such as shall be manifestly convicted by the holy Scriptures to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this my advice and counsel I desire you to take in good part.

The godly
repentance of
Bassinets.

The testi-
mony of
Bassinets
for Lu-
therans.

With this counsel of Bassinet all the company were offended, but especially the bishop of Aix, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto him; "O thou man of little faith! whereof art thou in doubt? dost thou repent thee of that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here a tale, that smelleth of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, thinkest thou, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures, and opinions holden against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father the pope, a most undoubted and true God on earth?"

God and
the pope
and the
obedience
of them
two, com-
pared to-
gether.

(1) 'The day shall come when men shall think they do a good service to God, in putting you to death.' John xvi.

Provence. 'Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?'
 A. D. Then said the archbishop of Arles, "Could any man entreat better
 1540. of the little bark of Christ Jesus, than my lord of Aix hath done?"
 Then stood up Bassinet again, and made this oration:

Another Oration of Bassinet.

It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, hath very well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and hath aptly reproved the vices and heresies of this present time: and therefore, as soon as mention was made of the ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all, of the high bishop of Jerusalem, the priests, the doctors of the law, the scribes and pharisees, who sometime had the governance of this ship, being ordained pastors in the church of God: but when they forsook the law of God, and served him with men's inventions and traditions, he destroyed those hypocrites in his great indignation; and having compassion and pity upon the people that were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen into his harvest, and labourers into his vineyard, who shall all bring forth true fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the reverend lord bishop of Aix, I called to mind the saying of the apostle [1 Tim. iv.], that in the latter day some shall fall away from the faith, following after deceitful spirits, and the doctrine of devils. And the apostle giveth a mark whereby a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ saith [Matt. vii.], that the false prophets shall come clothed in sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known. By these two, and divers such other places, it is easy to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little bark of Christ. Are they not those who fill the same with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? are they not those who have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly even those they are, who vaunt themselves to be the salt of earth, and yet have no savour at all; who call themselves pastors, and yet are much less than true pastors, for they minister not unto the sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be bold to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are not they accursed of God, who glory and vaunt themselves to have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their fruits; for they have forsaken faith, judgment, and mercy; and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them but their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such things. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, filthy lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within they are full of filth and corruption. A man shall know (I say) these ravening wolves by their fruits, who devour the quick and the dead under the pretence of long prayer. And forasmuch as I am enforced to give place to the truth, and that you call me a master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the holy Scriptures, that your great pilot and patron the pope, and the bishops the mariners, and such others, who impudently forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, to embark themselves in pinnaces and brigandines, are pirates and robbers of the sea, false prophets, deceivers, and not true pastors of the church of Jesus Christ.

False
pastors in
Christ's
church
described.

* Take
heed of
those that
come to
you in
sheep-
skins, but
inwardly
they are
ravening
wolves.
Matt. vii.
The
pope's
pilots in
Christ's
ship are
become
pirates.

When Dr. Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him; but the bishop of Aix, above others, raging and crying out as he had been mad, "Get thee out," said he, "from amongst us, thou wicked apostate! thou art not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many who have not so well deserved it, as thou hast. We may now perceive, that there is none more steadfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law;

and therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next general council, that none should have to do in matters of religion but they alone: for these knaves, and beggarly monks and friars, will bring all to nought." Then the other doctors of the same order boldly reproved the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great dissension amongst them, insomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again, but they suffered neither friar nor monk to be amongst them, except he were an abbot. In this assembly they made a general composition, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself that the said arrest of Merindol should be executed with all expedition, every man offering to furnish out men of war, according to his ability. The charge thereof was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all means possible the presidents and councillors of the said court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest with drums, ensignes displayed, artillery, and all kind of furniture of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determined, the bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Avignon, to go unto Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be, the next day after the council was holden, at a banquet which should be made at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet such as were known to be the fairest and most beautiful women in all Avignon were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pains and travail which they had taken for our holy mother the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a man who sold base images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops, which were as many as a mule could well carry; ¹ and if there were any obscure sentence, or hard to understand in those rhymes or ballads, the same these learned prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a foreign bookseller, who had set out to sale certain Bibles in French and Latin, with divers other books; which when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, "Darest thou be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? dost thou not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered, "Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" He had scarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran!" "Let him be taken," said he, "and examined what he is." And incontinently the bookseller was taken and carried unto prison, and spitefully handled; for a company of knaves and

*Provence.*A. D.
1540.A com-
mendation
for
doctors
of the
canon
law.The
bishop
of Aix,
arch-
captain
of this
persecu-
tion.*See
Appendix.*Bad
pictures
received,
God's
book re-
jected.

(1) 'Ex fructibus eorum cognosceatis eos.'

Provence. ruffians, who waited upon the prelates, began to cry out, "A Lutheran! a Lutheran!" "To the fire with him! to the fire with him!" And one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor man was all imbrued with blood before he came to prison.

Christian
constancy
in a good
book-
seller.

The morrow after he was brought before the judges in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: "Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered, that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in Latin? he answered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege, and many others printed at Lyons; also New Testaments imprinted by the king's privilege. Furthermore, he said, that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue: and afterwards, with a bold courage, thus he spake unto them:

See
Appendix.

+

O you inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone in all Christendom those men who do despise and abhor the Testament of the heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power unto his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to this end, that his holy gospel should be taught unto all creatures in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination to move and stir up the people to crimes and to uncleanness, and to provoke God's vengeance and great indignation upon you all? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poor silly souls their nourishment and sustenance? But, my lords! you shall give a heavy account, who call sweet sour, and sour sweet, who maintain abominable and detestable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Then the bishop of Aix and the other bishops began to rage, and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. "What need you," said they, "any more examination? let him be sent straight unto the fire, without any more words." But the judge Laberius and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death; but went about to have him put to his fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered, that he could not do it with a good conscience, forasmuch as he did see before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books and abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God; and therefore he judged them rather to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Hereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day; and for a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor man had also the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until he came to the place of execution, to exhort and monish the people to read the holy Scrip-

A godly
booksel-
ler with
two Bi-
bles about
his neck,
burnt in
Avignon.

tures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth. The prelates, seeing a great dissension among the people of Avignon, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in fear, proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet throughout the town of Venasque and the whole Venaissin, that all such as had any books in the French tongue, intreating upon the holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they who had any such books found about them, should be put to death.

Provence.
A. D.
1540.

See Appendix.

Proclamation against French Bibles.

Then, after these prelates had taken advice to raise great persecution in the Venaissin, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol, travailling earnestly with the president Chassance to that effect; declaring unto him the good-will of the prelates in Avignon and Provence, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindol in execution; also that the said arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, who were in great numbers in Provence, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said arrest. Moreover, he said, that the arrest of Merindol was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution thereof without further process. Then said the bishop, "If there be either law or statute which do hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense therewithal." The president answered, "It were a great sin to shed the innocent blood." Then said the bishop, "The blood of them of Merindol be upon us, and upon our successors."¹ Then said the president, "I am very well assured that if the arrest of Merindol be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then said the bishop, "Although the king at first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done; for we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Tournon, who will take upon him the defence of our cause; and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we shall be well assured of him. And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, that is in all Christendom?"

The bishop of Aix stirreth up Chassance the president to persecution. The answer of Chassance to the bishop of Merindol.

The cardinal of Tournon, the organ of Antichrist.

By this and such other like talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councillors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded through all Provence, the captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the city of Aix in order of battle, well horsed and furnished, against Merindol, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol, being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause unto

The pope's army setteth forward toward Merindol.

Provence. God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as sheep led unto the butchery.

A. D.
1540.

The army again retired by means of the lord of Alenc.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how, or by what means; yet notwithstanding afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared unto the president Chassanee, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the unguilty. And furthermore he said :

See Appendix.

A story of excommunicating the rats for eating up the corn.

The president Chassanee chosen advocate for the rats.

Persuasion of the lord of Alenc to Chassanee, to return his army from Merindol.

I desire you, my lord president! call to remembrance the counsel which you have written in your book entitled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, in which book you have treated of and brought forth the processes which were holden against the rats, by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop of Autun. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country: whereupon they took counsel to send unto the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said official, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator-fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them. The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for lack of appearance obtained default, by virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication; whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence, forasmuch as the question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said rats. And you, my lord president! being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were then chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats; and having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes and reasons by you there alleged. Then it was decreed, that the said rats should be once again cited throughout the parishes where they were. Then after the citations were duly served, the procurator came again into the court as before; and there it was alleged by you, my lord president! how that the term of appearance given unto the rats was too short, and that there were so many cats in every town and village which they should pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.

Wherefore, my lord president! you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but you ought to look upon the holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how you ought to proceed in this matter. And you, my lord! have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of small importance, you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president! you who have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol: for are they not christian men, and ought you not as well to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?

By these and such like demonstrations the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given

out, and caused the army to retire, which was already come near unto *Provence.*
Merindol, even within a mile and a half.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient unto his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto his providence; patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting riches, having always before their eyes, for example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who hath entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their answer to all those that either pitied them, or else sought their destruction: whereupon the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the arrest, as of the enterprise of the execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from king Francis I., a king of noble courage and great judgment; who gave commandment unto the noble and virtuous lord, M. de Langeay, who then was his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said M. de Langeay sent unto Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the copy of the arrest, and diligently to inquire out all that followed and ensued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the said Merindolians and others, who were persecuted in the country of Provence.

The
Lord's
provi-
dence
for
the Me-
rindo-
lians.

See
Apprentiz,
Francis,
the
French
king,
sendeth
M. Lan-
geay to
inquire
better of
the Me-
rindo-
lians.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said M. de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against them of Merindol, and others. As touching the behaviour and disposition of those who were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Provence affirmed them to be men given to great labour and travail; and that about two hundred years past (as it is reported) they came out of the country of Piedmont to dwell in Provence, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert and waste places; these they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wines, oils, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the country to dwell, the place of Merindol was taxed but at four crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the lord, for taxes and tallages, above three hundred and fifty crowns, beside other charges.

A testi-
mony in
commen-
tation
of the
Merindo-
lians.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and divers other places of Provence; whereas there was nothing but robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the country of Provence affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved of all their neighbours, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping their promise, and paying their debts without traversing or pleading of the law: that they were also chari-

The godly
conversa-
tion of the
Merindo-
lians.

*Provence.*A. D.
1541.Crimes
laid
against
the Me-
rindoli-
ans.*See
Appendix.*

table men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and that they suffered none amongst them to lack, or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harbouring, nourishing and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the country of Provence, that they would not swear, nor name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath, except it were in judgment, nor making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this, that they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters; but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Provence furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their churches; and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet; neither would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them. And moreover, if they passed by any cross or image of the crucifix, or any other saint by the way, as they went, they would do no reverence unto them. Also the priests did testify, that they never caused them to say any masses, neither diriges, 'Libera me' or 'De profundis,' neither would they take any holy water; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not say once 'Gramerey,' yea they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, yea, though it might be gotten for a halfpenny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes to heaven fetch deep sighs; and some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking of holy water. Also they were never seen to offer, or cast into the bason any thing for the maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to give any offering either for the quick or the dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

The
king's
pardon
procured
and sent
down for
the Me-
rindoli-
ans.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behaviour of the inhabitants of Merindol, and the other who were persecuted: he was also informed as touching the arrest, and that which ensued thereupon. Of all those things the said Monsieur de Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the king, who, understanding these things, as a good prince moved with merey and pity, sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those who were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, who were accused and suspected in like case; expressly charging and commanding the said parliament, that they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before against this people; but if there were any that could be found or proved by sufficient information to have swerved from the christian religion, that then he should have good demonstration made unto him by the word of God, both out of the Old and of the New Testament: and so, by the sword of the word applied

with gentleness he should be reduced again unto the church of Christ. Declaring also, that the king's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure; forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindol, or other that were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: revoking and disannulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what judges soever they were, and commanding to set at liberty all prisoners who either were accused or suspected of Lutheranism.

By virtue of these letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof; whereupon they made a confession of their faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the story. This confession was presented first to the court of parliament; and afterwards being declared more at large, with articles also annexed thereunto, it was delivered to the bishop of Ca-vaillon, who required the same. Also to cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, with the like articles, and also a supplication to this effect:

Provence.
A. D.
1541.

*See
Appendix.*

Supplication of the Inhabitants of Cabriers.

The inhabitants of Cabriers, in the country of the Venaissin, most humbly desired him, that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the confession and declaration of their faith and doctrine,¹ in the which they, and also their fathers before them, had been of a long time instructed and taught, which they were persuaded to be agreeable to the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they desired him that he would mark such articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselves to abjuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them, even to the loss, not only of all that they had, but also of their lives. And moreover, if there were any judge in all the country of the Venaissin, who by good and sufficient information should be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or maintained any other religion than was contained in the articles of their Confession, they desired him that he would communicate the same unto them; and with all obedience they offered themselves to whatsoever should be thought just and reasonable.

The people of Cabriers require the judgment of cardinal Sadolet, touching their articles.

Upon this request cardinal Sadolet answered by his letters written by his secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Answer of Cardinal Sadolet.

I have seen your request, and have read the articles of your Confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not understand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent inquiry made, we have found to be nothing else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your articles, it seemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession: and likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the pastors of the church. For my part, I desire your welfare, and would be sorry that you should be so

(1) This most godly and christian Confession you shall find more largely set out in Henry Pantaleon, and also in the French story, treating of the destruction of Merindol and Cabriers; also touching their faith and confession you shall partly see hereafter.

Provence. spoiled or destroyed, as they do intend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will be at my house by Cabriers, whither ye may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage; and there I will advertise you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health.

A. D.
1542.

The
bishop of
Cavaillon
seeketh
the
destruction
of
Cabriers.

Sadolet
stays the
army
coming
against
Cabriers.
His promise
to
his
tenants
of Cabriers.

See
Appendix.

The
treasurer
of Carpentras
a privy
friend to
them of
Cabriers.

About this time, which was A. D. 1542, the vice-legate of Avignon assembled a great number of men of war, at the suit of the bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the cardinal Sadolet went with speed to the vice-legate, and showed him the request of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the articles of their Confession, and the offers that they made; so that for that present the army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the inhabitants of Cabriers. After this, the cardinal Sadolet went unto Rome; but before his departure he sent for divers of Cabriers, and certain farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of those who were called Lutherans, and told them that he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came to Rome, and communicate their articles and confession unto the cardinals, trusting to find a mean to have some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, and all Christendom brought to unity and concord; at least, nothing at all doubting but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amended: advertising them in the mean time to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for that they had many enemies. With this oration of cardinal Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the suit of cardinal Sadolet they should have answer of their confession: but at his return, they understood that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortal war against all such as would not live according to the ordinances of the church of Rome. Likewise said the treasurer of Carpentras, who albeit he payed out money to furnish soldiers that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the legate; whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

On the other part, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that, according to the king's letters, John Durandi, councillor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go unto Merindol, and there declare unto the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said heresies: and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol, to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, that he enterprised against the authority of the parliament, and that

The
bishop of
Cavaillon
cometh
again
to Merindol

it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, wherein he commanded that first the errors should be declared unto them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed thereof by the word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters; otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies,¹ or should be convicted thereupon by the word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had holden any heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they held not; and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God, but, in a fury, cursed, and gave to the devil, him that first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were, that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet showed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the Confession, which, after he had read, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy." Then they of Merindol demanded, "In what point?" whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sorely grieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said Confession: whereunto the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed: for when he had beholden the articles of the Confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as

*Provence.*A.D.
1512.The
pope's
bishops
will come
to no
reason-
ing.The
bishop
sore
grieved
to have
heresy
tried by
the word
of God.Articles
of the
Merindo-
lians, ap-
proved
by the
doctor.

(1) The bishops condemn the Merindolians for heresy, and yet can show no heresies in them by the word of God.

Provence. he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities therein alleged.

A. D.
1542.

The
answer
of the
children
of Merin-
dol to the
bishop.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Pater Noster and the Creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater Noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could give no reason of that which they spake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater Noster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, to what purpose it would serve to say the Pater Noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same? for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop unto him, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, 'I believe in God?'" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable, if I did not understand it:" and then he began orderly to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I; but I pray you, question with one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at least he would not.

The
answer of
the bai-
liff of
Merin-
dol.

The
children
of Merin-
dol too
good for
the
bishop.

Then one, named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir! one of these children may question with another, if you think it so good;" and the bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows with such grace and gravity, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children one after another answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, who came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the bishop, I must needs confess that I have often been at the common schools of Sorbonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said one William Armant, "Did you never read that which is written in Matthew xi., where it is said, 'O Father! Lord of heaven and earth! I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but behold, O Father! such was thy good will and pleasure.'" Then every man marvelled at the ready and witty answers of the children of Merindol.

The
youth of
Merindol
well
brought
up.

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about, by fair and flattering words, to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the strangers to go apart, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be notwithstanding, for the contentation of them that were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration,

which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of those who now persecuted them: and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the pope, and to the high court of parliament of Provence: and also if any man, at any time to come, would turn the same to their reproach, or allege it against them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and say they made no abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to prove the same. For this purpose he desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter without any further business.

Provence.
A. D.
1542.

The Merindolians are moved to abjure.

The bailiff, and the two officers, with divers other ancients of the town, answered, that they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration, howsoever it were to be done; except (which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the word of God, that they had holden or maintained any heresy; marvelling much that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to the world. And albeit that all men by nature are liars, yet they had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed of lying in any matter, were it ever so small. Also, that they ought diligently to take heed that their children did not accustom or use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them sharply, when they took them with any lie, even as if they had committed any robbery; for "the devil is a liar, and the father of lies." Here the bishop rose up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

In matters of faith and religion there ought to be no dissimulation.

Within a while after the bishop of Aix solicited Master John Durandi, councillor of the court of the parliament of Provence, to execute the commission which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of Merindol, together with the secretary of the said court, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Cavillon, accompanied with a doctor of divinity, to declare the errors and heresies which the bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindol to be infected and entangled withal; and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the word of God; and so they being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said heresies. Whereupon the said councillor Durandi certified the day that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that none of the inhabitants should be absent.

Durandi stirred up by the bishop to execute the commission against the Merindolians.

At the day appointed, the said councillor Durandi, the bishop of Cavillon, a doctor of divinity, and a secretary, came unto Merindol, where were also present divers gentlemen, and men of understanding of all sorts, to see this commission executed. Then they of Merindol were advertised that they should not appear all at once, but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them. After that, Durandi, the bishop of Cavillon, the doctor of divinity, and the secretary, were set in place where justice was accustomed to be kept, there were called forth Andrew Maynard, the bailiff of Merindol; Jenon Romaine, and Micheline Maynard, syndics;¹ John Cabrie, and

He cometh to Merindol.

(1) Syndicus is a Greek word, and signifieth an advocate or patron, or deputy sent to plead our cause.

Provence. John Palene, ancients of Merindol; and John Bruneral, under-bailiff.
 A. D. 1542. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the
 councillor Durandi spake thus unto them:

The Words of Durandi to the Merindolians.

You are not ignorant, that by the arrest given out by the high court of Provence, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children; your houses also to be beaten down, and your town to be rased and made desolate, &c., as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the king, our most gracious prince, to send his letters unto the said court, commanding that the said arrest should not so rigorously proceed against you: but that if it could by sufficient information be proved, that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said court of parliament that the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the errors and heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the grace and pardon contained in the king's letters: wherefore show yourselves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the king, and the magistrates.

When he had thus spoken, "What answer you," said he, "to that which I have propounded?"

Then Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired that they would grant them an advocate to answer according to the instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The councillor answered, that he would hear their answer neither by advocate nor by writing, but would hear them answer in their own persons: notwithstanding he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves; and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the bailiff and the two syndies, with other two ancient men, talked together awhile, and determined that the two syndies should speak first, and after them the bailiff, then the two ancient men; every man according as God should give him grace: and by and by they presented themselves; wherat the councillor Durandi was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the councillor and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant men. His answer here followeth.

The Answer of one of the Merindolians to Durandi.

We are greatly bound to give God thanks, that besides his other benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our noble king, that our cause might be treated with justice, and not with violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our noble king, who, following the example of Samuel and Daniel, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor subjects. Also we render thanks unto the lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the king's commandment. Finally, we thank you, my lord Durandi, commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you, in so few words, to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresies and

errors whereof I am accused ; and where they shall make it appear unto me that I have holden any errors or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you.

Provence.

A. D.
1542.

After him answered Jenon Romaine, the other syndie, a very ancient father, approving all that which his fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard such good news, that the cause of religion should be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient men say, that they could never obtain of the judges, in all their persecution, to have their cause debated in such sort.

Then Andrew Maynard the bailiff answered, saying, that God had given to these two syndics the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto : notwithstanding it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the secretary, who had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said : wherefore he required the commissioner to look unto the matter.

The bailiff of Merindol answered.

Then the commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their answers word for word ; and he himself, with a singular memory, repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing, the commissioner asked the bailiff if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to show him his secretary's fault, willing him to speak boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the bailiff said, " Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely, I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of process in this judgment : for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, who, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretics, I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his accusations, as we to answer unto the same."

The proceeding with the Merindolians not after the form of law.

After the bailiff had made this answer, John Palenc, one of the ancients of Merindol, said, that he approved all that had been said by the syndics, and that he was able to say no more than what had been said by them before. The commissioner said unto him : " You are, I see, a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause." And the said Palenc answered, " Seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or advantage ; for our judges be our enemies."

John Palenc answered.

Then John Bruneral, under-bailiff of Merindol, answered thus :

That he would very fain know the authority of the councillor Durand, the commissioner in this cause, forasmuch as the said councillor had given them to understand, that he had authority of the high court to make them abjure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them (so doing) the pardon contained in the king's letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said commissioner did not give them to understand, that if it could not be found, by good and sufficient in-

The under-bailiff of Merindol answered.

*Provence.*A. D.
1542.Durand
requir'd
to show
his com-
mission.The
bailiff and
syndics of
Merindol
appear
the
second
time.They
that do
the works
of dark-
ness, hate
the light.

formation, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said sentence and condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantage for the said Merindolians, if it should appear that they were heretics, than to be found to live according to the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said commissioner to make declaration thereof; concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the faith, or if there were no accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in body or goods.

These things were thus in debating from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one o'clock in the afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said commissioner. They answered, "No." Then said the commissioner, "What do you conclude for your defence?" the two syndics answered, "We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the errors and heresies whereof we are accused." Then the commissioner asked the bishop of Cavaillon, what informations he had against them. The bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the commissioner and all others that stood thereby, were weary thereof. In the end, the commissioner said unto them, that the bishop of Cavaillon had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, that they required that the causes and reasons alleged by the bishop of Cavaillon against them, should be put in writing. The bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing that either he said or alleged, to be put in writing. Then John Bruneral required the commissioner that at least he would put in writing, that the bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the commissioner but only in his ear. The bishop, on the contrary part, insisted that he would not be named in the process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and it continued long.

Then the commissioner asked the Merindolians if they had the articles of their Confession,¹ which they had presented to the high court of parliament. Then they required that their confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publicly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the commissioner asked the doctor, if he did find in the said confession any heretical opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired the commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errors and heresies that they were accused of apparent unto them by good information, or at least to mark those articles of their confession, which the bishop and the doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of

(1) What were the articles and doctrine of their Confession, read *Sleid. lib. x.*

Merindol could not understand one word. Then the commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be said to them, than had been said to those who were already called. And this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon.

Many who came thither to hear these disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the bishop and the doctor so confounded; which thing afterwards turned to the great benefit of many, for hereby they were moved to require copies of the confession of their faith, by means whereof they were converted and embraced the truth; and especially three doctors, who went about divers times to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith, whose ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his gospel. One of them was Dr. Combaudi, prior of St. Maximin, afterwards a preacher in the territory of the lords of Bern: another was Dr. Somati, who was also a preacher in the Bailiwick of Thonon: the other was Dr. Heraudi, pastor and minister in the country of Neufchatel.

Three
doctors
converted
by the
Confes-
sion of
the Me-
rindo-
lians.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those who persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the president Chassance, but also of many others of the chiefest councillors of the parliament of Provence; whose horrible end terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful example of that bloody tyrant John de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof we have spoken before.

Sudden
death of
a perse-
cutor.

Thus the Lord, repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruel sentence or arrest given out by the parliament of Provence against the Merindolians, until John Minerius, an exceeding bloody tyrant, began a new persecution. This Minerius, being lord of Opede near to Merindol, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his seigniory or lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own tenants into a cistern under ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and Waldois, to have their goods and possessions. By this and such other practices, this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity; and so at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Provence, in the absence of the lord of Grignan, then being at the Council of Worms in Germany. Now therefore, seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish enterprise, he employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirm and to revive that cruel arrest given out before by the court of parliament, but also, as a right minister of Satan, he exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand, that they of Merindol and all the

A. D. 1544.

Minerius
a pesti-
lent per-
secutor
without
all rea-
son and
measure.
Six mar-
tyrs of
Opede.

Minerius
made the
king's
lieuten-
ant of
Provence.

Provence. country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the Switzers. And to stay this enterprise, he said it was necessary to execute the arrest 'manu militari:' and by this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the cardinal of Tournon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding the king had before revoked the said sentence, and given strait commandment that it should in no wise be executed; as is before-mentioned.

False
accusa-
tions and
crimes
forged
upon the
innocent
Chris-
tians.
The king
abused by
wicked
counsel.

See
Appendix.

Eight
towns
with the
most part
of the
people
destroyed
for true
religion.
Horrible
cruelty
upon
women
and
young
infants.

After this he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Provence ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides, that were able to bear armour, in the chiefest towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of the Venaissin, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindol, Cabriers, and other towns and villages to the number of two and twenty, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child without all mercy, sparing none: no otherwise than the infidels and cruel Turks have dealt with the Christians, as before in the story of the Turks you may read. For as the papists and Turks are alike in their religion; so are the said papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of cruelty that can be devised. But this arch-tyrant, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burnt certain towns, namely La Roque, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lourmarin, La Mothe, Cabriette, St. Martin, Pupin, and other places mo beyond Mount Lebron, notwithstanding that the arrest extended but only to Merindol, where the most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the paps of many women cut off, who gave suck to their children, who, looking for suck at their mother's breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never such cruelty and tyranny seen before.

The Merindolians, seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houses, and fled into the woods, and remained all that night at the village Sanfakaise, and thereabouts, in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the bishop of Cavaillon, deputy to the bishop of Rome's legate, had appointed certain captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in woods, for there was danger on every side; and Minerius had commanded, under pain of death, that no man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same proclamation was of force also in the bishop of Rome's dominions thereby; and it was said, that the bishops of that country did find a great part of the army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful journey, carrying their children upon their shoulders, and in their arms, and in their swaddling-clothes; and many of them also being great with child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither were already resorted a great number who had lost their goods, and saved themselves by flight.

Not long after it was showed them how that Minerius was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersome places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safeguard, to leave behind them all the women and children, with a few others, and among them also certain ministers of the church: the residue were appointed to go to the town of Mussi. And this did they, upon hope that the enemy would show mercy to the multitude of women and children being destitute of all succour. No tongue can express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woeful departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated asunder, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes and tender infants, the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons, with evening-prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

Provence.
A. D.
1545.

Lamenta-
ble separa-
tion of
the Mer-
indolians from
their
wives and
children.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great hill of Lebron, they might see many villages and farms set on fire. Minerius, in the mean time, had divided his army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the town of Merindol; and having knowledge by espial whither the Merindolians were fled, he sendeth the other part to set upon them, and to show their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of Minerius' army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their enemies were coming: and one of them, from the top of a high rock, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, cast down two stones, and afterwards, although he could not see them, he called unto them that they should immediately fly from thence. But the enemies suddenly came upon them, and finding them all assembled together at prayers, spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they abused, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold away like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The women were in number about five hundred.

The Me-
rindolians over-
taken.

†

In the mean time Minerius came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yielded himself unto a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Minerius would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Minerius therefore, paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied unto an olive-tree, and shot through with harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many gentlemen who accompanied Minerius against their wills, seeing this cruel spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear tears; for albeit this young man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindol, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God; and the last words that he spake were these: "Lord God! these men take away my life full of misery, but thou wilt give unto me life

See
Appendix.

Vile cru-
elty show-
ed upon a
young
Merindo-
lian.

*Provence.*A. D.
1545.*See
Appendix.*Merindol
destroyed
by the
papists.
[April
20th.]Cabriers
falsely
taken.Thirty
men mar-
tyrs.Forty wo-
men mar-
tyrs.†
Cruelty
Neromi-
cal, or
rather
fury dia-
bolical.Above a
thousand
martyrs
of Ca-
briers.

everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory." So was Merindol, without any resistance, valiantly taken, ransacked, burned, rased, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no man to resist, yet this valiant captain of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the lord of the town, and Poulin his chief captain, persuaded the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their armour, and also that their cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be showed against them. Upon this they opened their gates, and let in Mincius, with his captains, and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered, falsified his promise, and raged like a beast.¹ For first of all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces by his soldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon poor silly women, and caused a forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly women, running to the great window where the hay is wont to be cast into the barn, would have lopen out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a soldier, who moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, and the children yet unborn they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into the meadow, and there, stripped naked, were slain: others were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

That done, this tyrant, more cruel than ever was Herod, commanded Captain John de Gay, with a band of ruffians, to go into the church (where was a great number of women, children, and young infants) to kill all that he found there; which the captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unused among men of war: whereat Mincius being displeased, charged him, upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain, fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In the meanwhile certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men that had there hidden themselves in cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill! kill!" The other soldiers that were without the town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were so unmercifully murdered, was about a thousand persons, men,

(1) Oaths and promises are broken by the papists.

women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again by their enemies.

In token of this jolly victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, on the which was engraven the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town, by John Minerius, lord of Ôpede, and chief president of the parliament of Provence; for a memorial for ever of that barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of. Hereupon we, with all our posterity, have to understand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the Antichrist of Rome is wont to uphold the impious seat of his abomination; who now is come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of iniquity, that all justice, equity, and verity being set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing but only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

In the meanwhile the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain men who were in some favour and authority with Minerius, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover them. Whereunto Minerius made this answer: "I know what I have to do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in hell among the devils."¹

After this there was a power sent unto la Coste, which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled away and ran into an orchard, where the soldiers ravished the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there inclosed a day and a night, they handled them so cruelly, that the women with child and the younger maidens died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel persecution against the Merindolians, and their fellows, insomuch that no kind of cruel tyranny was unpractised; for they that escaped by woods, and went wandering by mountains, were taken and set in galleys, or else were slain outright.

Many who did hide themselves in rocks and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them: all which may more fully be understood by the records of the court, and by the pleas between them and their adversaries in the high consistory of the court of Paris, where all the doors being set open, and in the public hearing of the people, the cause of this trouble and persecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great lawyers; the one called Aubrius, who accused Minerius the president, committed to prison; and the other called Robert, the defendant who was against him. The cause why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the law was this:

Henry II., French king, who newly succeeded Francis his father above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous persecution against his own subjects and people was greatly misliked of other princes, and also objected both against him and his father as a note of shameful tyranny by the emperor himself, Charles V., and that in the public council of all the states in Germany, for so murdering

Provence.

A. D.
1545.

The arguments wherupon the doctrine of the pope's church standeth.

The town of la Coste destroyed.

Martyrs of la Coste.

When the Merindolians were slain, their cause was pleaded. *See Appendix.*

The French king's tyranny noted by the emperor Charles V.

(1) Antichrist, here playeth the devil.

Provence. and spoiling his own natural subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the court, and there to be decided by order of justice, A. D. 1547.

A. D.
1547.

see
Appendix.

The
cause of
the Me-
rindoli-
ans after
their
death
pleaded
fifty
times.

Just
stroke of
God upon
cruel
Minerius.

†

†

Good
counsel
given to
Minerius
by his
surgeon.

He seek-
eth the
blood of
his sur-
geon.

The
wretched
end of
wretched
Minerius.

This cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in public audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so brake off and was passed over; and at length Minerius, being loosed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto Charles the cardinal of Lorraine, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the gospel) out of all Provence.

Thus Minerius being restored, returned again into Provence, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just judgment of God, lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he, being struck with a strange kind of bleeding in manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to obtain other relief, thus by little and little his entrails within him rotted: and when no remedy could be found for this terrible disease, and his entrails now began to be eaten of worms, a certain famous surgeon, named La Motte, who dwelt at Arles, a man no less godly than expert in his science, was called for, who, after he had cured him of this difficulty of relieving himself, and therefore was in great estimation with him; before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied body, and to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they that were present in the chamber with Minerius, would depart a little aside. This being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, how the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelty, in shedding so much innocent blood; and declared the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood coming from him.

These words being heard so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the agony of his disease; insomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the surgeon as a heretic. La Motte hearing this, oftsoons conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for again, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly, that his coming should be without any peril or danger: and so with much ado, he returned again to Minerius, what time all now was past remedy. And so Minerius, raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navel upwards, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God, through his mighty arm, at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

Moreover, besides this justice of God showed upon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten that which followed likewise upon certain of the others who were the chief doers in this persecution under Minerius aforesaid; namely, Louis de Vaine, brether-in-law to the said

president, and also the brother and the son-in-law to Peter Durant, master-butcher in the town of Aix ; which three did slay one another, upon a certain strife that fell among them. And upon the same day the judge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in the same persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the river Durance, was drowned.¹

Provence
A. D.
1530
to
1547.

Just
plague of
God upon
three per-
secutors.

NOTES UPON THE HISTORY OF MERINDOL, ABOVE RECITED.

Thus hast thou heard, loving reader ! the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals, against these faithful men of Merindol, which, for the heinous tyranny, and for example of the fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with many of the first persecutions in the primitive church, done either by Decius, or Diocletian.

Now, touching the said story and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this country were vexed ; neither was it of late years that the doctrine and profession of them began. For (as by the course of time, and by ancient records it may appear) these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about the confines of France and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, who were (as some say) about A. D. 1170 ; or (as others do reckon) about A. D. 1216, whereof thou hast, gentle reader ! sufficiently to understand, reading before.²

The gos-
pellers of
Merindol
came first
of the
Wal-
denses.

These Waldenses, otherwise called Pauperes de Lugduno, beginning of one Peter Waldo, citizen of Lyons, as is before showed, by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed abroad in divers countries, of whom some fled to Marseilles, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Provence and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above-mentioned, and the Angrognians, with others, of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They that were in the country of Toulouse, of the place where they frequented, were called Albii, or Albigenses. Against these Albigenses, friar Dominic was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together ; and caused many of them to be burned, for which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court, and at length, by pope Honorius III., was made patriarch of the black guard of the Dominic Friars.³

See
Appendix.

Wal-
denses,
how and
of whom
they first
began.

Dominic
patriarch
of the
Black
Friars, an
enemy to
the Wal-
denses.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up to themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the pope's cardinals above specified.⁴ For this cause the see of Rome took great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused all their faithful catholics, and the obedientiaries to their church, to rise up in armour, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon them, to fight against them, A. D. 1206 ; by reason whereof great multitudes of them were pitifully murdered, not only of them about Toulouse and Avignon in France (as is afore to be seen), but also in all quarters, miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued,

(1) Ex Hist. Gallica, Pantal. et aliis.

(2) See vol. ii. p. 264.—ED.

(3) Ex Antonino, part iii. titul. 19. capitulo 1.

(4) See vol. ii. p. 356 in the note.—ED.

Provence. from the reign of Frederic II., emperor, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

A. D.
1530
to
1517.

Paulus Æmilius, the French chronicler, in his sixth book, writing of these Pauperes de Lugduno, and Humiliati, and dividing these two orders from the Albigenses, reporteth that the two former orders were rejected by the pope Lucius III., and in their place two other orders were approved, to wit, the order of the Dominic Friars, and that of the Franciscans: which seemeth not to be true, forasmuch as this pope Lucius was twenty years before Innocent III.; and yet not in the time of pope Innocent was the order of the Dominic Friars approved, but in the time of pope Honorius III., who was forty years after pope Lucius. Again, Bernard of Lutzenberg, in his *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, affirmeth, that these Pauperes de Lugduno, or Waldenses, began first A. D. 1218; which if it be true, then must the other report of Æmilius be false, writing that the sect of Pauperes de Lugduno, was refused by pope Lucius III., who was long before this, A. D. 1181.

Amongst other authors who write of those Waldenses, John Sleidan,¹ treating of their continuance and doctrine, thus writeth of them. "There be," saith he, "in the French province, a people called Waldois. These, of an ancient trade and custom among them, do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, and ever have used a manner of doctrine somewhat more pure than the rest; but especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgment: wherefore they have been oftentimes complained of to the king, as though they contemned the magistrate, and would move rebellion, with other such matter falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain towns and villages, among which Merindol is one. Against these Merindolians sentence was given five years past, at Aix, being the high tribunal-seat or judgment-place of Provence, that all should be destroyed without respect of age or person, in such sort as that the houses being plucked down, the village should be made plain, even with the ground; the trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by means of certain that persuaded the king to the contrary, namely, one William Belay, who was at the same time the king's lieutenant in Piedmont. But at last, on the 12th of April, A. D. 1545, John Minerius, president of the council of Aix, calling the senate, read the king's letters, commanding them to execute the sentence given, &c.²

Moreover, concerning the confession and the doctrine of the said Merindolians, received of ancient time from their forefathers the Waldenses, thus it followeth in the said book and place of John Sleidan.³

At last, saith Sleidan (after he had described what great cruelty was showed against them) when the report thereof was bruted in Germany, it offended the minds of many; and indeed the Switzers, who were then of a contrary religion

(1) See the story of Sleidan, lib. xvi.

(2) This Confession, worthy of perpetual memory, you shall see more largely set out in Henry Pantaleon, writing of the destruction of Cabriers and Merindol, and also in the French story of Johan, Sleid. lib. xvi.

(3) See the Appendix.—Ed.

to the pope, entreated the king, that he would show mercy to such as were *Piedmont.* fled.

Whereunto the said king Francis made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his dominions, or how he punished his offenders, more than he was about their affairs, &c. Thus hard was the king against them, notwithstanding (saith Sleidan), that he, the year before, had received from the said his subjects of Merindol, a confession of their faith and doctrine.

The articles thereof were, that they, according to the christian faith, confessed first, God the Father, creator of all things: the Son, the only mediator and advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the comforter and instructor of all truth.

They confessed also the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's elect, whereof Jesus Christ is head. The ministers also of the church they did allow, wishing that such as did not their duty should be removed.

And as touching magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not love only, but also tribute and custom, and no man herein to be excepted, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, &c.

Likewise of baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lord's supper, they said and confessed the same to be a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

Matrimony they affirmed to be holy; and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good works are to be observed and exercised of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That false doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; protesting that they believed all such things as are contained in the apostolic creed: desiring moreover the king to give credit to this their declaration of their faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confession of the Merindolians out of Sleidan, and also concerning their descent and offspring from the Waldenses.

The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the People called Waldenses or Waldois,

See Appendix.

IN THE VALLEYS OF ANGROGNE, LUCERNE, ST. MARTIN, PEROUSE AND OTHERS, IN THE COUNTRY OF PIEDMONT, FROM A.D. 1555, to A.D. 1561.

The Martyrs of the Valley of Angrogne, the Martyrs of the Valley of Lucerne, the Martyrs of St. Martin, the Martyrs of Perouse and others. Persecuted by the Parliament of Turin; the President of St. Julian; Jacomel, a Monk and Inquisitor; Monsieur de la Trinity; the Gentlemen of the Valleys; Charles Truchet, Boniface Truchet; the Collateral of Corbis; the Collateral de Ecclesia; the Duke of Savoy; Monks of Pignerol; and by many others more, Enemies of God, and Ministers of Satan.

To proceed now further in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses, you have heard hitherto, first how they, dividing themselves into divers countries, some fled to Provence and to Toulouse,

Piedmont. of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it followeth now to treat, God willing.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the church of Rome: but ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many books of the Old and New Testament translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies who could not abide the light; albeit they did not instruct them with such purity as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy, and from profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impiety; also from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly served, and his word truly preached; insomuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and his sacraments. This was the cause that Satan with his ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible persecutions which have been, not only in Provence, against those of Merindol and Cabriers, also against them of Prague and Calabria (as the histories afore written do sufficiently declare), but also against them in the country of Piedmont, remaining in the valley of Angrogne, and of Lucerne, and also in the valley of St. Martin and Perouse, in the said country of Piedmont. This people of a long time were persecuted by the papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversely, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God always miraculously delivered them, as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the people of Angrogne had before this time certain to preach the word of God, and minister the sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first to keep themselves still as secret as they might; but there was such concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one John Martin, of Briqueras, a mile from Angrogne, who vaunted every where, that he would slit the minister's nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the towns thereabout.

At this season the French king held these aforesaid valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. At

The just
land of
God upon
John
Martin, a
persecu-
tor.

the end of the December following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Hereupon some who pretended great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they, notwithstanding, calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March, A. D. 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took a good man named Bartholomew, a book-binder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, who was sent by and by to Turin; and there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death; insomuch that divers of the parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said parliament, being sore incensed against the Waldois, sent one, named the president of St. Julian, associating unto him one called De Ecclesia and others, to hinder their enterprise. These coming first to the valley of Perouse, where as yet no preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the sermons of Angrogne, very much troubled and feared the poor people there.

From thence they went to the valley of St. Martin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From thence they went to Angrogne, accompanied by many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests of the said country: but by the way, the president inquired for one dwelling at St. Jean, near to Angrogne, and examined him, whether he had not baptized his child at Angrogne, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple man answered, that he had baptized his child at Angrogne, because baptism was there administered according to the institution of Christ. Then the president, in a great rage, commanded him in the king's name to baptize his child again, or else he should be burnt.¹ The poor man desired the president that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto: which after he had done in the hall, before all the company there present, he required the president that he would write, and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his. The president, hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury, "Away, thou villain! out of my sight:" and after that he was never called again any more.

After they were come to Angrogne, the president, having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being there assembled; who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the obedience of the see of Rome. The monk, with the president, and all his whole retinue, kneeled down

Piedmont.
A. D.
1555
to
1561.

Bartholomew, a book-binder, martyr.

The president of St. Julian and others, sent to the Angrognians. See Appendix.

Example of good prayer.

The president confounded at the poor man's answer.

(1) Note here how the papists play the Anabaptists.

Piedmont. twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary; but the ministers and all the people stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly, that their minister might also be suffered to preach, affirming that the said monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God: but the president would not grant their request. After that, the said president admonished them, in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to the obedience of the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life, and utter destruction of their town. And withal he recited unto them the piteous discomfiture of their brethren and friends, which had been done before in Merindol and Cabriers, and other places in the country of Provence. The ministers and the people answered, that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that God thereby were not displeased: and furthermore, if it were showed unto them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, whereunto the people gladly agreed; but, after that, there was no more mention made thereof.

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to
1561.

The people would not kneel to pray to our Lady. The people of Angrogne threatened with destruction.

They desire to be tried by the word of God.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations, now calling to him the syndics and head officers,¹ now severally, and now altogether, that so, for fear, he might make them relent: causing also assemblies to be made in every parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding he nothing prevailed with all that he could do; but still they continued constant: insomuch that, with one accord, they presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories made by the president, in which they confessed as followeth:

Substance of the Articles and Confession of the Angrognians, exhibited to the President.

That the religion wherein both they and their elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the christian belief.

Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributeth abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures to all those who receive the same with a true and lively faith.

Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and also the creed of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

Item, The ten commandments expressed in Exodus xx., and Deuteronomy v., in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requireth of us, are briefly comprised: and therefore, following this article, they suffered not by any means (said they) any gross iniquities to reign among them; as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, theft, murder,

(1) The 'syndics' were as sheriffs, councillors, or advocates.

sorcery, witchcraft, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the fear of God, and according to his holy will. *Piedmont.*

Moreover they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories.

Their interrogatories were concerning the mass, auricular confession, baptism, marriage, and burials, according to the institution of the church of Rome.

Their Answers to the Interrogatories.

To the first they answered, that they received the Lord's supper, as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his apostles; but as touching the mass, except the same might be proved by the word of God, they would not receive it. *Mass.*

To the second, touching auricular confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his, in the prayer which he taught them; 'Lord! forgive us our sins.' And as St. John saith; 'If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.'¹ And according to that which God himself saith by his prophet; 'O Israel! if thou return, return unto me.'² And again, 'O Israel! it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sins.'³ So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only who forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that David, in his Psalms, and the prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (said they) with all humbleness receive the same. *Auricular confession.*

Thirdly, As touching baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding, or diminishing in any point; and that all this they did in their mother-tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who willet that in the church every thing be done in the mother-tongue, for the edification of our neighbour:⁴ but as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them. *Baptism.*

Fourthly, As touching burials they answered, that they knew there was a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead; and therefore they were accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the word of God; as well to comfort the parents and friends of the dead, as also to admonish all men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of candles or lights, prayers for the dead, and ringing of bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them. *The manner of burials.*

Fifthly, As touching obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as St. Paul saith) serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies which have been brought into the church of God, either as a part of his divine service, or to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, because they are repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receive them. *Obedience to men's traditions.*

And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions to have been ordained by councils: first they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by councils: secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which saith, 'If any man, yea or angel from heaven,

Councils not to be preferred before God's word.

(1) 1 John i.

(2) Jer. i.

(3) Isa. xliii.

(4) 1 Cor. :xiv.

Piedmont. should preach unto you otherwise than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed.¹ And therefore (said they) if councils have

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1561.

Councils
not kept
of the pa-
pists in
many
points.

Finally they said, that the councils had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of bishops and ministers of the church; concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as well of the clergy as of the people; also concerning the distribution of the goods and possessions of the church; and further that all pastors who were either whoremongers, drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the mass of a priest who was a whoremonger, should be excommunicated: and many other such things, which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speak of many other things which were ordained by divers councils, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

Disputa-
tion re-
quired.

Wherefore they required the commissioners, that a disputation might be had (as by the said president was pretended) publicly, and in their presence; and then, if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or in conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed, as they had before said: beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet, for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof: saying moreover, that they, together with the said lords deputies, all confessed one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion were firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God, whereof it is said, that blessed are they which hear the same, and keep it.

For the
antiquity
of these
Waldois,
see be-
fore.

Turks
and Jews
find more
favour
with the
papists
than true
Christians.

To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (who are mortal enemies to our Saviour Christ), to dwell peaceably in the fairest cities of Christendom; by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate mountains and valleys, having their whole religion founded upon the holy gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus; and therefore they most humbly besought them to have pity and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their lord and prince, and to his lieutenants and officers.

Breathing
time
given of
God to
the An-
grogne-
mans.

The president, and the rest of the commissioners, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings; which immediately were sent unto the king's court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. During that time the Waldois lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful so augmented, that throughout the valleys God's word was purely preached, and his sacraments duly administered, and no mass was sung in Angrogne, nor in divers other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for thither the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, that is, for six of Angrogne, and for two of every parish besides, and showed unto them, how that their Confession, which the last year they had presented, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the king willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the church of Rome, upon pain

Again
persecuted.

See
Appendix.

of loss both of goods and life : enjoining them, moreover, to give Piedmont. him a direct answer within three days. From thence he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble themselves before certain by him appointed : but they, with one assent, persisted in their former confession ; and lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the word of God were disproved, it should immediately be amended : but contrariwise, if that were not done, that then they should no more be disquieted.

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to
1561.

The Lucernians require trial by God's word.

The president, not contented with this, the next morning sent for six of Angrogne, by him named, and for two out of every other parish, whom he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sore, and warned twelve of the chief of Angrogne, and certain of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the said parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered, that they could not, nor ought to obey such a commandment.

A little while after proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only such as were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others his officers, upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives ; and that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion, used in the church of Rome. Furthermore, that if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they should immediately be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one should be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those who should disclose any one of them should be kept secret ; and also, for their accusation, they should have the third part of the goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said accusers were any of those who privily did keep or maintain the said ministers ; and that they, and all others who would return to their mother the church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said commissioners.

At the same season the princes of Germany, and certain of the Switzers, sent unto the French king, desiring him to have pity on the aforesaid churches ; and from that time, until three years after, the people of the said valleys were not molested by any of the king's officers, but yet they were sore vexed by the monks of Pignerol, and the gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin.

The Germans supplicate for the Angrogneans.

About that time a minister of Angrogne, named Geoffrey Varialla, born in Piedmont, a virtuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to visit certain churches in those quarters where he was born, and coming homeward, was taken at Berga, and from thence led to Turin, where, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his adversaries, he most constantly suffered.

Geoffrey Varialla, a martyr. See Appendix.

A few days after, a minister of the valley of Lucerne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Susa, and soon after sent to Turin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before those of the

Piedmont. parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman, at the time of execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away; and so likewise another served them, being appointed by the aforesaid court to execute the poor minister. It is credibly reported that the hangman who executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution: whereupon the minister was sent to prison again, where after long and painful endurance, seeing the prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

A.D.1559. Now four years being past, in such manner as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was A. D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; whereupon the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the duke of Savoy, under whose regiment the aforesaid churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness, and were not molested; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, by his ministers stirred the duke against the said churches of Piedmont, his own natural subjects. For the pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The pope's legate also, who then followed the court, and others that favoured the church of Rome, laboured by all means to persuade the duke, that he ought to banish the said Waldois, who maintained not the pope's religion; alleging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the apostolic see; also that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church; and briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son.

The pope stirreth up the duke of Savoy against the An-grog-nians.

See Appendix.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith these poor people of the valleys, and the country of Piedmont, were so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great calamities which they were like to suffer, to find some remedy for the same (if it were possible), all the said churches of Piedmont with one common consent wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for which he was by their enemies so sorely incensed against them, was their religion, which was no new or light opinion, but that wherein they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved, by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this advertisement was delivered unto the duke or no; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. But, howsoever it was, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians who were at Carignano; amongst whom there were certain godly persons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to say, one named Mathurine,

and his wife, and John de Carignano, dwelling in the valley of Lucerne, taken prisoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. Piedmont. The woman died with great constancy. The good man, John de Carignano, had been in prison divers times before for religion, and was always delivered by God's singular grace and providence. But seeing himself taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he showed an invincible constancy and marvellous virtue, as well by the pure confession which he made touching the doctrine of salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also man more than God, looking rather to the earth than to heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the church of Rome.

Within few days after, these churches of the said Waldois, that is to say De l'Arche, Merone, Meane, and Suse, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Suse suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken amongst others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces, who, in the end, was put to most shameful and cruel death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of De l'Arche and Merone were marvellously tormented and afflicted; for some were taken and sent to the galleys, others consented and yielded to the adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those who yielded to the adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others who continued constant in the truth; whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the apostate, and shrink from the truth.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldois, here note, that first of all the proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custom of the church of Rome; upon pain of forfeiture of their goods, and to be condemned to the galleys for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruel persons that could be found, were appointed to execute this commission. The first was one Thomas Jacomet, a Jacobite monk, and inquisitor of the Romish faith; a man worthy for such an office, for he was an apostate, and had renounced the known truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians, against his own conscience, and of set purpose, as his books do sufficiently witness. He was also a whoremonger, and given over to all other villanies and filthy living: in the grossest vices he surpassed all his fellows. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mis-shaped monster both against God and nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poor captives of the said Waldois, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the wheel a

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

Mathurine and his wife, and John de Carignano, martyrs.

Persecution beguneth in the valleys.

The minister of Meane, a martyr.

God's secret judgment upon them that shrink from his truth.

Jacomet a cruel apostate. See Appendix.

†

Rigorous handling of the Waldois.

Piedmont. hundred times, and to suffer as many cruel deaths, if it were possible ; so great, so many, and so horrible, were the crimes that he had committed.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

The second was the collateral Corbis, who, in the examination of the prisoners, was very rigorous and cruel ; for he only demanded of them whether they would go to the mass, or be burnt within three days ? and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported that seeing the constancy, and hearing the confession of the poor martyrs, and feeling a remorse, and being tormented in conscience, he protested that he would never meddle any more.

The third was the provost de la Justice, a cruel and crafty wretch, accustomed to apprehend the poor Christians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Lucerne, or thereabouts. Thus the poor people were always as the silly sheep in the wolf's jaws, or as the sheep which are led unto the slaughter-house.

Cruel
monks of
Pignerol.
See
Appendix

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the said commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Lucerne ; by reason whereof they were a while more gently treated than the rest. At that season the monks of Pignerol, and their associates, tormented grievously the churches near about them. They took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey ; and having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the said churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children ; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to the mass ; some also they sent to the galleys, and others they burnt cruelly. They that escaped were afterwards so sick, that they seemed to have been poisoned. The same year there were two great earthquakes in Piedmont, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

Martyrs.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them, and commanding them to return unto the mass ; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the others there were two especially, that is to say, Charles Truchet, and Boniface his brother, who, on the 2d of April, before day, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects, named Riuelaret ; which as soon as the inhabitants of the said village perceived, they fled into the mountain covered with snow, naked and without victuals, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his retinue took a minister of the said valley prisoner, who was come out of Calabria, and was going to visit the poor people of Riuelaret, and led him prisoner to the abbey, where, soon after, he was burnt, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

Truchet
and Boni-
face, two
cruel
persecu-
tors.

A minister
of
Calabria
burned.

God's
people
rescued.

The third night after, they of Pragela, having pity upon the poor people of Riuelaret, sent about four hundred to discomfit the company of the Truchets, and to restore those who were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who, notwithstanding, in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

About the year before, the said Truchet, being accompanied by

a company of ruffians, arrested prisoner the minister of Riuelaret as he was at his sermon. But the people were so moved by his outrageous dealing, and especially the women, that they had almost strangled the said Truchet; and the rest of them were so canvassed that they had no list to come there again any more. By reason of this he so vexed them by processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred crowns.

Soon after, the lords of the said valley took another minister of the same valley, as he was going to preach in a parish a mile from his house; but the people perceiving that, speedily pursued him and took him. The enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead; whereupon, they so persecuted the poor people, that they were almost destroyed.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the same night, in which the company of Truchet was discomfited, was so stormy and terrible, and the gentlemen of that country were so terrified, that they thought they should have been all destroyed; wherefore they used more gentleness towards the people than before, except Charles Truchet and his brother, who went to the duke, and made grievous complaints against the Waldois, not only for that which was done and past, but also they persuaded the duke, that they went about to build three fortresses in the mountains, and also intended to maintain certain garrisons of strangers, charging them further with divers other crimes, of which they were in no point guilty. The duke, being moved by these false surmises, gave in charge to the said accusers, that the fortress of the valley of St. Martin, which about twenty years before was rased by the Frenchmen, should be built again, and that therein should be placed a perpetual garrison, and that the people should make so plain and wide the rugged ways, that horsemen might easily pass; with divers such other things. And all this to be done at the costs and charges of those that would not submit themselves to the obedience of the Roman church.

This commission being sealed, the gentlemen caused the fortress to be built again, and put therein a garrison, and proclaimed the commission. The poor people being thereat amazed, withstood the commissioners, and sent certain to the duke; and immediately after the commissioners returned to the duke's court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soon prevented this mischief; for the Truchets, being at Nice, went to sea with divers noblemen, and immediately were taken prisoners by the Turks, put into the galleys, sore beaten with ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their nobility, they were sent home, having paid four hundred crowns for their ransom. Some say, that the duke himself was almost taken; but it is sure that he fell sick soon after. In the month of April next following, the lord of Rancois was present at a sermon, in a place near unto Angrogne. The sermon being ended, he talked with the ministers; and having discoursed as well of the duke's sickness, as also of his clemency and gentleness, he declared to them, that the persecution proceeded not from him, and that he meant not that the commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the

Piedmont.

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to
1561.

A minister of Riuelaret taken and wounded.

False complaints brought to the duke against the Waldois.

The just judgment of God upon the Truchets.

Piedmont. duke's wrath. They answered, that the people ought not to be moved to seek how to please and appease the duke by any means which might displease God; but the best way they knew, was the same wherewith the ancient servants of God used to appease the pagan princes and emperors, in the time of the great persecutions of the church; that is to say, to give out and present unto them in writing the confession of their faith, and defence of the religion which they professed; trusting that, forasmuch as the fury of divers profane and ethnic emperors and princes hath been heretofore appeased by such means, the duke, being endued with such singular virtues as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like means. And for that cause the poor people had before sent a supplication, with a confession of their faith, unto the duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no; wherefore they desired him to present the same unto the said duke himself: wherunto he agreed, and promised so to do. Hereupon they sent three supplications, one to the duke, the second to the duchess, and the third to the duke's council; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, which they and their ancestors had of a long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the pure word of God; and if by the same word it should be proved that they were in error, they would not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the truth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat assuaged for a little while.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.
How the
Christians
in
times
past
have
appeased
the
fury
of
pagan
princes.

The An-
grognians
send forth
three
supplica-
tions.

Their
confes-
sion sent
to the
pope

In the end of June next following, the lord of Ranconis and the lord of Trinity, came to Angrogne, there to qualify (as they said) the sore persecution, and caused the chief rulers and ministers to assemble together, propounding divers points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the mass, and obedience towards princes and rulers: and, furthermore, they declared unto them, that their confession was sent unto Rome by the duke, and daily they looked for an answer. To all these points the ministers answered. After this they demanded of the chief rulers, whether if the duke would cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would withstand the same or no? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, whether if the duke would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, Whether they were content that in the mean time their ministers should cease; and if they that should be sent, preached not the word of God sincerely, then their ministers to preach again? if they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution should cease, and that the prisoners should be restored again. To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered, that they could by no means suffer that their ministers should forbear preaching.

The two lords, not contented with this answer, commanded in the duke's name, that all the ministers who were strangers should, out of hand, be banished the country; saying, that the duke would not suffer them to dwell within his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demanding also, whether they would foster and maintain the prince's enemies within his own land, against his own decree and

express commandment? To this, answer was made by the chief rulers, that they could by no means banish them, unless they were before convicted of some heresy or other crime: for their part they had always found them to be men of pure and sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conversation.

This done, immediately proclamations were made, and the persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel; for they sent out a company of hired ruffians, who daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on; and took men, women, and children, and led them captives to the abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they sent also a band of the said ruffians by night to the house of the minister of St. Germain, in the valley of Perouse; being led thither by a traitor that knew the house, and had used to haunt thither secretly, who knocking at the door, the minister, knowing his voice, came forth immediately, and perceiving himself to be betrayed, fled: but he was soon taken and sore wounded, and yet notwithstanding they pricked him behind with their halberds to make him hasten his pace. At that time also many they slew, many they hurt, and many also they brought to the abbey, and there kept them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good minister endured sore imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death, with a wonderful constancy; for they roasted him by a small fire; and when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice.

Piedmont.
A. D.
1555
to
1561.

The monks of Pignerol against the Angrogneans.
The minister of St. Germain betrayed and taken. Barbarous cruelty against him.

The inquisitor Jacomel, with his monks, and the collateral Corbis amongst others, showed one practice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man; who, when he should be burnt, caused two poor women of St. Germain (whom they kept in prison), to carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words unto their pastor: "Take this, thou wicked heretic! in recompense of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught us." To whom the good minister answered; "Ah, good women! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill." To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the mountain to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many who before had been men of much wealth, and with their riches had ministered great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succour and relief of others.

Two women compelled to carry faggots, to burn their pastor.

Now, forasmuch as the said monks, with their troops of ruffians (who were counted to be in number about three hundred), made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could there live in safety, it was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of the said ruffians? The ministers answered, that it was lawful, warning them in any case, to take heed of bloodshed. This question being once solved, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne sent certain men to those of St. Germain, to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

Whether it be lawful for the persecuted people of Christ to stand to their own defence.

Piedmont.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

In the month of June, the harvest being then in Piedmont, divers of the Waldois were gone into the country to reap and to make provision for corn, for very little groweth upon their mountains, who were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a miracle: whereat the adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same time there were certain others also, who had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they, after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful providence, were likewise delivered.

Victory
of the
Angrognians
over their
enemies.

See
St. Ambrose.

In the month of July, they of Angrogne, being in a morning at harvest upon the hill side of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain; and doubting lest they should go to Angrogne, they made an outcry. Then the people of Angrogne assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the hill, and some by the valley. They that went by the valley, met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaden with spoil which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set upon the others, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty men well appointed, and gave them soon the overthrow. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemies were fain to take the river Cluson, where divers were sore hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly; and such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with the blood of them that were wounded and slain: but none of the Angrognians were once hurt. If the said river had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man escaped alive. The noise of thearquebusses was great, and within less than one hour's space, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together upon the river; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day: but their ministers counselled them not to enterprise any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that discomfiture unto the abbey, they might have found all open and easily have entered; for the monks were so sore afraid, that they fled suddenly to Pignerol, to save their relics and images, which they carried thither. The rest of the country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells everywhere. The greater part of them fled, doubting lest the poor Waldois would have revenged the wrongs and outrages done to them.

The com-
mander
of St.
Anthony
sent
to An-
grogne.

Massa
falsely
derived
out of the
Hebrew.

The next day following, the commander of St. Anthony de Fossano came to Angrogne, accompanied with divers gentlemen, saying, that he was sent by the duke: and having assembled the chief rulers and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he had declared unto them the cause of his coming, he read their supplication directed to the duke, which contained their confession, demanding of them, if it were the same which they had sent to the duke? They answered, Yea. Then he began to dispute, being sent, as he said, to inform them of their errors, not doubting but they would amend according to their promise. Then he entered into a disputation of the mass, in a great heat, deriving the same from the

Hebrew word 'Massa,' which signified (as he supposed) consecration, and showed that this word 'Missa,' might be found in ancient writers. The ministers answered, that he ill applied the Hebrew word; and further, that they disputed not of the word 'Missa,' but of that which is signified by the same, which he ought first to prove by the word of God. Briefly, that he could not prove, either by the word of God, or the ancient fathers, their private mass, their sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of the same for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of the said mass. The commander, having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous choler, railing and raging as if he had been stark mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their rooms, by the duke's commandment; which he could not, unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

From thence he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jaemel caused a number of the poor inhabitants of Campignon, and of Fenil, who be of the valley of Lucerne, to be taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear; and in the end ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campignon agreed with those who were fled, for thirty crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the money, he caused the commander of Fossano with his men to come by night to his house, and then sent for the poor men, thinking traiterously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal enemy, following therein the decree of the Council of Constance, which is, that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the commander's coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the proceedings of the commander, and that he neither would nor could, show or prove any thing by the word of God, as he had promised, but threatened them with great wrongs and injuries, and would not suffer their ministers to reply, or say any thing for the defence of their cause: and therefore they desired him to signify the same to the duke's grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their religion, seeing it was not proved unto them, by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given out through all the country, to banish these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the gospel, if it were possible, out of the mountains and valleys of Piedmont: but the poor people still desired, that, according to that which they had so often before protested by word and writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his word; simply obeying their Lord and prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

Piedmont.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

Disputa-
tion
about
the mass

The poor
inhabitants
of
Lucerne
taken pri-
soners.

No thing
proved by
the word
of God
against
the Wal-
dois.

*Piedmont.*A. D.
1555
to
1561.Barabbas
delivered,
Christ
pursued.
Delibera-
tion
among
the Wal-
dois.

In the end of the October next following, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. Furthermore, those malefactors who heretofore were fled or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne thereupon assembled together oftentimes, to take advice what, in such an extremity, were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general fast, and the Sunday after, a communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw himself into the high mountains, and every one to carry away such goods as he was able to bear; and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just: but yet every one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains; and for the space of eight days all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like unto ants in summer which provide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexity and danger with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any who grudged to leave their houses and fair possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

Whether
subjects
for reli-
gion may
stand in
their own
defence.

A few days after, certain other ministers, hearing what they of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote unto them, that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the violence of their enemies, alleging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just; that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children; knowing that it was the pope and his ministers who were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their instigations: wherefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence. For the proof hereof they also alleged certain examples.

*See
Appendix.*The An-
grogians
refuse to
hear
mass.

During this season the lord of Angrogne, named Charles de Comptes, of Lucerne, laboured earnestly, by all means possible, to cause them of Angrogne to consent to the duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their ministers, promising that he would cause a mass to be sung at Angrogne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat; hoping that by that means the duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of Angrogne thereupon were assembled and made this answer: that if the duke would permit them to choose other ministers, they were content to send away their foreign ministers and strangers; but as touching the mass, his highness might well cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they, for

their part, could not with safe consciences be present at the same, *Piedmont*
nor yet give their consent unto it.

On the 25th of October the said lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondovi, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrogne answered, that they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at that time to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogne. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the notary for the copy of that which was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the lord de Comptes, in which was comprised, that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people, hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And thereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant (albeit it were very late) certain should be sent to the lord of Angrogne to signify unto him, that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne, to hear the voices of the people; not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the uproar, but sent thither the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laying all the blame upon the notary.

During this time the adversaries cried out through all the country of Piedmont, "To the fire with them!" "To the fire with them!" The Thursday after, Angrogne, by proclamations and writings set up in every place, was exposed to fire and sword. On Friday after, being the 1st of November, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. Jean, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. Jean, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of the enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to Bubbiana, where their camp then was, and not one of them of St. Jean were slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the aforesaid horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come!" "They come!" at whose cry the whole army were so astonished, that every man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no creature followed them.¹

On the Saturday, in the morning, the army mustered in the meadow-ground of St. Jean, near to Angrogne. They of Angrogne had

The determination of the council falsified.

Proclamation against them.
See Appendix.

(1) Sennacherib fieth from the face of Israel!

Piedmont. sent certain to keep the passages, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired to the meadow of Tour, and little thought of the coming of the army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault: for they were yet carrying of victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passages. Now those who kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the cause which they maintained; to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of blood; and if it were his will to take them, with their wives and infants, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receive them into his kingdom. In this sort most fervent prayers were made by all those that kept the passages, with exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in this great distress. All this the lord of Trinity and the army did well perceive.

Prayer of
the An-
grog-
nians.

A combat
between
the lord of
Trinity,
and the
Waldois.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their enemies coming towards them through the vines, to win the top of the mountain of Angrogne. In the mean time the prior of St. Jean, and Jacomel, were within the temple of Angrogne, and communed with the rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the lord of Trinity to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in divers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrogne. The poor Waldois, being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sore pressed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themselves until night.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies still pursuing them, they turned themselves, and slew divers of them, and hurt many. When the evening came, the enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to sup and lodge all night; which thing when the Angrognians perceived, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them, but the enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a drum into a little valley hard by; and as they were making their prayers unto God, and the drum sounded in the valley, the lord of Trinity caused his soldiers, who were about to encamp themselves, to remove thence; which was a great advantage unto the poor people, who now were sore wearied with travail, all wet with sweating, and very thirsty: and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing time. Many of the enemies that day were slain, and many hurt, of whom very few escaped; insomuch that they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians that day there were but three slain, and one hurt, who afterwards was well healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and sore astonished the adversaries. The same time the army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the vines which were in the presses.

God's
holly help
in time of
need.

The said lord of Trinity with his army encamped in a village beyond

(1) Behold the policy of this poor people!

Tour, in the valley of Lucerne, at the foot of the hill, between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of Lucerne, that professed the gospel. They of the said village were always sore against the Waldois, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against the professors thereof: but they had their just plague; for they were all destroyed. After this the said lord of Trinity caused the fortress to be built again, which the Frenchmen had razed, and placed there a garrison, and after sent another to the fort of Villars, which is in the valley of Lucerne; and another he sent to the fortress of Perouse, and a fourth garrison he placed in the castle of St. Martin. They of Angrogne (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a sea of troubles), after they had recommended themselves unto God by prayer, and committed their cause unto him, sent to them of Perouse, St. Martin, and of Pragela, for aid and succour; who sent them all the help they were able.

Piedmont.
A. D.
1555
to
1561.

God
helpeth
his, and
punishes
his ene-
mies.

The next day following there came letters to Angrogne from the lord of Trinity, the effect whereof was this:

Crafty Message of the Lord of Trinity to the Angrognians.

That he was sorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make war against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a fort therein to serve the duke. Furthermore, that his soldiers, seeing the people assembled, as it were, to defy them, upon that occasion only were stirred up to give assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their goods, and such hurt done by fire. But if they would show themselves obedient to the duke, he had good hope that all should be well, and trusted some good agreement should be made.

The Answer of the Angrognians.

The Angrognians answered thus:

That they were marvellously aggrieved to be so assaulted, spoiled and tormented, by the subjects of their liege and natural prince; and as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be more faithful and obedient to their sovereign prince the duke, than any of all his subjects besides, so yet they still offered the same obedience. Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if they, being constrained by such extreme necessity, defended themselves. Finally, as touching their religion, they affirmed, that it was the pure word of God, even as it was preached by the prophets and apostles, and the same which their predecessors had observed for certain hundred years past. Moreover, that the cause was not concerning the goods of the world, but the honour and glory of God, the salvation or destruction of the souls both of them and theirs: and therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forsake their religion. And yet, if it might be proved unto them by good demonstration out of the word of God (not by force of arms, by blood and fire), that they were in error, they would then yield themselves with all obedience; most humbly beseeching him, and all other the lords of the country of Piedmont, to be their intercessors and advocates to the duke in his behalf.

*See
Appendix.*

On Monday, being the 4th of November, the lord of Trinity sent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people, seeing their enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many: many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other company ascended towards Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army was the greater, yet, making their prayers unto God, and

The
towns of
Villars
and
Tailleret
assaulted

Piedmont. commending their cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

God
giveth
victory to
his ser-
vants.

Just re-
ward up-
on the
Lord's
enemies.

Gastaut,
a false
brother.
Deep
dissimu-
lation in a
crafty
papist.

The
duchess a
great fa-
vourer of
the An-
grogni-
ans.

In the mean season they of Villars, being emboldened by their late victory, came to assist their neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit it chanced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poor people, by an ambush of their enemies which came another way, were suddenly inclosed on every side, and like to be destroyed; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, who were soon cured again. On the enemy's side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those who were so desirous to shed innocent blood. The same day the inhabitants of Sanson, near to Roccapiata, assembled in great numbers together, and went to a rich man's house of Roccapiata, and spoiled all that he had. Certain of Roccapiata, in number not exceeding seventeen, understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to flight, took away their drum, and forced them to leave their booty behind them.

After the lord of Trinity had received the letters of the Angrogians, he sent unto them his secretary, named Christopher Gastaut (who said himself, that he favoured the verity of the gospel), accompanied with a gentleman of the said valley, whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain to commune with the said lord of Trinity, saying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a safe-conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four unto him, whom he treated very courteously, and rehearsed unto them, how the duke, at his departure from the court, told him, that although the pope, the princes, and the cities of Italy, yea, his own council, were fully resolved, that of necessity they of the said religion should be destroyed, yet notwithstanding, God otherwise put it in his mind, and that he had taken counsel of God what he should do in this matter; that is, that he would use them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the duchess did bear them good affection, and favoured them very much, and that she had commended their cause unto the duke, persuading with him to have regard to that poor people; and that their religion was ancient and old; with many such other things. Moreover, they had (said he) great friends in the duke's court, not doubting but if they would send certain to the court with a supplication, they should obtain more than they themselves would require; and he, for his part, would employ himself in their affairs to the uttermost of his power: and so he promised that he would retire himself with his army. This he seemed to speak unfeignedly. The people, desiring but to live peaceably in their religion, and under the obedience of their lawful prince, were content to follow his counsel.

About this season they of Angrogne perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret (which is the half way between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne), and the other party had already gotten a way which led to the meadow of Tour, by which they of Angrogne might easily have been inclosed. Therefore they sent certain immediately to keep the way, who soon after encountered with their enemies and obtained the victory, pursuing and chasing

them to their camp, not without great loss of their men. The number of their enemies slain, was not known; for their custom was immediately to carry away those who were slain. Not one of Angrogne perished that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of Trinity could well dissemble the matter, and excused that day's journey, putting the fault upon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to have slain certain of his men in the highway, and, amongst others, his barber.

On Saturday following, being the 9th of November, the said lord of Trinity sent again for them of Angrogne, to consult with them touching the agreement, using the like communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their armour into two of the houses of the chief rulers, not fearing but it should be safe; for it should remain in their own keeping, and, if need were, they should receive it again. Also, that he on Sunday (which was the next day), would cause a mass to be sung within the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few; and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged.

The next morning he went into the temple (whereat they were sore grieved, albeit they could not withstand him), his army marching afore him; and having caused a mass to be sung, he desired to see the meadow of Tour, so much spoken of, that thereof he might make a true report unto the duke; and thither the rulers, with a great troop of his own men, went: the residue of his company remained behind, who spoiled certain houses, and seized the armour which they had delivered up before: but they found no great store, for the people had taken away the greatest part thereof. The said lord being entered into the meadow of Tour, the people began to make a commotion; whereof he, having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in the mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were sore moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, and the taking away of their armour; but especially because the said lord of Trinity had viewed the meadow of Tour, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose.¹ A few days after, the said lord of Trinity sent his secretary, Gastaut, to Angrogne, to talk with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution thereof; which was read in the assembly by the secretary. The sum thereof was this: that the people of Angrogne submitted themselves to render all honour and reverence to God, according to his holy word, and all due obedience to the duke their sovereign prince, to whom they should send certain men to demand pardon of him, concerning their bearing armour in their extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their religion, which was according to the word of God, not compelling them to do any thing against their conscience; as it appeareth more amply in the supplication, which, after this, the Angrognians made, and caused to be read before the secretary in the open assembly, and which here ensueth.

(1) Behold the double dealing and dissimulation of the papists to bring their wicked purposes to pass.

Piedmont.
A. D.
1555
to
1561.

See Appendix.

Crafty dissimulation of the lord of Trinity.

Piedmont.

The Supplication of the Angrogians to the Duke of Savoy.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

To the most excellent and worthy prince, the duke of Savoy &c. our sovereign lord and natural prince.

Most noble and renowned prince! we have sent certain of our men unto your highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certain of our people in their extreme necessity, and for all other our trespasses, for which your sovereign grace might conceive any offence against us.

A lawful request of the Angrogians to live after God's word.

Secondly, To desire in most humble wise your said highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedom of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our ancestors, observed for certain hundred years past: and we are persuaded, that it is the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only verity, the word of life and salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemency not to take in ill part, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent unto certain traditions and ordinances of the church of Rome; and herein to have pity upon our poor souls, and the souls of our children, to the end that your highness be not in any wise charged in the just judgment of God for the same, where all men must appear to answer for their doings.

On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true servants of God, to serve him according to his holy word; and also to be true and loyal subjects to your highness, and more obedient than any others, being always ready to give our goods, our bodies, our lives, and the lives of our children, for your noble grace, as also our religion teacheth us to do: only we desire that our souls may be left at liberty, to serve God according to his holy word.

And we, your poor humble subjects, shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long prosperity of your highness, for the most virtuous lady your wife, and for the noble house of Savoy.

Wretched dealing of the lord of Trinity against them of Tailleret.

To this supplication they of St. Jean, of Roccapiata, of St. Barthelemi, and of Perouse, with those of the valley of Lucerne, did agree. For it was concluded, that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. While they were treating of this agreement, the lord of Trinity vexed cruelly them of Tailleret, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselves to treat of this agreement. He tormented them after this sort: first he commanded that all their armour should be brought before him, and then they, on their knees, should ask him pardon, because they came not to treat of the agreement with the rest; which notwithstanding the most part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to enrol all the names of those who would be of the aforesaid agreement.

Hereupon, the next morning, the chief of the householders went to the village named Bouvets, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought that the soldiers had gotten the top of the mountain, and had taken all the passages; whereat they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved: the most part with their goods, were in their enemies' hands already. At this time, with sacking, spoiling, and burning, they did much mischief.

The papists false breakers of promise.

After this the lord of Trinity sent word to them that were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting to his promise, returned to Bouvets,

and yet the next morning the soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly: the rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous means; for it happened that there was an old man who could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a naked sword in his hand to have slain him. The old man, seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

Piedmont.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

God's protection in
time of
need.

The soldier cried out, "Help! help! this villain will kill me." His fellows, hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the mean time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, took heart, by grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that present time they carried no prisoners away.

The day following, the soldiers, returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so continued three days together; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the said lord of Trinity, to torment the poor Taillerets yet more cruelly, sent his army again, before day, to the mountain, and into the same place, and because the people of the said village were retired towards Villars, and scattered about the borders thereof in the high mountains, the soldiers, not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in the said Tailleret, ranging about the confines thereof, ravened and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women, who were loaden with carriage.

Tailleret
sacked
and
spoiled.

The poor prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst others there was one, whose ear a soldier of Mondovis, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with these words, "I will carry," said he, "the flesh of these wicked heretics with me into my country." They of Villars also complained of the great cruelty that was showed unto them, during the time of the agreement.

Cruelty of
papists.

When the lord of Trinity understood this, to make a show that he was offended therewith, he came to his soldiers, who were so weary that they could scarcely go (not with fighting, but because they were so heavily laden with spoil, that they were not able to carry it), and pretending to be in great choler, some he beat; some things also of a small value he caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept back and carried away. The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers, and who died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age, who was fled into a cave with his son's daughter, being eighteen years old, who fed him, was slain by the enemies; and as they would have ill-used the maiden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountain, and died.

The mother
and
the
daughter
and
others,
martyrs.

†

At that time also a great company of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled, with their goods, and brought to the camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain

Piedmont. soldier, who promised the lord of Trinity to find out the minister of Tailleret, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased until he had found him; and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certain, at unawares coming out of the mountain, rescued the poor minister, and killed the soldier with stones.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

A wicked
persecu-
tor killed
with
stones.

†

But this especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the papists had sent their daughters into the mountains unto the Waldois to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ill-used by the soldiers, being wholly given over as to all cruelty and ravine, so to all villany and abomination; by whom they were before threatened to be so abused.

All this being done, the said lord of Trinity caused the head-officers and chiefest of the people to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge to the duke, and that it was meet that they should bear the one half of the charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand crowns; but, by means of the secretary Gastaut, who was promised a hundred crowns for his wine (that is to say, for a bribe), four thousand of those twenty were abated, so that they granted unto him sixteen thousand, of which sum the duke released the one half. Then the lord of Trinity pressed this poor people to deliver the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the soldiers their wages (as he said), and so to withdraw his army. The year before, corn was exceeding dear, for a sack was commonly sold for six crowns, yea, and some for eight crowns; and also they had very little corn growing upon their mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of money. But they, being in this perplexity, and desiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, went about to sell their cattle to pay this money: but the lord of Trinity had given out a commandment, that none should buy any cattle of the Waldois without his license. Then license was given out to certain to buy great store of cattle, and that for a small price: and the common bruit was, that he had part of the gain. When the money was paid, yet the army notwithstanding retired not.

The poor
Waldois
prised at
sixteen
thousand
crowns.

The pa-
pists false
of pro-
mise.

After this the lord of Trinity commanded the Waldois to surrender up all their armour, to furnish the duke's forts, otherwise he threatened to send his soldiers among them, and indeed he constrained many so to do. Then he demanded, moreover, the eight thousand crowns, which the duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that he commanded that the ministers should be sent away, until the matter were determined before the duke; otherwise he would send his soldiers to dislodge them out of hand: wherenpon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their ministers should withdraw themselves for a space, until the army were retired; which was not done without marvellous sighs, and lamentation, and tears. At that season there fell such abundance of snow, that the like had not been seen of a long time before; so that the people were constrained to make a way, with great travail and pain, through the top of the mountain of St. Martin, for their ministers to pass. Now thought the lord of Trinity so to have inclosed them (he keeping the plain, and the mountains being covered so thick with snow), that by no means they should have escaped his hands.

But the people caused them to pass the top of the mountain, and at their departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the village of Bobi, and came together in a secret place there, called Le Puis, not without great grief and sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their ministers should be so taken from them, and they now left as lambs amongst wolves.

Piedmont.
A. D.
1555
to
1561.

The army was advertised that the ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a great troop of harquebussiers were at hand, which sought them even to the very top of the mountain, insomuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time, for certain days after, they did nothing but range about in all places, seeking for the ministers; and there was no house, chamber, cave, nor secret corner, into which they did not enter, under pretence to seek for the ministers. There was neither chest, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying that the ministers were hidden therein, and by that means they took, spoiled, and carried away whatsoever they would.

Care of the Waldois for their ministers.

God's providence for his ministers

The lord of Trinity promised oftentimes, that although it were forbidden to all the ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrogne should be excepted; and, furthermore, sent the said minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the duke, it should be granted him: whereupon the said minister made this request, that the poor people might live peaceably in their religion. A while after, he sent for the same minister to confer with him privately upon certain points of religion. The minister went unto him, having thereto the consent of the people. The lord of Trinity propounded unto him three points:¹ the first, concerning the supremacy of the pope; the second, concerning transubstantiation. Of these two points the minister then immediately declared his opinion, and he seemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the minister to go to the duke's court, and there he to defend the cause of the people, alleging certain reasons to persuade him so to do: whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed convenient to the ministers and people that he should go, he would be content to do the same; and thereof he promised to send him answer immediately, with which answer he seemed to be contented.

Shortly after the aforesaid lord, not tarrying for an answer, sent his army to the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister, being warned thereof, essayed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the people, durst go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied by five others. The army was by and by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was; spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating others: but yet they could not

The minister of Angrogne pursued by the soldiers.

(1) Mark here the fair pretence and traitorous meaning of the lord of Trinity, who by and by after seeketh the death of this good minister.

Piedmont. learn of them where their minister was. At length they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to have inclosed him; and so they pursued him in the rocks all covered with snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of Trinity in a sack, who caused them all to be burned in his presence, supposing (as it well appeared) that the letters which he had sent to Angrogne, touching the agreement, should be with the rest burnt: for he did not the like in the other ministers' houses. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.
His
house
spoiled.

Forty
houses
spoiled.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torch-light to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning commandment was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to the fire and sword. The rulers answered, that they could not so do, for they knew not where he was, and the soldiers had chased him over the mountain. After certain days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broken their mills, and done what mischief they could, the army retired. Notwithstanding the lord of Trinity left garrisons in the aforementioned fortresses, but all at the cost and charges of the Waldois; which garrisons, not contented with their wages, spoiled continually. On one night five soldiers went with torches to a rich man's house of Angrogne, and spoiled the same. The good man of the house hardly escaped with life by the top of the house; for there were twelve pellets shot off at him, whereof one touched his face, and struck his hat from his head, without any further hurt.

God's
holy pro-
tection in
saving his
servants.

The rulers of Angrogne, who were gone to the fortress to carry thither victuals and money, were by the soldiers retained, and, in despite of them and the people, they caused a mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it; and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. One of the rulers was sent again for more money; the other with great peril of his life leaped over the walls, and though pursued to Angrogne, escaped.

Two rul-
ers of
Angrogne
beaten
almost to
death for
not kneel-
ing to the
mass.

Certain days after, a certain company of soldiers came into the midst of Angrogne, as though they would have passed through, and called for meat and drink. The poor men brought what they had unto them in a close court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the women to leave, and then bound fourteen of those who had brought them victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their wives and children perceiving this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fain to let go ten of their prisoners for haste, and had much ado to save themselves.¹ The other four they led away to the fortress, of whom two were ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the feet and hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. Of these one died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his

Cruelty
shown for
kindness.

Two mar-
tyrs of An-
grogne.

(1) Note how God did bless his servants standing in their own defence.

hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame; and after that his fingers fell off also.

In like manner did the other garrisons treat the villages adjoining unto them.

The garrison of Tour and that of Villars, being assembled together at night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouvets, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, sacking and spoiling all that they could lay hands on, took also fourteen prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the arms, and so led them to the fortress of Tour; but two that escaped, whilst the soldiers were taking others, set upon them that led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the prisoners, who, tumbling and rolling themselves down the mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and fastened two and two together by the arms, were contented rather so to die, than to be carried to the fortress; and yet in the end they escaped.¹ The other two who were led to the fortress,

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were cruelly tormented, and in the end the captain strangled with his own hands one of them, who was very young, and but a child: the other, who was about threescore years of age, whose name was Odul Gemet, suffered a strange and cruel death; for when they had bound him, they took a kind of beasts which live in horse manure, called in French 'escarbotz,' and put them unto his navel, covering them with a dish: they within short space pierced into his belly, and killed him. These, and the like more than barbarous cruelties, have been revealed by the soldiers themselves.

Two martyrs.
A barbarous kind of torment used against a martyr of the Lord, called Odul Gemet, by the cruel papists.

The poor Waldois were yet in great captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's word amongst them, as they were wont to have; and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: the one, for fear of moving the duke, and hindering the voyage of their messengers, having yet some hope of good success; the other, that no occasion might be given to the soldiers for further trouble and outrage; for that was it which they especially desired.² Also they of Angrogne were fully determined, as soon as their messengers were returned from the duke, to preach openly, what news soever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into Angrogne.

The messengers who were sent to the duke, being at Vercelli, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the popish doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the duke, the secretary Gastaut took the supplication of the Waldois out of the messengers' hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrained also to crave pardon of the pope's legate; which at the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these messengers

Messengers of the Angrognians cruelly treated.

(1) Note again how God blesseth his people, standing to their defence against the bloody papists.
(2) 'Be wise like serpents.'

Piedmont. were returned, bringing this woeful news, and the people understood that there was a new commandment given out, that they should return to the mass; also that the popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

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A new
com-
mand-
ment to
go to
mass

God's as-
sistance
in time of
need.

Hereupon, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Bobi, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with certain others of the people, to the churches of Pragela (which be in the country of Dauphiné), to signify unto them the piteous state of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand, if it were possible. For this cause they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphiné, should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the holy sacraments; the one to aid and assist the other; and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. Moreover, that it should be lawful for none of the said valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for more sure confirmation of the said league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiné were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to understand if they would give their consent hereunto, and ratify the same.

The peo-
ple of
Piedmont
brought
into great
distress.

These messengers, the ministers and others of Dauphiné, being arrived in the evening at the village of Bobi, and the people being there assembled, word was brought that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or no: and that they that would receive the mass, should quietly enjoy their houses; and they that would not, should be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. Wherefore the people were brought to this extremity, either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great snow had not hindered them; wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying, "Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to-morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go to-morrow into the temple, to hear the word of God, and after let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us so do; yea, and that very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-house!"

Images
and altars
broken
down
in the
church
of Bobi.

The next day after, they assembled themselves in the church of Bobi, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images, and cast down the altars. After

the sermon, they went to Villars to do the like there. By the way Piedmont. they encountered with a band of soldiers, who were going to spoil a village named Le Val Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first brunt to have put them to flight: but they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners which were there detained. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

Also at Villars.

The same day, the judge of Lucerne, called Podesta, went to the council-house, to enrol the names of those who would return to the mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desired the people to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him. Divers gentlemen also of the valley came thither with the judge, to make their poor tenants to forsake God; but seeing the tumult, they were fain to flee into the castle, where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger of their lives. The second day of the siege, the captain of Tour went with a company of soldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were, by those that kept the passages, either slain or discomfited.¹ As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Tour, which caused a furious combat, wherein many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and yet of those that besieged the fort, there was not one man hurt.

Combat between the Waldois and their enemies.

In the time of this siege they attempted divers means to take the said fortress, but without ordnance it was impossible so to do; wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the lord of Trinity, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day after might easily have raised the siege. Wherefore when the garrison (not knowing that the lord of Trinity was so near) desired that they might depart with bag and baggage, they granted their request. In this siege half of the soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with harquebusses as with stones. During this siege, the soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their bread with wine, which tormented their stomachs, and caused great diseases. Here is not to be forgotten, that the soldiers, who a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their lives, and to promise them that they should have no hurt, and also to conduct them safely into a sure place: neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do; which the ministers did promise, and also perform very willingly.² Then the soldiers, seeing themselves much beholden to the ministers so gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompense thereof all the pleasure that they could show them. The same night the fortress was rased.

The just hand of God upon his enemies.

On the 2d of February, the lord of Trinity encamped at Lucerne,

(1) God giveth victory to his servants.

(2) Note how the ministers of the gospel promise to their enemies and perform, doing good for evil.

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God com-
pelleth
his ser-
vants to
defend
their
religion
by force.

Another
combat.

God
giveth
victory
again
to his
people.

Another
fight.
See
Appendix.

God
keepeth
the tem-
ples of the
gospel
from
burning.

Unkind-
ness to
parents
rightly
rewards.

and placed a garrison in the priory of St. Jean, a village of the Waldois between Lucerne and Angrogne. The next day, in the morning, the said lord of Trinity sent word unto them of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day they of Angrogne, and the rest of the valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noon the lord of Trinity marched with his army by St. Jean, to enter into the borders of Angrogne by a place called La Sommeillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone not past three foot high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies, who assailed them divers ways. When the enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places; so that the combat endured until night, and all that day the army could not enter into the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and but two of Angrogne slain, of whom one was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselves stronger for a further mischief.

The Friday following, which was the 7th of February, at break of day, the army marched towards Angrogne by five several places. The people of Angrogne were not yet assembled, and there were none to resist, but only a few who kept the watch; who, seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to inclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, recoiled by little and little to a high place called La Casse, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of Trinity, seeing the loss of his men, and above all, that one of great credit and authority in the duke's court was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrogne (the people being fled to the meadow of Tour), and there spoiled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes set fire upon the two temples of Angrogne, where the word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the minister's house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of Angrogne were slain or hurt, saving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all Angrogne but two, that were enemies to the word of God, who that same day were slain by the soldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away.¹ One of them was a very covetous wretch, and had great store of gold and silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or succour others, no not his poor parents. All this was spoiled by the soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrogne slain that day. All the rest of the people retired to the

(1) Note again the secret work of God.

meadow of Tour, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which followeth. *Piedmont.*

Tour is a little valley upon the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there be about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south-side and the north the mountains are so high, that no man can that way approach unto the said valley. On the other coasts a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by, because of the hills which be on both sides. There is also a river hard by, but very small; but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The people had carried thither very few victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the army.

In the mean time the lord of Trinity, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent certain to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne; but the soldiers were driven back four days together by those who kept the passages: whereupon he sent his whole army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambushment of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their enemies, and others into the rocks.

The enemies, being entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The residue of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night upon the mountains full of snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands, with great pain and travail. When they of the valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor infants that cried out for cold.

A few days after, the lord of Trinity entered into the valley of Lucerne by three several ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plain, and by the sides of Tailleret. They that kept the passages, at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile: but because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bobi, they gave over, and left Villars, and fled into the mountains. The soldiers, being entered, burned their houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor people who were fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, who had made them worthy to suffer for his name and for his cause; and also they were glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the soldiers, in great rage, mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury; but a few of them, after

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The meadow of Tour described.

The enemies again driven back.

The poor Christians run through the pikes.

The Angrognians with their young infants flee into the mountains.

The Waldols again assaulted by the lord of Trinity.

Piedmont. they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retired.

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1561. In a few days after, the meadow of Tour was assaulted by three several ways on the east side. The combat endured a long season, where divers of the enemies were hurt, and many slain: but none of this poor people were slain that day, only two were hurt, who were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, it were too long: for brevity's sake it shall be sufficient to touch the principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the 15th day of February, the people who were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Tour, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended up the hill to Angrogne, and were burning the rest of the houses there. They doubted that it was a policy of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the meadow of Tour from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebussiers against those soldiers, who, having the higher ground, and not being espied of their enemies, discharged all their guns together; whereupon incontinent the soldiers fled, albeit no man pursued them. Whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.¹

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Tour, who were on the watch on the top of the mountain (because every morning a sermon was made there, whereunto the people resorted, and they might see afar off round about them), espied a troop of soldiers marching on that side of the hill which is between the east and the north, and soon after that, they discovered another company, which marched on the north side towards the said troop. The first had ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the mountain called Melese, but they were soon discomfited; and because they could not run fast by means of the deep snow, and the difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their drum, behold there came certain unto them, crying out that the other troop was entered into the meadow of Tour, by means whereof they gave over the chase; or else not one of their enemies had escaped, as they that were there reported for a truth. Not one of Angrogne was slain or hurt.

The other troop, that came by the north side, took a high hill in the top of the mountain, which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the snow and ice which were there. The chiefest of this company were Ludovic of Monteil (who had been before master of the camp in the king's wars), and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the top of the hill, they caused seven soldiers to go down the hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the houses. They sent also others to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the mean time the ministers, and the people who were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith: wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God

(1) * The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth him. *

The persecutors
pursued.

God's
people
fall to
prayer.

ardently, not without great sighs, and lamentation, and tears, even until night. *Piedmont.*

The seven spies who came down to discover the ways, cried unto their captain Truchet, "Come down ! come down !" "Seignior Charles ! this day Angrogne shall be taken." The others cried to them again, "Ascend ! ascend, and return ! or else you shall be slain every one of you !" Immediately issued out five against these spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five who set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a fork of fire. Soon after, eight of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop. It was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the others, to discover the enemies, and carried a great staff, which they call a rancon, and is somewhat bigger than a halberd - the others followed by two and two together, with harquebusses. These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill, about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, who, joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soon after there came from the valley of Lucerne a hundred harquebussiers, with one of their ministers, according to their manner, who were wont to send out a minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the people in order, that they exceeded not measure, as it came to pass that day.

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Courage
of God's
people
against
their
enemies.

At length they saw them also coming, who returned from the discomfiture of the former troop, making a great noise, and having a drum sounding before them which they had taken from their enemies ; who joined with them of the valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediately they came to succour the others that now were encountering valiantly with their enemies. Then the enemies, seeing such a company marching against them with such courage and boldness, after the others had once called upon God, their hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the others began to pray, they began also to flee ; but because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the meantime fled.

Conflict
between
the An-
grognians
and their
enemies.

He that carried the rancon, and discovered the enemies, was but a very young and a simple man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle 'la sappe,' that is to say, a hatchet, and kept cattle : and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great rancon with laying load upon them ; and after that he brake also four of their own swords in pursuing them. There was a boy of eighteen years of age, and of small stature, who alone slew the lord of Monteil, master of the camp (as is said) to the king ; wherewith the enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple man, who, a man would have thought, durst not once have looked Charles Truchet in the face (because he was a very big man, strong and puissant, and one of the chiefest captains of the whole army), threw down the said Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then a young man leaped upon him, and slew him with his own sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

The mar-
vellous
works of
the Lord.

David
with his
sling
killeth
Goliath.

Piedmont. This Truchet was one of the principal authors of this war, and one of the chiefest enemies of true religion, and of the poor Waldois, that could then be found.¹ It was said also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said lord of Trinity, that he would deliver into his hands the meadow of Tour: but God soon brought his proud brag to nought; and for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked like a beast in the wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns for their ransom, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance; and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, and the enemies to flee, cried to the people, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They that heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer; but they that were further off, and heard him not, chased their enemies till dark night, insomuch that if the rest had done the like, very few of their enemies had escaped. That day they spoiled their enemies of a great part of their armour and munition. So God restored in this combat, and in others, to the poor Waldois, the armour which the lord of Trinity had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every man cried, "Who is he that seeth not that God fighteth for us?" This victory gave great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly astonished the enemies.

On the 18th of February, the lord of Trinity, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of Villars, returned to burn all the little villages round about, which pertain to the same, and especially to pursue the poor people, who were fled up into the mountains; and dividing his army into three parts, he entered by three several ways above mentioned. The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bobi, having a great company of horsemen. From thence they went to seek the people who were in the mountain of Combe, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders who were next, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them; and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made for that use. Many of the enemies were slain at those two combats, and not one of the other side. The lord of Trinity, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, which were esteemed to be fifteen hundred men. There came also about a hundred to succour the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, retiring not past a stone's cast, took courage, and crying altogether

(1) The cruelty of this wretched Truchet against this poor people appeareth before in this story.

God fighteth for his people.

Pharaoh's heart yet remaineth indurate.

The Waldois again drive their enemies back.

to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power hurled stones at them with their slings. *Piedmont.*

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After this the enemies rested themselves awhile, and by and by after they gave a furious assault; but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested, and in the mean time the people fell to prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards heaven; which frayed the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea God here showed his great power, even in the little children also, who, fervently calling upon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gave courage also unto the men. So did also the women, and the vulgar sort; that is to say, those who were meet for no feats of war, remaining upon the mountain, and beholding these furious combats, kneeling upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, "Lord, help us!" who heard their prayers.

After these three assaults were given, there came one unto them crying, "Be of good courage! God hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us." He meant, that they of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailletet, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that they of Angrogne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of Angrogne be here to succour us!" The enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat, and retired into the plain.

The enemies retire.

The Angrogneans help their fellows.

The troop that were gone towards Tailletet, divided themselves into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the people at unawares; but they were by seven men strongly resisted and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to inclose the people; but as God would, they of Angrogne, who came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day), chased their enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the master of the camp was fain to send to the lord of Trinity (who was at Tour) for succour, or else all would have been lost; which he did; and immediately he rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. Jean by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The army retired with great difficulty (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent them), and with great loss of their men. One of their captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the valley of Lucerne.

The persecutors put to flight.

On Monday, being the 17th of March next following, the lord of Trinity, to be revenged on those of the meadow of Tour, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country;

See Appendix.

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The An-
grogians
fall to
prayer.

insomuch that whereas before, his army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly, in the night season, he encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the army to be encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harness, and marching in such array, that the poor people at first were astonished thereat. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, "Help us, O Lord!" beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of blood, if it were his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their enemies to the truth of his holy gospel. These two parts of the army joined together near to the bulwarks of the meadow of Tour, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to have inclosed the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as they that kept the bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the aid which was sent unto them, very luckily, from the valley of Lucerne, and coming as it were from heaven; who joining together, soon discomfited their enemies with stones and harquebusses. They pursued them fiercely into the rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty. The captain of this band was named Bastian, of Virgile, a man very expert in the affairs of war. At his going out of his lodging, he threatened that he would do great and terrible things that day. His hostess hearing that, said unto him, "Monsieur! if our religion be better than theirs, you shall have the victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail." Shortly after the captain was brought again into his inn, so wounded and so feeble, that he was not likely to live. Then said his hostess unto him, "Monsieur! it is now well seen, that their religion is better than ours."

Proud
threats of
Haman.

The bul-
warks
manfully
defended.

There was also another band that kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from thence. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which were very few to defend the same; who, seeing the number of their enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge rock not far from the aforesaid bulwark, behind which a great number of the enemies were hid; and anon there issued out two ensigns, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of their ensign-bearers was wounded to death, whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. They that were within, had neither halberd, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, and the same without any iron; which one of the five took, and threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the enemies were entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five who kept the middle part of the bulwark. The other four looked to be destroyed out of hand. Then

one of the four chased away those who had entered below, with stones; and the other three, leaving their hand-guns, defended themselves likewise with great stones: and perceiving the band which was on the rocks to flee, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly, till their companions were returned from the chase.

In the mean time the bulwark which was upon the side of the mountain, was furiously assailed by the one half of the army. Those that were within, suffered their enemies to approach near to the bulwark, without any gunshot or other defence; whereat the enemies much marvelled: but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them, some with throwing of stones,¹ some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with harquebusses. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew divers. The soldiers at that time had won a little cottage near to the said bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men; but among them one devised to roll down a great huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed; and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.

Then the soldiers made certain fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and of the thickness of three boards: but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the harquebusses, that they were fain to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the soldiers. But all these policies of the enemies availed them nothing; for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead, one upon another. God so wrought with the poor Christians, that the shot of two harquebusses slew four men. It was said for a certainty, that the shot of a harquebuss came so near the lord of Trinity's head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire six-score paces backward; and seeing his soldiers in such great numbers murdered and wounded on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his army. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Tour. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came thither to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldois; and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing, but to hear the piteous ruin and desolation of this poor people. But God disposed it otherwise, for the lord of Trinity had much ado to save himself and his; and seeing the mischiefs which they intended to do unto others were fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the plain also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great (for from noon until the evening they ceased not to carry them away), were likewise exceedingly dismayed. Albeit they carried not all away; for there were many that lay near to the bulwarks, whom the people covered with winding-sheets the next morning. The soldiers themselves confessed to them of the meadow of Tour, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain, they were so tired, and clean out of heart.

The lord of Trinity with his army driven back.

The papists astonished and dismayed on every side by the wonderful judgment of God.

(1) Behold the artillery of this simple people, and with what weapons they fought.

Piedmont. Many marvelled why the people did not follow the army, but especially the soldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten such advantage of them already: but this was done for two causes; the one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves; the other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their munition: for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty, spending great store both of pellets and hail shot. The rest of the army retired, crying with a loud voice, "God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong!"

God's people avoid the shedding of blood.

God fighteth for them.

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of Trinity, saying unto him, that he would never fight against this people any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual memory, that in that combat there were but two of the Waldois slain, and two hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, "God fighteth for them." One of the captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and sundry battles well fought, but yet he never saw soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed; yea, the soldiers themselves told him, they were so astonished, that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this people never shot, but they hurt or killed some of the soldiers. Some others said, that the ministers by their prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight. And indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, such great assaults and adventures, so much and such terrible shot, continually made against this poor people, yet all in a manner came to no effect, so mightily God's holy power wrought for his people: insomuch that for all the said combats, skirmishes, and so many conflicts of all the Angrognians, there were but nine only that miscarried, and the whole number of those that were slain were but only fourteen persons. Here also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poor silly shepherds and neatherds, to encounter with such a mighty power of so strong and brave soldiers coming against them with weapons and armour, being so well furnished and appointed with munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary side being unarmed, and unprovided of all habiliment of war, having for their defence for the most part nothing else but slings and stones, and a few harquebusses.

Only fourteen Waldois slain in all these conflicts.

See Appendix.

On the 19th of March there was a hot skirmish at Angrogne; for three companies of soldiers went to Angrogne, to burn and spoil all that remained, and to destroy the wines which were hidden in the ground. Here, amongst themselves, they mocked and flouted the poor people, saying, "These Lutheran Waldois are valiant fellows behind their bulwarks; but if they had been in the plain field, they had been well canvassed." After this it chanced that thirty of the Waldois went and assailed these aforesaid companies in the plain field. They fought a long season, and that so near, that some of them fought hand to hand. In this conflict one of those of Angrogne, wrestled with a captain of the enemies, strong and mighty, and cast

Another skirmish between the enemies and the Angrognians.

him down upon the ground. Many of the soldiers were slain, and many hurt; but of the Angrogne there was but one slain, and another hurt a little, who notwithstanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the soldiers, seeing the loss of their men, retired suddenly.

After that, the lord of Trinity sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to them of Angrogne, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer was made, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very often to treat of the agreement; but what his meaning was, it might well appear; for when the poor people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this, there was a day assigned in the valley of Lucerne, to confer touching the agreement with certain men pertaining to the lord of Ranconis, and the safe conduct was promised and granted.

The night before the ministers and rulers of Angrogne should take their journey, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill by which they of Angrogne should pass, and hid them in houses on the way-side, thinking to take at unawares them of Angrogne, that were sent to treat of the agreement.¹ But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the lord of Trinity, and to have spoiled his whole camp; but they of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Tour. The lord of Ranconis, seeming to be sorry for this war, sent into the meadow of Tour an honest man of Briqueras, named Francis of Gilles, to take advice what means were best to further the agreement; who, having consulted with the ministers and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his master's commandment, and having sent back one who conducted him, was murdered soon after at the foot of Angrogne, by two of Angrogne who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two, who had committed this fact, entered into the meadow of Tour and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and aggrieved with this fact, and wrote to the lord of Ranconis,² declaring unto him the whole circumstance of the fact, and that they had the offenders in ward, and that if it would please him to send certain to examine the matter, they, for their part, would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocency to all men should appear. The lord of Ranconis wrote unto them that they should deliver unto him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. To this they of Angrogne answered, that upon three conditions they should be delivered according to his request: first, that the prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and as touching religion, nothing should be spoken unto them, but

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Note the
practice
of the
papists.

David
spares
king
Saul.

Just dealing
of the
Angrogne-
nians.

(1) Behold how this traitorous Trinity, whilst he pretendeth an agreement, goeth about to destroy these poor men! (2) 'Ranconis,' or Raconis, probably Raconigi.—Ed.

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out of the word of God: secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this should be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne: to the third, that the execution of them should be upon the borders of Angrogne, for an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent (yea without contradiction of their parents), they sent them prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there delivered them into the hands of the lord of Ranconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrogne.

Scarceness of victuals; God's mercy towards his people, in time of scarceness.

After this, the lord of Trinity, having left certain garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Perouse near to the valley of St. Martin, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of victuals which sore pressed them, and namely those of the meadow of Tour, for they were spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread: but afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour, both of corn and bread, than they had before. The enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Tour by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every household was suffered to have no more than should sustain them that day, and that also was very little; to the end that they should not succour this poor people.

See Appendix.

The people of Failleret cruelly murdered by the Spaniards. The trumpets of the Waldois.

The Spaniards beaten back.

After that, the lord of Trinity, being returned from Perouse to Lucerne, sent certain to treat of an agreement, and required to commune with some of the people. Then they began to consult and devise, by all means, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Monday, being the 7th of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards, which he had there,¹ with the garrison of Tour, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the meadow of Tour, on the south side: they murdered men, women, and children of Tailleret, whom they found in their beds. Then they marched on along upon the mountain, towards the meadow of Tour. Anon after, the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne by two several ways, to assault the meadow of Tour. In the morning, as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw the Spaniards already entered. When they had made their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemies; some on the east side, and the others on the south. They that first resisted the Spaniards (who were already past the bulwarks), were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others, whom they caused to go up to the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the Spaniards, began to shoot off their harquebusses at them. The Spaniards, seeing themselves so sore assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow and so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had

(1) Note how this bloody wretch, pretending agreement, peace, and quietness, immediately seeketh the destruction of this poor people.

been enclosed between the two mountains; which place was so strait, that they could not have escaped. The people chased them unto their camp, which was at Tour. As they fled, they found often some forts, where they did resist for a little while, but they were always beaten out. In this combat, God gave victory to the poor Waldois, with great slaughter of the Spaniards, where also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

The said lord of Trinity sent unto the Spaniards, that they should not faint and give over, but stick to it like men, and he would shortly send them succour: but they would not. Those of the valley of Lucerne, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their neighbours. Amongst others, there was one slain in that battle, for whom the lord of Trinity much lamented, saying, that he would rather have lost a whole band than that man. The other two companies which marched by Angrogne, perceiving the Spaniards to be so beaten and put to flight, and seeing also those of the meadow of Tour coming to encounter with them, retired in haste. Upon that the lord of Trinity went to Cavors, three miles from Lucerne, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to send succour to the Spaniards, he heard the sound of a drum above Lucerne, and suspected that there was an army of the Waldois coming against him. Upon this, divers of the soldiers fled away by the plain, crying that all was lost. It was certainly reported, that if the Waldois had pursued the army, as they might easily have done, the camp had that day been chased out of Lucerne. The poor people lacked no courage so to do; for albeit they had neither eaten nor drunk all the day before, and had so sore travailed and fought, yet they said, that if they had but a little refreshed themselves with a morsel of bread, and a glass of wine, they durst take upon them to enter into the camp of their enemies.

Within a few days after, they of Angrogne were advertised by the lord of Trinity's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn being on the ground; and furthermore, that two forts should be built at Angrogne. The day was assigned, and horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sore as ever they were, and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night before this should be executed, the lord of Trinity received certain letters from the duke, which stayed this enterprise. They of the meadow of Tour being advertised that the lord of Trinity did now intend to send ordnance to beat down the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwark of earth, which was in compass about five hundred paces, which they might easily see from Lucerne. They of the meadow of Tour told the lord of Trinity's men, that if they brought any artillery, they should not so soon carry it away again; and shortly the ordnance was sent back again.

About this season, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois, requested earnestly the lord of Ranconis to present a supplication which they had made to the duchess of Savoy: for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended that her subjects were so cruelly handled. In this supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke their sovereign lord, and if it might be

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God
taketh
the hearts
from his
enemies.
He giveth
courage
to the
poor Wal-
dois.

The mis-
chievous
purpose
of Trinity
stayed by
the provi-
dence of
God.

The Wal-
dois send
a suppli-
cation to
the
duchess.

Piedmont. proved by the pure word of God that they held any error, they would, with all humble submission, receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them, by the untrue surmises of their adversaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

The lord of Trinity sore sick.

Another supplication to the duchess.

About this time the lord of Trinity, by sickness, was in great danger of his life. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois, by the said lord of Ranconis. The effect thereof was, that she had obtained of the duke's grace all that they demanded in their supplication, upon such conditions as the said lord of Ranconis would propound unto them. But when they understood that the said conditions were very rigorous, they sent another supplication unto the duchess, wherein they humbly besought her grace to be a mean that the said conditions and articles might be moderated; which articles here follow.

Conditions and Articles proposed to the Waldois.

First, That they should banish their ministers.

Secondly, That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish church.

Thirdly, That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for certain of their men whom they had taken.

Fourthly, That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.

Fifthly, That the duke should make fortresses at his pleasure, in all that country, with other like things.

The Supplication of the Waldois to the Duchess of Savoy.

The conditions whereunto the Waldois did agree and consent.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication, that it would please the said duchess to give the duke her husband to understand, how that these conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers, that they were good men and fearing God, of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation; yet nevertheless they were contented so to do, if he would give leave to some of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be permitted unto them to choose some other good ministers in their places, before they departed, lest their churches should remain without pastors.

Concerning the mass, and other ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the duke should cause them to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration thereof, nor to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, neither to yield either favour or consent thereunto.

As touching the ransom which was demanded of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme poverty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had suffered, it was to them a thing impossible. Yea, if his highness were truly informed what loss they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without all mercy or pity, he would not only not require of them any such thing, but, as a gracious and merciful prince, he would succour and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the service of God, and of their said lord and prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor brethren remaining in captivity and prison, and such as were sent to the galleys for the profession of their religion, might speedily be delivered and set at liberty.

As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only amongst themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other valleys aforesaid, where any assembly of the faithful should be, who were desirous to hear the preaching of the gospel.

Touching the fortresses, forasmuch as by those which were already made, they had suffered great molestations and troubles, as well concerning their goods, as also their religion, they were assured, that if he should build up new forts, they should never be able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calamities, that would follow thereupon: and therefore they most humbly desired the said duchess to be so good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the duke that he would accept their persons in the stead of forts; and that, seeing those places were by nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their said lord the duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard; and by the grace and assistance of God they would serve him themselves for such walls and forts, that he should not need to build any other. And because many of those who dwelt near about them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their household goods and such other things, but also driven away their cattle, that it might please him to give them leave to recover the said goods by way of justice, and to buy again that which the soldiers had sold, and that for the same price for which it was sold.

Briefly, they also besought their said lord, that it might please him to be so gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities, and privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his predecessors; and likewise of those, who, as well as their ancestors, had bought of their lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

And because in time past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of justice in their valleys, and forasmuch as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors; that it might please him to give order that such justice might be done amongst them, whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Finally, forasmuch as divers of this poor people (being astonished at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also they with their wives and children be utterly destroyed) made promise, against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the church of Rome; they were marvellously troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their conscience; and moreover, that it might please the duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of conscience: also, that all their poor brethren, banished for the cause of religion, might return home to their houses; and that all confiscations and penalties made against them, might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honour to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects unto their lord and prince; yea, more than any other. Underneath the said supplication there was written:

Your faithful and humble subjects, the poor afflicted of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and, generally, all the people of the Waldois, who inhabit the country of Piedmont.

After this supplication was viewed and read by the said duchess, she so persuaded with the duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these articles following:

Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the Right Honourable Lord of Ranconis, on the part of the Duke's Highness, and them of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Waldois.

That there shall shortly be made letters patent by the duke's highness, by which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the valleys of

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1561.

Torment
of con-
science in
sliding
from the
truth.

Pardon
promised.

Piedmont. Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet (bordering upon Tour), St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and all such as have aided them; of all such faults as they have committed, as well in bearing armour against his highness, as against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

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Sermons and congregations permitted.

The parish of Villars.

That it shall be lawful for them of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, members of the valley of Lucerne, and for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneille, and Salsa (members of the valley of St. Martin), to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed.

That it shall be lawful for them of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but that only until the time that his highness doth build a fort in the same place. But whilst the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards Bobi. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so that they preach not, nor make any assembly there.

The parish of Tailleret La Rua de Bonet. The valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin.

It shall also be permitted to them of Tailleret, and La Rua de Bonet, bordering upon Tour, to have their sermons and assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Tour.

That it shall not be lawful for the said members of the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, to come to the rest of their borders, nor to any other of his highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, out of their own borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

The parish of Perouse.

The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of Perouse, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and were wont to have their assemblies and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Puis; so that they come not to other places and borders of the said parish.

The parish of Pinachia.

It shall be permitted to them of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present be fled because of the said religion, and were wont to go to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of that religion, to have the like, only at the place called Le Grandoubion.

The parish of St. Germain.

It shall be permitted to them of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have one only minister, who may the one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

Order for villages being far from the parish church.

It shall be permitted to all them of the towns and villages of the said valleys, who at this present are fled, and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this war against the said religion, to repair and return to their houses with their households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the sermons and assemblies which shall be made by their ministers in the places above specified, so that they obey that which is above-said.

And because many of the said towns and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their said religion, their ministers, who dwell within the precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid them of such ministries as shall be necessary for them, so that they make no sermons nor assemblies.

The parishes of Meane, and St. Barthilimi.

By especial grace it shall be permitted to all them of the valley of Meane, and them of St. Barthilimi, neighbours to Roccapiata, and who are fled and continue in the said religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the next article before, so that they observe all which they before promise to observe.

Goods of the Waldois restored.

The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the said religion, as well them of the said valleys, as to those of Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and of Meane; so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said religion, and for the war present and lately passed.

It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover by way of justice, of their neighbours, their movable goods and cattle, so it be not of soldiers; and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of justice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their neighbours shall have the like against them.

All their franchises, freedoms, and privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his highness's predecessors, as by himself, and obtained of other inferior lords, whereof they shall make proof by public writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

The said valleys shall be provided for, to have good justice ministered unto them, whereby they may know they are kept in safeguard by his highness, as well as all his other subjects.

The inhabitants of the said valleys, shall make a roll of the names and surnames of all those of the said valleys, who are fled for religion, as well such as have abjured as others, to the end they may be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their prince and lord hath bestowed on them.

And inasmuch as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country, where it shall please him, without contradiction, nevertheless, to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his highness shall make a fort at Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they shall think good lovingly to aid their prince: which fort being builded (by God's aid), a governor and captain shall therein be appointed, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his highness, without offence of the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences.

It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their ministers, such as it shall please his highness to have discharged, to choose and call others in their steads; so that they choose not M. Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to another of the said valleys, any of them that be discharged.

The mass, and other service after the usage of Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the said valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister aid or favour to such as shall use that service.

All the expenses and charges borne by his highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever; also the eight thousand crowns wherein the inhabitants of the said valleys were behind, as part of sixteen thousand crowns which they had promised in the war passed; and his highness will command that the writings for that cause made, shall be annulled and cancelled.

All the prisoners shall be rendered and restored, who shall be found to be in the hands of the soldiers, paying ransom reasonable, according to their goods, as they shall be seized; and those that shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ransom.

Likewise all they of the said valleys, who for religion, and not for other causes, are detained in the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

Finally, it shall be lawful for all them of the said valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and St. Barthilimi, of what degree, estate, or condition soever they be (except ministers), to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conversation with the rest of his highness's subjects; and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his highness's country; to sell and buy, and use all trades of merchandise, in all places in his highness's country (as before is said), so that they preach not, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as we have before said: and that those who be of the limits dwell not out of them; and those who be of the towns and villages of the said valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his highness.

Furthermore, his highness shall give order to stay all troubles, inconveniences, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, after such sort that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation whereof, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne; Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the elders of Villars; Pirrone Arduino, sent from the commonalty of Bobi; Michael Raymundet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of

Piedmont.
A. D.
1555
to
1561.

The
liberties
restored.

M. Martin
de Prage-
la, mini-
ster of the
Waldois.

Mass set
up, but
not com-
pelled to
come to
it.

Prisoners
restored
by ran-
som.

Liberty of
traffic
granted.

The el-
ders of
the val-
leys of
Pied-
mont.

Fredmont. La Rua de Bovet, bordering upon Tour; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. Jean; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Roman of St. Germain, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolately kept; and for breach thereof do submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families of the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

The lady princess intercessor for the Waldois. The honourable lord of Ranconis doth promise, that the duke's highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favour of the noble lady the princess.

In testimony hereof, the aforesaid lord of Ranconis hath confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed, in the name of all the said valleys; and they that can write, in the name of all their commonalties.

At Cavor, the 5th day of June, 1561.

Philip of Savoy.

Francis Valla, Minister of Villars.

Claudius Bergius, Minister of Tailleret.

Georgius Monasterius.

Michael Raymundet.

This accord being thus made and passed, by means of the duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet until this present; and God, of his infinite goodness, having delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

All things turn to the best to them that love the Lord.

Wherefore there is none at this present (except he be altogether blind or senseless), but seeth and well perceiveth, that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best to them that love and fear him: for by all these afflictions which they suffered (as is before rehearsed), this good heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he hath effectuously taught them to have recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them up to heaven; and to be always in a readiness to come to him, as unto their most loving and pitiful Father. To be short, he hath sent them to the school of his children, to the end they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto him. And above all, he hath made them so often to prove his succours in the time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feel and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) after such sort, that they have had good occasion, and all the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, and one so careful for the health of his children; but to assure themselves they shall never be confounded, what thing soever happen.

The behaviour of these good men in their persecution.

And yet to see this more manifestly, and that every man may take profit thereof, it shall be good to understand what this poor people did, whilst they were in these combats and conflicts. As soon as they saw the army of their enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and succour to the Lord; and before they began to defend themselves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up

their hearts, and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemies were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When the combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and succour which they had felt. In the mean time the rest of the people, with their ministers, made their hearty prayer unto God, with sighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they assembled again together: they that had fought, rehearsed the wonderful aid and succour which God had sent them, and so all together rendered thanks unto him for his fatherly goodness. Always he changed their sorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cause of rejoicing and comfort.

This poor people had two terrible enemies, war and famine, which kept them under in such sort, that a man would have thought they had been utterly lost and destroyed: but God, of his endless mercy, delivered them from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietness; and all they that had declared themselves to be their open enemies, were brought to confusion, as well those who sought to get their goods, as those who only desired to shed their blood; for proof whereof, the only example of two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne shall suffice. These not only moved cruel war against their poor tenants and others, but most shamefully spoiled them, and took intolerable fines of all those that disobeyed their edicts to keep a good conscience.

Besides this, they went about to seize all their goods as forfeited, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themselves. And for this cause they did not only incense the duke with false reports, and with grievous complaints and accusations against these poor Waldois, but also pursued the same so long, and with such charges, that they were fain to sell their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to pass, and to enjoy that goodly prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end, for their reward, they got nothing but shame and confusion.

And as for the monks and priests, who by such means thought to advance themselves, and to bring their trumpery into estimation, they have lost the little rule which they had over that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought to disdain. Thus God beateth down those who exalt themselves above measure, and maketh his adversaries to fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray unto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant arm at this day to maintain his poor church now afflicted, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his members, to the advancement of his glory and kingdom.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE STORY OF MERINDOL AND
CABRIERS.

And thus hast thou, christian reader! for thy erudition and comfort, the story and doings discoursed concerning these two countries, both of Provence and also of Piedmont, the one being subject to the

Piedmont.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

War and
famine
two ene-
mies
against
these
men.

Example
of God's
favour to-
wards his
servants,
and con-
fusion to-
wards
their per-
secutors.

Piedmont.

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

dominion of France, the other belonging to the duke of Savoy; in which two aforesaid regions and countries, how long the gospel of Christ hath continued (even from the time of the first Waldenses), the history itself declareth.

Furthermore, what injuries and wrongs have been done against them for the gospel's sake, what rigour and cruelty hath been showed of the adversary part: again, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their magistrates, and faith towards God they have used: and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemies, the said history may give thee full knowledge and experience.

Herein this thou hast moreover, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thyself, besides many other memorable things in this story contained, how unwilling this people were at first, and what remorse of conscience they had for their obedience towards their magistrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being slain and cruelly murdered, as willingly offering their throats without any resistance to the cruel hands of their enemies, the rest were compelled to flee into the mountains, being spoiled of house, victual, and weapon, only to save their poor lives with fleeing (which otherwise they would not with resisting) into rocks and caves, thinking there rather to perish by famine, than to use that defence for themselves, which nature giveth to every brute beast to help itself, as it may, against violence and injury. Yet these poor Waldois, refusing all resistance, and laying down their own weapons, for obedience' sake, yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only used the poor shift of fleeing from their enemies, till at length the rage of those bloody persecutors, satisfied with no blood, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously to infest them, yea, to take also the mountains from them, who had taken from them their houses before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild beasts in the desert, who could not live in their towns at home; till at length, by extreme necessity, the providence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take those weapons which the ground gave into their hands. And with these stones so marvellously the God of hosts wrought for his people, that they beat, vanquished, and overthrew their adversaries; they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, and at last stayed the intolerable rage of their persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people (they but turning almost their faces to their enemies), no otherwise than he fought in times past with Joshua against the heathen, with the Israelites against the Philistines, with the Maccabees against Antiochus and the Syrians.

This history, carrying with it a true narration of things done in the said country of Piedmont, and written as it seemeth by certain of the ministers who were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French tongue: for in both languages it is written, although in the French tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which book most principally herein we have followed; the title whereof thus

Then they which are in Jewry, let them flee into the mountains, Luke xxi.

The Waldois compelled to defend themselves.

Note how the Lord blessed the Waldois, standing to their own defence.

beginneth, ' *Histoire des Persecutiones et Guerres faits contre le peuple appellé Vaudoys,*' &c. *Piedmont.*

Now that we have finished these foreign histories, concerning such matters as have been passed in other realms and nations of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Savoy; consequently it remaineth, after this digression, to return and reduce our story again to our own country matters here done and passed at home, after that first we shall have added one foreign story more concerning the martyrdom of a christian Jew, who suffered about these years in Constantinople, among the Turks, in this wise as followeth:

A. D.
1555
to
1561.

*See
Appendix.*

THE STORY OF A CHRISTIAN JEW MARTYRED BY THE TURKS
AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 1528.

To these foreign martyrs aforesaid we will adjoin the history of a certain Jew, who, A. D. 1528, dwelling in the city of Constantinople, and there receiving the sacrament of baptism, was converted, and became a good Christian. When the Turks understood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he, forsaking his Jewishness, should be regenerated to the faith of Christ: and fearing lest his conversion should be a detriment to their Mahometical law, they sought means how to put him to death, which in a short time after they accomplished; and, for the greater infamy to be done to the man, they cast his dead corpse into the streets, commanding that no man should be so hardy as to bury the same.

Herein the marvellous glory and power of Christ appeared; for the dead corpse, lying so by the space of nine days in the midst of the streets, retained so its native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthiness or corruption, and also not without a certain pleasant and delectable scent or odour, as if it had been lately slain, or rather not slain at all. This when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellously astonished; and being greatly afraid, they themselves took it up, and carried it to a place near, without the town, and buried it.

THE CONCLUSION.

Having thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints, and blessed martyrs, who have suffered in other foreign nations above mentioned, here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth book, we are (God willing) to return again to our own matters, and to prosecute such acts and records, as to our own country of England do appertain; in the process whereof, among many other things may appear the marvellous work of God's power and mercy in suppressing and banishing out of this realm, the long usurped supremacy of the pope; also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All which things as they have been long wished, and greatly groaned for in times past by many godly learned men, so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of reformation which God hath given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliff before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swin-

*The contents of
the book
following*

Piedmont. derby, or the Lord Cobham; if Zisca with all the company of the Bohemians; if the earl Reimond, with all the Toulousians; if the A. D. 1555 Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these our times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the pope, and to 1561. revealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now, beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God, who by his mighty power, and the brightness of his word, hath revealed this great enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all men, who before was hid in the church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, that the bishop of Rome (commonly received, and believed almost of all men, to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ here in earth) was Antichrist, and the great adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly prophesieth of, in these latter days to be revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all men now, for the most part, may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

Anti-
christ
long hid,
and now
revealed.

END OF BOOK THE SEVENTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VIII.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT
OF SATAN.

CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS APPERTAIN-
ING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL ECCLESIASTICAL, AS
CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.¹

The History of Seven Godly Martyrs burnt at Coventry.

Mistress Smith, Widow; Robert Hatchets, a Shoemaker; Archer, a Shoemaker; Hawkins, a Shoemaker; Thomas Bond, a Shoemaker; Wrigsham, a Glover; Landsdale, a Hosier, martyred at Coventry, A. D. 1519. Their Persecutors: Simon Mourton, the Bishop's Sumner; also the Bishop of Coventry, and Friar Stafford, Warden of the Grey Friars.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1519
See Appendix.

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

The Lord's Prayer in English forbidden by the papists

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

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

Only Mistress Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, the aforesaid Simon Mourton, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve; 'Yea,' saith he, 'what have ye here?' And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. When the wretched sumner understood this; 'Ah sirrah!' said he, 'Come, as good now as another time;' and so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six men before named, the 4th of April, in a place thereby, called The Little Park, A. D. 1519.

Mistress Smith condemned for having the Lord's Prayer in English.

(1) Edition 1570, p. 1107. Ed. 1576, p. 946. Ed. 1583, p. 973. Ed. 1596, p. 887. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. p. 181.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

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

A. D. 1521.

In the same number of these countrymen above rehearsed was also Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said city of Coventry, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the 13th of January, A. D. 1521.

Thus, when these were dispatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any parcel thereof, to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty showed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays and other fast days; which could not be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this history be yet alive, who both saw them and knew them; of whom one is by name mother Hall, dwelling now in Bagington, two miles from Coventry: by whom also this is testified of them, that they, above all others in Coventry, pretended most show of worship and devotion at the holding up of the sacrament; whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known.¹ This is certain, that in godliness of life they differed from all the rest of the city; neither in their occupying would they use any oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

Testimony of the story.

See Appendix.

Patrick Hamelton martyred at St. Andrew's in Scotland, A. D. 1527.

His Persecutors were James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Master Hugh Spens, Dean of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew; Master John Weddel, Rector of the University; James Simpson, Official; Thomas Ramsay, Canon, and Dean of the Abbey of St. Andrew; Allane Meldrum, Canon; John Greson, Principal of the Black Friars; John Dillidaff, Warden of the Grey Friars; Martin Balbur, Lawyer; John Spens, Lawyer; Alexander Yong, Bachelor of Divinity, Canon; John Annaud, Canon; Friar Alexander Campbel, Prior of the Black Friars, &c.

Like² as there was no place, either of Germany, Italy, or France, wherein there was not some imps or branches sprong out of that most fruitful root and foundation of Luther; so likewise was not this isle of Britain without his fruit and branches, amongst whom was Patrick Hamelton, a Scotchman born of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of twenty-three years, called abbot of Ferne, who, first coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marburg in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hess, where he, using conference and familiarity with learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, so profited in knowledge and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he, through the incitation of the said Lambert, was the first in all that university of Marburg who publicly did set up conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning faith and works; arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What those propositions and conclusions were, partly in his treatise hereafter following, called Patrick's Places, may appear. *Which³ young man [Patrick Hamelton], if he had chosen to lead his life after the manner of other courtiers, in all kind of licentious riotousness, he should peradventure have found praise without peril or punishment in that his flourishing age; but, forso much as he joined godliness with his stock, and virtue with his age, he could by no means escape the hands of the wicked. So that in all things and in all ages, the saying of St. Paul is verified, 'Whosoever doth desire and study to live godly in Christ, he shall suffer persecution as a com-

Of this Philip, landgrave of Hess, read before. Of the university of Marburg, read before.

(1) Note how these martyrs, holding with the popish sacraments, yet were burned by the papists for only a few Scriptures in English.

(2) and (3) See Edition 1563, page 460.—Ed.

panion of his godliness: for there is nothing safe or sure in this world but wickedness and sin. Whoever saw the cardinals or bishops rage with their cruel inquisitions against adultery, riot, ambition, unlawful gaming, drunkenness, rapines, and wilfulness to do all kind of mischeves? Any man that list, for all them, may exercise usury, make tumults, haunt base women, swear and foreswear, and deceive, at his own will and pleasure. But if any man were truly addict to the desire and study of godliness, confessing Christ to be his only patron and advocate, excluding the merits of saints, acknowledging free justification by faith in Christ, denying purgatory (for these articles Hamelton was burned); in these points they spare neither age nor kindred, neither is there any so great power in the world, that may withstand their majesty or authority. How great an ornament might so noble, learned, and excellent a young man have been unto that realm, being endued with so great godliness, and such a singular wit and disposition, if the Scots had not envied their own commodity? What, and how great commendation there was of that young man, what hope of his disposition, his singular learning and doctrine, and what a maturity and ripeness of judgment was in him, did appear amongst the Germans, whereas he might declare himself.*

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick, increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length he began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay; where he, not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of heresy, and afterwards, constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of God's gospel against the high priest and archbishop of St. Andrew's, named James Beton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, on the 1st of March, A. D. 1527. But he, being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for; and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed. And so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned (the king being yet but a child): which thing made the bishops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plucked away: insomuch that divers afterwards, standing in his quarrel, sustained also the like martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as place and time shall require.

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

The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamelton, by James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

That man hath no free-will.

That there is no purgatory.

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

That the pope hath no power to loose and bind; and that no pope had that power after St. Peter.

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

That Master Patrick Hamelton was a bishop.

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

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

That the pope's laws be of no strength.

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1527.

The godly zeal of Hamelton towards his country

The martyrdom and suffering of Patrick Hamelton.

Articles as they appear in the registers.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1528.

That none be saved, but they are before predestinated.
Whosoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.

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

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

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

That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

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

His articles otherwise more truly collected.

I. Man hath no free-will.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Sentence against Patrick Hamelton.

Christi nomine invocato: We James, by the mercy of God archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the holy Scripture, and masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Master Patrick Hamelton, abbot or pensionary of Ferne, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: we have found the same Master Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities.¹ And he being under the same infamy, we decreeing before that he should be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind (as may be presumed), passed forth of the realm to other parts, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: that man hath no free will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: that all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: that no man is justified by works, but by faith only: that good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope,

(1) Condemned by councils and universities, but here is no mention of the Scripture

and charity are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinately in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.¹

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

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

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

After the condemnation and martyrdom of this true saint of God were dispatched by the bishops and doctors of Scotland, the rulers and doctors of the university of Louvain, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that for the abundance of heart they could not stay their pen to utter condign thanks; applauding and triumphing, in their letters sent to the aforesaid bishop of St. Andrews and doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprise in that behalf: as by the tenor of their said letter may appear, which here followeth.

The copy of a Letter congratulatory, sent from the Doctors of Louvain to the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Doctors of Scotland, commending them for the death of Master Patrick Hamelton.

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

This thing as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgar people; nor rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inscribed are erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the faith, and an adversary to the holy Scripture.² And albeit one or two of them appear to be without error, to them that will consider only

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Wolves in lamb's skins.

Master Patrick given to the secular power.

What joy the papists make in spilling the blood of Christians.

(1) Note here that these articles agree not with the articles in the register before-mentioned.

(2) If ye could show to what place of the Scripture, we would gladly hear you.

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the bare words; as for example, 'Good works make not a good man, but a good man worketh good works;' yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signify; to wit, that works done after faith and justification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among extern nations who shall imitate the same, &c.

Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your university, which was founded according to the example of our university of Louvain, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you. In the mean time let us labour with one consent, that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have inquisitors and espies of books, containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from far countries, whether by apostate monks, or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days. It is said that since Scotland first embraced the christian faith, it was never defiled with any heresy.¹ Persevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the bishops, among whom Rossensis² hath showed himself an evangelical Phoenix, and partly of the king, declaring himself to be another Matthias³ of the new law, premitting nothing that may defend the law of his realm; which, if your most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to himself eternal glory. Further, as touching the condign commendation due for your part, most reverend bishop! in this behalf, it shall not be the least part of your praise, that these heresies have been extinct some time in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland, and principal author thereof: albeit that they also who have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the reverend bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand, and also the reverend bishop of Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith, together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors, and professors of holy Scripture. Let your reverend fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty towards you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

From Louvain, the year 1528, April 21.

By the masters and professors of theology in the university of Louvain,
Yours to command.

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

But to return to the matter again of Master Hamelton; here is

(1) The university of St. Andrews was founded about the year of our Lord 1516, in the reign of king James the First, who brought into Scotland out of other countries two doctors of divinity, and eight doctors of decrees, with divers other — Heet. Boet. lib. xvi. c. 17.

(2) He meaneth Fisher bishop of Rochester, who wrote against Ecclampadius and Luther, and at length was beheaded for treason.

(3) King Henry VIII is here a Matthias, when he maketh with you; but when he put down the pope and his abbeyes, then ye make him a heretic.

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

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A marvellous example of God's just punishment upon the accuser, of Master Hamelton.

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

A brief Treatise of Master Patrick Hamelton, called 'Patrick's Places.'

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY JOHN FRITH, WITH THE
EPISTLE OF THE SAID FRITH PREFIXED BEFORE
THE SAME, AS FOLLOWETH.

John Frith unto the Christian Reader.

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

See Appendix.

Patrick's Places.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LAW.

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

What the law is.

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The Ten Commandments of God.

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

The love
of God.
The love
of our
neigh-
bour.

All these commandments are briefly comprised in these two, hereunder ensuing: 'Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first, and great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.'¹

CERTAIN GENERAL PROPOSITIONS PROVED BY THE SCRIPTURE.

The First Proposition.

'He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.'

Proba-
tion.

This proposition is proved by 1 John iv.: 'If a man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?'²

The Second Proposition.

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

This proposition is proved: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them: for this is the law and the prophets.'³ 'He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: thou shalt not desire,' &c. 'And if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself.'⁴ 'All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself.'⁵

Argument.

- Major. *Bar-* He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God.⁶
Minor. *ba-* He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.⁷
Conclu- *ra.* Ergo, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God.
sion.

The Third Proposition.

'He that hath faith, loveth God.'

Proba-
tion.

'My Father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I come of God.'⁸

Argument.

- Major. *Bar-* He that keepeth the commandments of God, hath the love of God.
Minor. *ba-* He that hath faith, keepeth the commandments of God.
Conclu- *ra.* Ergo, he that hath faith, loveth God.
sion.

The Fourth Proposition.

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

Proba-
tion

This proposition is confirmed: 'It is impossible for a man without faith to please God;'⁹ that is, to keep any one of God's commandments, as he should do. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandment, hath faith.

(1) Matt. xxii.

(2) 1 John iv.

(3) Matt. vii.

(4) Rom. xiii.

(5) Gal. v.

(6) Rom. xiii.

(7) 1 John iv.

(8) John xvi.

(9) Heb. xi.

Argument.

Bar- He that hath faith keepeth all the commandments of God.
ba- He that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith.
ra. Ergo, he that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all.

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The Fifth Proposition.

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

Argument.

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

The Sixth Proposition.

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

Enthi-
 mema.

Argument.

Bar- It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God, without grace.
ro- It is not in our power to have grace.
co. Ergo, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God.

Major.
 Minor.
 Conclu-
 sion.

And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, foras-
 much as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments
 of God, nor yet be they in our power to have: 'Non est volentis neque cur-
 rentis,' &c.¹

The Seventh Proposition.

'The law was given us to show our sin.'
 'By the law cometh the knowledge of sin.'² 'I knew not what sin meant,
 but through the law; for I had not known what lust had meant, except the
 law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sin was dead, that is, it
 moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin,
 and forbidden by the law.'³

The office
 of the
 law.

The Eighth Proposition.

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

Argument.

Da- The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.
ri- The law commandeth to us the keeping of the commandments.
i. Ergo, the law commandeth unto us what is impossible.

Major.
 Minor.
 Conclu-
 sion.

Objection: But thou wilt say, 'Wherefore doth God bid us do what is
 impossible for us?'

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

The law
 ordained
 to bring
 us to
 Christ.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE GOSPEL.

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

Christ is the Saviour of the world. John iv.

Christ is the Saviour. Luke ii.

Christ died for us. Rom. v.

Christ died for our sins. Rom. iv.

Christ bought us with his blood. 1 Pet. ii.

Christ washed us with his blood. Apoc. i.

Christ offered himself for us. Gal. i.

Christ bare our sins on his back. Isa. liii.

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

(1) Rom. ix.

(2) Rom. iii

(3) Rom. vii.

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Christ came into this world to take away our sins. 1 John iii.
 Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins. 1 Tim. ii.
 Christ was made debtor for us. Rom. viii.
 Christ hath payed our debt, for he died for us. Col. ii.
 Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins. 1 Cor. vii.
 Christ is our righteousness. 1 Cor. i.
 Christ is our sanctification. 1 Cor. i.
 Christ is our redemption. Eph. ii.
 Christ is our peace. Rom. v.
 Christ hath pacified the Father of heaven for us. 1 Cor. iii.
 Christ is ours and all his. Col. ii.
 Christ hath delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from hell. 1 JOHN I.

The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our sins, for Christ's sake.
 (Or any such other, like to the same, which declare unto us the mercy of God.)

The Nature and Office of the Law and of the Gospel.

The law showeth us our sin. Rom. iii.
 The gospel showeth us remedy for it. John i.
 The law is the word of condemnation. Rom. vii.
 The gospel showeth us our redemption. Col. i.
 The law is the word of ire. Rom. iv.
 The gospel is the word of grace. Acts xx.
 The law is the word of despair. Deut. xxvii.
 The gospel is the word of comfort. Luke ii.
 The law is the word of unrest. Rom. vii.
 The gospel is the word of peace. Eph. vi.

A Disputation between the Law and the Gospel; where is shown the difference or contrariety between them both.

The law saith, 'Pay thy debt.'
 The gospel saith, 'Christ hath paid it.'
 The law saith, 'Thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.'
 The gospel saith, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved!'
 The law saith, 'Make amends for thy sins.'
 The gospel saith, 'Christ hath made it for thee.'
 The law saith, 'The Father of heaven is angry with thee.'
 The gospel saith, 'Christ hath pacified him with his blood.'
 The law saith, 'Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?'
 The gospel saith, 'Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, thy satisfaction.'
 The law saith, 'Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.'
 The gospel saith, 'Christ hath delivered thee from them all.'

THE DOCTRINE OF FAITH.

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

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

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

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

The Ninth Proposition.

'Faith is the gift of God.'

Argument.

Major. *Da-* Every good thing is the gift of God.
 Minor. *ri-* Faith is good.
 Conclusion. *c* Ergo, faith is the gift of God.

The Tenth Proposition.

Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

- Da-* The gift of God is not in our power.
ri- Faith is the gift of God.
i Ergo, faith is not in our power.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1528.Major.
Minor.
Conclu-
sion

The Eleventh Proposition.

He that lacketh faith, cannot please God.

'Without faith it is impossible to please God;'¹ 'all that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God.'²

Induction.

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

Ergo, 'a primo ad ultimum,' he that lacketh faith cannot please God.

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

The Twelfth Proposition.

All that is done in faith, pleaseth God.

Right is the word of God, and all his works in faith.³

Lord, thine eyes look to faith: that is as much as to say, Lord, thou delightest in faith.⁴

The Thirteenth Proposition.

He that hath faith is just and good.

Argument.

- Da-* He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, is just and good.
ri- He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruit.
i Ergo, he that hath faith, is just and good.

Major.
Minor.
Conclu-
sion.

The Fourteenth Proposition.

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

Induction.

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

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

Objection.

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

Answer.

Nay verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for 'a good tree beareth good fruit.'⁵

The Fifteenth Proposition.

Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

(1) Heb. xi.

(2) Rom. xiv.

(3) Psalm xxxiii.

(4) Jer. v.

(5) Matt. vii. 12.

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'Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen.'¹

'The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.'² Moreover, he that hath faith, wotteth well that God will fulfil his word: where-by it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness.

A man is justified by Faith

'Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.'³

'We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.'⁴

'He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.'⁵

'The just man liveth by his faith.'⁶

'We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law.'⁷

What is the Faith of Christ?

Faith in Christ what it is.

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

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

'He that believeth in Christ shall be saved.' Mark xvi.

'He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life.' John iii.

'Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me, hath everlasting life.' John vi.

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

'Thomas! because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou believed: happy are they which have not seen, and yet have believed in me.' John xxii.

'All the prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins.' Acts x.

'What must I do that I may be saved?' The apostles answered, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Acts xvi.

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

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

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

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

'He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, is safe.' John i.

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

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

'I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world.' John xi.

'These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye, in believing, might have life.' John xx.

'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God.' Acts viii.

The Sixteenth Proposition.

'He that believeth the gospel, believeth God.'

Argument.

Major.
Minor.
Conclu-
sion.

Da. He that believeth God's word, believeth God.

ri- The gospel is God's word.

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

To believe the gospel is this: that Christ is the Saviour of the world.' John vi.

(1) Heb. xi.
(5) Rom. iv.

(2) Rom. viii.
(6) Hab. ii., Rom. i.

(3) Rom. iv.
(7) Gal. ii.

(4) Rom. iii., Gal. ii.

Christ is our Saviour. Luke ii.
 Christ bought us with his blood. Heb. xiii. 1 Pet. i. Apoc. v.
 Christ washed us with his blood. Apoc. i.
 Christ offered himself for us. Heb. ix.
 Christ bare our sins on his own back, &c. 1 Pet. ii.

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The Seventeenth Proposition.

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

Argument.

Fe- ri- o.	He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself. The gospel is God's word Ergo, he that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently, he that believeth not those things above written, and such others, believeth not God.	Major. Minor. Conclu- sion.
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The Eighteenth Proposition.

He that believeth the gospel, shall be safe.

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

A Comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

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

OF HOPE.

Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him. What hope is.

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

'It is good to trust in God and not in man.' Psalm cxviii.
 'He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool.' Prov. xxviii.
 'It is good to trust in God, and not in princes.' Psalm cxviii.
 'They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them.' Psalm cxv.

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'He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly.' Prov. xii.

'Cursed is he that trusteth in man.' Jer. xvii.

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'Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God.' 1 Tim. vi.

'It is hard for them that trust in money, to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'¹ Moreover we should trust in him only, that may help us: God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.'Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him.'²'Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust.'³

'He that trusteth in him, shall understand the verity.' Wis. iii.

'They shall rejoice that trust in thee; they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them.' Psalm v.

OF CHARITY.

The rule
of charity.

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

A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.

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

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

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

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

Faith pertaineth to God only; hope to his reward; and charity to her neighbour.

THE DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

No manner of Works make us righteous.

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

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

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

Works do
not make
us right-
eous.

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

No Works make us unrighteous.

Argu-
mentum
à contra-
rio sensu.

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

Works make us neither good nor evil.

Works
make us
neither
good nor
evil be-
fore God.

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

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

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

(1) Luke xviii

(2) Psalm ii. Jer. xvii.

(3) Psalm xlv. Eccl. xxxiv

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

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good, ere it bear good fruit, and evil, ere it bear evil fruit.

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

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

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

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

The goodness of the tree goeth before his fruit.

None of our Works either save us or condemn us.

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

Objection.

Answer.

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

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

Faith maketh the man good. A good man maketh good works.

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

To say that our works do save us, is to deny that Christ is our Saviour.

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

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

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

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

He that thinketh to be saved by his Works calleth himself Christ.

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

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

No Saviour but Christ.

We should do no good Works for the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin.

For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and

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No remission but in Christ.

they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved, for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel: for the gospel saith, 'You shall be saved for Christ's sake;' 'your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.'

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

Objection.

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

Answer.

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

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

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

FINIS.

Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the aforesaid Places of Master Patrick.

The law and the gospel, how they are to be joined, and how to be separated.

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

Grace free. Promise simple. Faith alone.

Therefore, whosoever any question or doubt ariseth of salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, worketh to every man particularly his salvation, through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This word 'particularly,' I add, for the particular certifying of every man's heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in general; so is faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applieth the said body of Christ particularly to his own salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both law and works here be utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth only from the body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forasmuch as neither the

Particularly.

The body of Christ is the efficient cause of our redemption in general.

law nor works, but faith only, is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth every soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the only object of our faith is the body of Christ, like as the brazen serpent was the only object of the eyes of the Israelites looking, and not of their hands' working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls, not through working, but believing only.

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

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Faith is the instrumental cause of every man's particular salvation. Note the object of faith.

Faith is only the eye of the soul, which looketh to Christ

Argument.

- Da-* Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God.¹
ti- Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.
si. Ergo, faith only maketh us justified before God.

Argument.

- Ba-* Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ.²
ro- The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.
co. Ergo, the law and works pertain nothing to justification.

Argument.

- Ce-* Nothing which is unjust of itself, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.
sa- Every work we do, is unjust before God.³
re. Ergo, no work that we do, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.

Argument.

- Ca-* If works could any thing further our justification, then should our works something profit us before God.
me- No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God.⁴
stres. Ergo, no works that we do, can any thing further our justification.

Argument.

- Ba-* All that we can do with God, is only by Christ.⁵
ro- Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.
co. Ergo, our works and merits can do nothing with God.

(1) 'As many as received him, to them he gave power,' &c. John i.

(2) 'And he, by the knowledge of him, shall justify many,' &c. Isa. liii.

(3) 'All our righteousness is as filthy clouts.' Isa. lxiv.

(4) 'When ye have done all that is commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.' Luke xvii.

(5) 'Without me ye can do nothing.' John xv.

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Argument.

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	ri-	The law is the cause of condemnation. ¹
	i.	Ergo, it is not the cause of justification.

A Consequent.

We are quit and delivered from the law.²

Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the law.

Forasmuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture, in express words, hath thus included our salvation in faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our justification, and to make this difference between the law and the gospel, between faith and works; affirming, with Scripture and the word of God, that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, and that faith in Christ only justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians; especially in conflict of conscience between the law and the gospel, faith and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, God's free-election and man's free-will: so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name. Amen.

The Order and Difference of Places.

Antitheta,
The law to be discerned from the gospel

The Gospel and the Law; Faith and Works;
Grace and Merits; Promise and Condition;
God's Free-Election and Man's Free-Will.

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

The ignorance and blindness of the pope's church in confounding these places.

In the Doctrine of the Law three things to be noted.

The first point.
The strength of the law.

In the law therefore, three things are to be considered. First, what is the true rigour and strength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also his inward motions and inclinations of will and affection, from the appetite of sin: and therefore saith St. Paul, 'The law is spiritual, but I am carnal,'³ &c. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Item, the law commandeth that which is to us impossible, &c.

The second.
The due time and place of the law.

The second thing to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what they be, and how far they extend. For, as the surging seas have their banks and bars to keep them in, so the law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the law had been everlasting: but now, seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous flesh, the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth cease. 'For the end of the law is Christ';⁴

(1) 'The law worketh anger.' Rom. iv.

(2) 'Now are we quit and delivered from the law, being dead to that wherein we were once holden.' Rom. vii.

(3) Rom. vii.

(4) Rom. x.

that is, the death of Christ's body is the death of the law to all that believe in him : so that whosoever repent of their sins, and flee to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the law to them are expired. Wherefore this is to be understood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the law with all its sentences and judgments, wheresoever they are written, either in the Old Testament or in the New, doth ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to which always it giveth place, having there its end; and can proceed no further : according as St. Paul doth say, 'The law is our schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be justified by faith.'¹

Moreover, as the law hath its time how long to reign, so also it hath its proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of the law : for as the time of the law ceaseth, when the faith of Christ, in a true repenting heart, beginneth, so hath the law no place in such as be good and faithful; that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only in them that be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call such as walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by earnest repentance to flee to Christ for succour. And therefore saith St. Paul, 'To the just man there is no law set, but to the unjust and disobedient,'² &c. By the just man here is meant, not he who never had disease, but he who, knowing his disease, seeketh out the physician; and, being cured, keepeth himself in health, as much as he may, from any more surfeits. Notwithstanding he shall never so keep himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall continually need the physician. Where, by the way, these three things are to be noted; first, the sickness itself: secondly, the knowing of the sickness: thirdly, the physician. The sickness is sin: the knowing of the sickness is repentance, which the law worketh: the physician is Christ. And therefore, although in remission of our sins repentance is joined with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance, that causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Christ, whom faith only apprehendeth: no more than the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the physician. For else, when a man is cast and condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can save or deserve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that saveth.

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

Errors and Absurdities of the Papists, touching the Doctrine of the Law and of the Gospel.

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

(1) Gal. lii.

(2) 'Justis non est lex posita, sed injustis, et inobsequentibus.' 1 Tim. i.

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The death
of Christ
is the
death of
the law,
that is,
of the con-
demna-
tion of
the law.

How long
the time
of the law
lasteth.

In remis-
sion of
sins three
things to
be noted.

Repent-
ance is
joined
with
faith, yet
is it no
cause of
salvation.

The third
point to
be noted.

Inconve-
niences
that rise
from not
knowing
the true
end of the
law.

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II. They erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law; not knowing that the law, in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God.¹

III. They err also in this, that whereas the office of the law is diverse from, and contrary to the gospel, they, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the gospel to be a law, and Christ to be a Moses.²

IV. They err in dividing the law unskillfully into three parts: into the law natural, the law moral, and the law evangelical.

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

VI. The chief substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth upon the works of the law, as may appear by their religion, which wholly consisteth in men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.³

VII. In the doctrines of salvation, remission, and justification, either they admix the law equally with the gospel, or else, cleau seclunding the gospel, they teach and preach the law, so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.⁴

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

IX. They, not knowing the true nature and strength of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man's power to fulfil it.⁵

X. They err in thinking it not only to be in man's power to keep the law of God, but also to perform more perfect works than be in God's law commanded; and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruity and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.⁶

XI. They err in saying, that the state monastical is more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel, than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.⁷

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

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

XIV. They err sinfully, in punishing the transgressors of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and their canon-law, &c.⁸

XV. Finally they err most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation only to our faith in Christ, excluding works; they, on the contrary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works and merits, excluding faith: whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the mass, 'ex opere operato,' for the quick and dead, application of the merits of Christ's passion in bulls, application of the merits of all religious orders, and such others above specified more at large in the former part of this history.⁹

Here follow three Cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the Law.

The first caution: that we, through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the gospel for the law; but skilfully dis-

(1) Rom. iii.

(2) This article repugneth against this place of John i., 'The law is given by Moses: grace and verity by Jesus Christ.'

(3) What is the whole service of God in the pope's church, but only a heap of ceremonies?

(4) This article repugneth against this Scripture, 'Go and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth,' &c. But they preach as though Christ had said, 'Go and preach the law to every creature.'

(5) This article is contrary to the place Rom. viii., 'That which the law could not perform in the behalf of our weak flesh,' &c.

(6) This article repugneth against the place, Gal. ii., 'For if righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain.'

(7) This article savoureth of the pride of the pharisee, who said, 'I am not like this publican.'

(8) This article repugneth against this place, 'They bind heavy burdens and grievous to bear, and lay them on men's shoulders,' Matt. xxiii.

(9) 'Woe to you, scribes and pharisees! which for the doctrines of men, transgress the commandments of God.'

cern and distinguish the voice of the one, from the voice of the other. Many there be, who, reading the book of the New Testament, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said book, to be only and merely the voice of the gospel: and contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compass of the Old Testament (that is, within the law, histories, psalms, and prophets), to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. Wherein many are deceived; for the preaching of the law, and the preaching of the gospel, are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the Old as the New; neither is the order of these two doctrines to be distinguished by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spirit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Testament God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam, with the voice of the gospel: sometimes also in the New Testament he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the Pharisees. In some places again, Moses and the prophets play the Evangelists; insomuch that Jerome doubteth whether he should call Isaiah a prophet or an evangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the apostles supply the part of Moses; and as Christ himself, until his death, was under the law (which law he came not to break, but to fulfil), so his sermons made to the Jews, run all, for the most part, upon the perfect doctrine and works of the law, showing and teaching what we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same: all which places, though they be contained in the book of the New Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, ever having in them included a privy exception of repentance and faith in Christ Jesus. As for example, where Christ thus preacheth, 'Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God,'¹ &c. Again, 'Except ye be made like these children, ye shall not enter,'² &c. Item, 'But he that doth the will of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,'³ &c. Item, the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast into prison for not forgiving his fellow,⁴ &c. The casting of the rich glutton into hell,⁵ &c. Item, 'He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.'⁶ with such other places of like condition. All these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christ's precious blood. For else, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow-servants; and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest repentance, and faith in him unfeigned. Amen!

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

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1528.

The voice of the gospel soundeth sometimes in the Old Testament, and the voice of the law is sometimes used in the New Testament.

What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the law.

The promise of the gospel is without condition. Free without merits. Simple without condition. What is the gospel properly.

The second caution.

(1) Matt. v. (2) Matt. xviii. (3) Matt. vii. (4) Matt. xviii (5) Luke xvi. (6) Luke xii.

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Who they be, to whom the gospel only belongeth.

Christ the fulfiller and also the finisher of the law.

The third caution. How to separate the law from the gospel.

How to join both the law and the gospel.

any person or persons do feel themselves, with the majesty of the law and judgment of God, so terrified and oppressed, and with the burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell; as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of God's good servants. When such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning weed belongeth to a marriage-feast: and therefore, removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only set before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comforts of God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, grace, redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing, and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else; thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs give place to his better, that is, must needs give room to Christ the Son of God, who is the lord and master, the fulfiller, and also the finisher of the law; for the end of the law, is Christ.¹

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

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

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

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

Henry Forest, martyr.

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

The friar uttereth the confession of Henry Forest.

When the day came for his death, and that he should first be degraded, he was brought before the clergy in a green place, being between the castle of St.

Andrew and another place called Monymaill. As soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving wherunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men!' And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of Benet and Collet, he said with a loud voice, 'Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!' meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in baptism. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic equal with Master Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they term by the name of heresy.¹

Henry
VIII
A.D
1528

Fie on
false
friars

James Hamelton, Brother to Master Patrick; Katharine Hamelton; a Wife of Leith; David Straton, and Master Norman Gurley: the two last burned. Persecuted by James Hay, Bishop of Ross, Commissioner of King James the Fifth; by Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Master John Spens, Lawyer.

See
Appendix.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabout, was called James Hamelton, of Linlithgow; his sister Katharine Hamelton, the spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another honest woman of Leith; David Straton, of the house of Lawristone; and Master Norman Gurley. These were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner to James Beton, archbishop, in presence of king James the Fifth of that name; who, upon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamelton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his brother; to whom the king gave counsel to depart, and not to appear: for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the bishops had persuaded the king, that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto *him*. And so Hamelton fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and all his goods and lands confiscated and disposed unto others.

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

A great
heresy in
the pope's
church,
that no
works can
save us,
but the
works of
Christ.

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

A great
heresy.

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

Purgz-
tory.

Also David Straton, for that he said, there was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world. And because, when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because, after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the bishop of Ross as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inha-

(1) EX Scripto Testimonio Sectorum.

Henry VIII.

bitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be struck with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.¹

A. D.
1530.

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

Thomas Harding, an aged Father, dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire, burned A. D. 1532. Persecuted by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and by Rowland, Vicar of Great Wyeombe, the Bishop's Chaplain.

Thomas Harding, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1506, with divers others, who, the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burned in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries, and spoiled clean of all their goods, some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.: of whom mention is made in the table before.

*See
Appendix.*

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

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

Item, That both of them, during their lives, should fast bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.²

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

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

The taking of
Thomas
Harding.

At last the said Harding, in the year abovesaid (1532), about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and in truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book: whereupon immediately a rude rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of holy Scripture. Hereupon this godly father

(1) Ex Scripto Testimonio Scotorum.

(2) It was happy that they were not put to taste bread and water.

with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn; who, with his chaplains, calling father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes, than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison, called Little-ease, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal-seat like a potestate, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, vicar of Great Wycombe. This Rowland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others like to himself, brought father Harding to Chesham again; where, the next day after his return, the said Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time; which sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his apostolical see, with the idolatry, fantasies, and traditions belonging unto the same. When the sermon was ended, Rowland took him up to the high altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body, born of the Virgin Mary? To this Thomas Harding answered, 'The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father.'

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1530.

Harding put in Little-ease, the bishop's prison. Harding condemned.

The faith and confession of Harding.

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

His patient death and martyrdom.

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

Forty days of pardon for bringing faggots to burn good men.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the dell, going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, Rowland, their ruler of the roast, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an 'Ite, missa est,' with a loud voice said to the people these words, not advising belike, what his tongue did speak, 'Good people! when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of a heretic, but of a good true christian man;' and so they departed to dinner, Rowland, with the rabble of other priests, much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After dinner they went to church to evensong, because it was Corpus Christi even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing, and piping of the organs. Well was he that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoice at this good man's burning. He should have been burned on the Ascension even, but the matter was deferred unto the even of Corpus Christi, because they would honour their 'bready Messias' with a bloody sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above.¹

I find in the records of Lincoln, about the same time, and in the same county of Buckinghamshire, in which the aforesaid Thomas

(1) Ex Testimon Scrip. civium Amars! mensium.

Henry
VIII.

Harding did suffer, that divers others, for the like doctrine, were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder follow :

A. D.
1529.

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

Alice
Dolly ac-
cused.

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

Against
pilgrim-
age.

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

Against
images.

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

Item, The said mistress Dolly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which book she kept ever in her chamber, or in her coffer, with divers other books. And this was about A.D. 1520.¹

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

Roger Hachman, accused at North Stoke, in Oxfordshire, A. D. 1525.

Persecuted by William Smith of North Stoke, in Oxfordshire; and by Thomas Ferrar.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid, by depositions brought in, that he, sitting at the church-ale, at North Stoke, said these words, 'I will never look to be saved for no good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, without I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king; and said, that if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.'²

Robert West, Priest of St. Andrew Undershaft, accused at London, A. D. 1529. Persecuted by Dr. Wharton, Chancellor to Tonstal, Bishop of London.

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

(1) Ex Regist. Lincoln.

(2) Ibid.

Item, For saying, that whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do : for which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.¹

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

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

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

Item, It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, that she, being with her brother in a close called Brimmer's Close, heard him say these words, 'That a time shall come, when no elevation shall be made.' Whereunto she answering again, asked, 'And what service shall we have then?' He said, 'That service that we have now.' Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the church was nought, because it was not in English: 'For,' said he, 'if we had our Paternoster in English, we would say it nine times against once now,' &c.²

A prophesy.

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

Sister against brother, wife against husband.

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

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

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

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

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

A prophesy.

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

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

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

(1) Ex Regist. Lincoln

(2) Ex Regist. Lincoln, fol. 300.

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VIII.

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

A. D.
1530.

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

John Simonds accused.

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

Item, He said, that priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of the said John Simonds, that he had converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.¹

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

Divers
accused
for hear-
ing the
Scrip-
tures
read in
English.

These persons with others were examined, excommunicated, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, read a parcel of Scripture in English unto them, who there expounded to them many things; as that they that went on pilgrimage were accused: that it booteth not to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday; for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested. that they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the Lumbering days; for he was beyond the sea in Almany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holy days.

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

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

Item, That the sacrament of the altar, was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.²

To William Wingrave moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no purgatory: and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.²

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

Simon
Wisdom
abjured.

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

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

James
Algar
abjured.

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

Item, That he said that he would not have his executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death, for he would do it with his own hands while he was

(1) Ex Regist. Longland.

(2) Ex eod. Regist. fol. 213.

alive; and that his conscience gave him, that the soul, as soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or to hell.

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

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

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

Against John French likewise these three articles were objected.

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

J. French
abjured.

See
Appendix.

*Here¹ followeth a brief table or catalogue, containing the names of all such as were forced to abjure in king Henry's days, after the first beginning of Luther.

John Hacker, alias Richardson.	William Bromfeld, alias Rackelsdone, monk of Berye.
Johan Picas of Colchester.	William Woorsly priest and eremite.
Sebastian Harris priest of Kingtonon.	John Stacie Tyler.
Richard Foster of London.	Thomas Geffrey Tailor of London.
Thomas Topley a frier of Clare.	Thomas Phillips, pointer of London.
William Gardiner frier-Augustine of Clare.	William Curson alias Felde.
Sir Richard Foxe, parish priest of Bumpsted.	Humphrey Mummouth draper of London, whose story for the notableness thereof shall be partly recited.
John Tybault.	Lawrence Swarfe tailor of London.
John Cranforde of Bumpsted.	William Russel tailor of London.
Edmond Tybault of Bomsteded.	Thomas Foxe and Dorothey his wife.
Alis shypwright of Bomsted.	Lawrence Maxwel bricklayer of London, who was twyse imprisoned: First for charging a priest with a lie, that preached at Paul's cross 'that the blood of Christ was not sufficient for man's redemption without works.' The second time he was again imprisoned with his other brethren, When Barnes was burned: and about two years after, at the coming in of Queen Anne a Cleve, he with his brethren were pardoned by a general pardon.
Robert beast.	Robert Goldstone glasier.
Robert Wigge of London.	Laurence Staple.
William Bull of London.	John Periman Skinner.
George Couper of London.	Henry Thompson Tailor, for his penance condemned to perpetual prison.
John Toy, of the parish of St. Faith's in London.	Jasper Wetsel of Cullen.
Harry Railland of Colchester.	Sir Robert Cooper priest.
Richard Chapman of Witham.	Henry Feldone.
Robert faire of Bansted.	Thomas Row of Baromsted.
Abraham Water of Colchester.	Robert Man of Much Cornard.
Christopher Raven tailor of Witham.	William Waltam of Colchester.
William Russel tailor of London.	Grace Palmer of St. Oseye.
John smyth of Bansted.	Philip Brasier of Bochsted.
Thomas Bowgas of Colchester.	Henry Fersted of Colchester.
Doretie Long of Colchester.	George Bull of Much Hadham.
Rose Bate of Colchester.	John Haumond of Colchester.
William butcher of Bansted.	
Robert Hempsted.	
Thomas Hempsted of Bansted.	
John Turke.	
John Stirling.	
Denby widow of Colchester.	
Nicolas White of Rye.	
Richard Kitchen curate of Ligh.	
William Wiggen, priest.	
William Haille parish clerk of Totnam.	
Paul Luther warden of the Grey Friars in Ware.	
William Barlo priest.	

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 113; also Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, lib. i. chaps. 7, 8.—Ed.

<i>Henry VIII.</i>	John Hewes of London. Thomas Potnar of London.	John Allin of Colchester. Henry Golder shomaker.
A. D. 1530.	Simon Smith maister of art. Thomas Patmer of Much Hadham. William Nelson priest. Thomas Eve clerck of Much Hadham. Robert Hudson. James Benham a knight's son of Gloucestershire. Edward Hewet. Water Kirrie.	James Locke of Elmsted. Thomas Daeres and John Coates. Hugh Morris, detected, cited, and after excommunicated, for lack of appearing at Windsor.
<i>See Appendix.</i>	Michael Lobley, servant to maister Pepwell. Margaret Bowegrace. Thomas Matthew of Colchester. John Wyly senior. Edward Wentworth alias Painter. John Tirrell of Billerica in Essex tailor. William Lancaster tailor. John Medwell a scrivener's servant. Andrew Hewet tailor of Feversam. John Woodcocke. John Fowrd of Dedham.	UNCERTAIN YEARS.
		Robert West parson of St. Andrews. Roger Waplode. Seger Nicholson. Thomas Gerarde priest. Galfride Lome. John Petit, alias Petye. William Smith. Christopher Fulman. John George of Cressing. John Whyby the younger of Dedham. John Morris. William Blackman of Colchester. John Harriedaunce. John Cole of Bosted.

See Addenda.

After all these whose years we have expressed, there were also divers others of whom, although we have no certain time or year expressed, yet because we find them in the fragments of old registers, we thought not good to omit or leave them out.

John Coynes, alias Lyveland, was detected for contemning the sacrament of the altar, and for that he did not receive at Easter; and died at St. Martynes.

Robert Warde, shomaker, of St. Bride's parish in Fleet-street, taken at Isleworth, and detected by three witnesses of the same town, for holding opinions against the sacrament of the altar; and died in the counter in Bread-street.

Friar Ward, otherwise called Matthew Ward, merchaunt-venturer, committed to the counter at Bread-street, for that he, being priest, contracted matrimony, was married, and kept company with his wife; and for suspicion that he was a sacramentary (as then they called them), a despiser of auricular confession and private masses, a defender that the communion ought to be ministered unto the lay people under both kinds; and for upholding that priests ought to have wives.

Herman Peterson and James Gosson tailors, Dutchmen, were committed to prison in the counter in Bread-street; for that the said James was neither confessed in Lent, nor received at Easter, which he said came through the counsel of Herman, who counselled him, rather to give three or four pence in alms to poor men, than to be housled or shriven.

Thomas Lancaster, priest; imprisoned in the counter in the Poultry, for bringing in certain prohibited books.

John Wyllock, Scottish friar, committed to the Fleet for preaching against confession; against holy water; against praying to saints; and against purgatory; that priests might have wives, and that the priests ought not to pray for souls departed.

John goodale, prisoner also in the Fleet.

Nicholas South, committed to prison at Newgate, detected by two witnesses, that he was not shriven in Lent nor received at Easter.

Thus, gentle reader, we have briefly drawn out unto you, as we could collect and gather them out of the registers, the most part of the names of all such as have been forced to abjure and by the bishop recanted, during the time of the reign of the most famous and worthy king Henry VIII.; of which number some died in several prisons,

and of other some were put into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, some were forced to bear faggots embrodered upon their sleeves, by the space of seven years after; the sample whereof we have to show, with other sundry most shameful and cruel punishments; and many were delivered by general pardon. Desiring you to hold us excused, that we have not here declared their several causes with their abjurations and sundry kinds of penance and punishment; which, in this place, for avoiding of prolixity we have omitted, and partly for that their causes were nothing at all discrepant from such as were at the same time burned. Albeit, they had not like force and constancy to persevere in the truth; the great number of whom, with their articles, examinations, process, and condemnations, because they are matters of more weight and effect, have moved me with the more haste and speed to pass over these aforesaid in such sort, and so to come unto their histories.*

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1530.

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

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

A brief Discourse concerning the Story and Life of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinal of York, by way of digression;

WHEREIN IS TO BE SEEN AND NOTED THE EXPRESS IMAGE OF THE PROUD, VAIN-GLORIOUS CHURCH OF ROME, HOW FAR IT DIFFERETH FROM THE TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST JESUS.

Although it be not greatly pertinent unto this our history, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters, treating of Christ's holy martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; notwithstanding, forasmuch as there be many, who, being carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering church of Rome, do think that holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: to the intent therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanour of this aforesaid Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate of Rome, in whom alone the image and life of all other such-like followers and professors of the same church may be seen and observed. For like as the Lacedemonians, in times past, were accustomed to show and

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demonstrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulness of that vice, they might inflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

Wherefore thou shalt note here, good reader! in this history, with all judgment, the great difference of life and christian conversation between this church and the other true humble martyrs and servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first, to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this cardinal, and his fellow-cardinal, Campeius, to England; it was about the time when pope Leo, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France; Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Calais, and that the cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain bishops and docters, with as much speed as he could, to meet the legate, and to show him, that if he would have his embassy take effect, he should send in post to Rome, to have the said cardinal of York made legate, and to be joined with him in commission: which thing he much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate, and therefore required to be joined with him in like degree of the embassy. Campeius, being a man light of belief, and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words, and sent unto Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after, the bull was brought to Calais, wherein they were both equally joined in commission; during which time the cardinal of York sent to the legate at Calais, red cloth to clothe his servants withal, who at their coming to Calais were but meanly apparelled.¹

Campeius sent into England.

Cardinal Wolsey seeketh to be joined in equal commission with Campeius.

When all things were ready, Campeius passed the seas and landed at Dover, and so kept on his journey toward London. At every good town as they passed, he was received with procession, accompanied by all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, there met him the duke of Norfolk, with a great number of prelates, knights, and gentlemen, all richly apparelled; and in the way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted himself into a cardinal's robe, furred with ermines; and so took his mule, riding toward London. Now mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare the same with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is more gospel-like.

This Campeius had eight mules of his own, laden with divers fardels and other preparation. The cardinal of York, thinking them not sufficient for his state, the night before he came to London, sent him twelve mules more (with empty coffers), covered with red, to furnish his carriage withal. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessities, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a legate as it were a god, with such and so great treasure and riches; for so the common people do always judge and esteem the majesty of the clergy, by no other thing than by their

The receiving of the pope's legate into England

Ambition and pomp in the cardinal.

(1) Note the state and pride of the pope's clergy.

outward shows and pomp. But in the midst of this great admiration, there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition: for as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze (as the manner is), it happened that one of the mules, breaking his collar that he was led in, ran upon the other mules, whereby it happened, that they, so running together, and their girths being loosed, overthrew divers of their burdens; and so there appeared the cardinal's gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of boys and girls, whereof some gathered up picces of meat, some, pieces of bread and roasted eggs; some found horse-shoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, 'Behold! here is my lord cardinal's treasure.' The muleteers, being therewithal greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

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The cardinal's twenty great mules laden with roasted eggs, and rotten shoes, and such other treasure

About three o'clock in the afternoon, July 29th, the cardinal himself was brought through the city, with great pomp and solemnity, unto Paul's church, where, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the manner is, he was guided forth unto the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the said cardinal; and by him on the next day, being Sunday, was conducted unto the king, to fulfil his embassy against the Turk, who might have destroyed all Hungary in the mean time, while they were studying with what solemnity to furnish out their embassy.¹

See Appendix.

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

Furthermore, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor at Brussels, he had over with him the great seal of England; and was served with his servitors kneeling on their knees; and many noblemen of England waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans that beheld it: such was his monstrous pomp and pride.²

This glorious cardinal, in his tragical doings, did exceed so far all measure of a good subject, that he became more like a prince than a priest; for although the king bare the sword, yet he bare the stroke, making (in a manner) the whole realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of

The climbing of cardinal Wolsey.

(1) Ex Edovar. Hallo.

(2) Ex Paralip. Ab. Ursp.

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 gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his restless head was so busy, ruffling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had set both England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, together by the ears.

The pill-
 ing and
 polling of
 the car-
 dinal.

Thus this legate, well following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, under the pretence of the church, practised great hypocrisy; and under the authority of the king he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every man's substance, so pilling the commons and merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the churchmen altogether free from the pillar and poll-axe, from the pilling and polling, I mean, of this cardinal, who, under his power legantine, gave by preventions all benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches or hatred of the spirituality. So far his license stretched, that he had power to suppress divers abbeys, priories, and monasteries; and so he did, taking from them all their goods, movables and unmovables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power legantine he kept also general visitations through the realm, sending doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses; wherewith the friars observant much grudged, and would in no wise condescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly accursed at Paul's cross, by friar Forest,¹ one of the same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all others. Against whom great disclaim arose among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licenses, and other pollings in his courts legantine, he had made his treasure equal with the king's, and yet every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.²

The
 friars ob-
 servant
 a-cursed
 of the
 cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, this was one which much pinched them, for that the said cardinal had sent out certain straight commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the commons; in such sort, that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of Suffolk, had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with wisdom and gentleness, stepped in and appeased the same.³

See
 Appendix.

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was this; to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the king's chief councillor, to set a reformation in the order of the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the lady Mary, then being princess; so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with

(1) Friar Forest, vide infra.

(2) Ex Hallo. an. 17. Reg. Henric. VIII.

(3) Ex Hallo. an. 19 Reg. Henric. VIII.

much more, took he upon him, making the king believe, that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pains; insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him: whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

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

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

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

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

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

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Hampton court given to the king.

The cardinal ruffling in matters and wars of princes.

Francis the French king taken prisoner.

The pope absolveth him from his oath.

Answer of the cardinal to the pope

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The pope stirreth up wars. See Appendix.

crown: whereby it may appear here by the way, what holiness and virtue lie in the pope and cardinals of that catholic see of Rome.

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

The Sacking of Rome, and taking of Pope Clement.¹

The emperor's army, departing from Florence to the city of Sienna, where they lost their ordnance, took counsel there to go to Rome, and so much they travelled by night and day, commonly passing forty miles day and night (their good will was such), that on the fourth day of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome, the same day being Saturday; and on Sunday, the Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defences, and laid ordnance on the walls, and shot at them without fiercely.²

The duke of Bourbon.

The duke of Bourbon determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were ill armed and unprovided with storming engines; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to give the assault, and so manfully they approached the walls between the Burgo Novo and old Rome. But the Romans valiantly defended them with hand-guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemies were fain to retreat. Then the Romans were glad, and set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the duke of Bourbon seeing, he eried to a new assault. Then the drumslades struck, and every man with a ladder mounted; and at first encounter again the Romans put them a little back; which the duke of Bourbon perceiving, eried "God and the emperor!" Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled; but at last the emperor's men got the wall: and between every assault fell a mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assail; which was profitable to the emperor's party. At the three assaults were slain two hundred Switzers of the pope's guard. In this last assault was the duke of Bourbon struck in the thigh with a hand-gun, of which he shortly after died in a chapel of St. Sixt, whither his soldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithstanding, the army entered into Rome, and took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's arms.

Three assaults against Rome. The duke of Bourbon wounded.

Pope Clement had passed so little on the emperor's army, that he had gone to St. Peter's church to hear mass: for he had

(1) See Della Istoria di Fr. Guicciardini, tom. iv. p. 240. Edit. Friburgo. 1776.— Ed.
 (2) Ex Paralip. Abba Ursu.

accursed them on the Friday before, and in his curse he called the Almain, Lutherans; and the Spaniards, Marrani or Moors: and he utterly disdained his enemies, until suddenly the Almain entered into the church, and slew his guard and divers other. He, seeing that, fled in all haste by a privy way to the castle of St. Angelo; and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were slain, and if he in that fury had been taken, he had been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled likewise to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were overpressed and trodden down, as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates, that passed toward the castle for succour.

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The pope curseth his enemies, and fleeth.

The cardinals de Sienna, Cesarini, de Todi, Jacobace, and de Valle, tarried so long, that they could not get to the castle for the multitude of people; wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the palace of St. George, where they kept themselves for awhile as secretly as they might. You must understand, through the city of Rome runneth a famous river called Tiber, and on the one side of the river standeth the Borough of St. Angelo; and the other side is called Burgo Novo, or the New Borough. There is a bridge called the bridge of Sixtus, which lieth directly before the castle. At the end of this

The cardinals besieged.

bridge was a wonderful strong bulwark, well ordnanced and well manned. The emperor's men, seeing that they could do nothing either to the pope, or to that part of the city, but by the bridge, determined to assault the bulwark; and so, as men without fear, came on the bridge, and the Romans so well defended themselves, that they slew almost four thousand men. Seeing this, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Guasto, with all speed gave the assault, and notwithstanding that the Romans shot great ordnance, hand-guns, quarels, and all that might be shot; yet the imperial persons never shrank, but manfully entered the bulwark, and slew and threw down out at the loops all the Romans that they found, and after rased the bulwark to the ground. The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and beheld this fight; and with him were four-and-twenty cardinals, of whom one, called the cardinal 'Sanctorum Quatuor,' or the cardinal of 'Pouch,' was slain, and with him were one thousand prelates and priests, five hundred gentlemen, and five hundred soldiers: wherefore immediately the captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo, lest they within might issue out, and turn them to damage; wherefore suddenly a siege was planted round about the castle. In the mean season, the soldiers fell to spoil. Never was Rome so pillaged, either by the Goths or Vandals; for the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, brake up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters, and spoiled virgins, and maltreated married women. Men were tormented if they had not to give to every new asker or demander: some were strangled, some were punished by dreadful mutilation, to cause them to confess their treasure. This woodness continued a great while, and some men might think that when they had gotten so much, then they would cease and be quiet, but that was not so, for they played continually at dice, some five hundred, some a thousand ducats at a cast; and he that came to play

The bulwark of the Romans besieged and taken.

See Appendix.

Castle of St. Angelo besieged.

Rome spoiled.

†

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1527
to
1530.†
The pope
mocked
and
scorned
openly
in
Rome.The pope
besieged
and
taken.
see
*Appendix.*War and
pesti-
lence.
[June
6th.]The car-
dinal be-
stirreth
him for
the pope.The pope
fighteth
for tem-
poral pos-
sessions.Twelve
score
thousand
pounds
conveyed
out of

laden with plate, went away almost naked, and then fell to rifling again. Many of the citizens, who could not patiently suffer that vexation, drowned themselves in the Tiber. The soldiers daily, that lay at the siege, made jests of the pope. Sometimes they had one riding like the pope, with a base woman behind him; sometimes he blessed, and sometimes he cursed, and sometimes they would with one voice call him Antichrist: and they went about to undermine the castle, and to have thrown it down on the pope's head; but the water that environeth the castle disappointed their purpose.

In this season the duke of Urbino, with fifteen thousand men, came to aid the pope; but hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard other word. The marquis of Saluzzo, and sir Frederic de Bozolo, with fifteen thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, were at Viterbo the 10th day of May, where they, hearing that the city of Rome was taken, also tarried. The cardinal de Colonna came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men, but when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

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

When they were departed, the Spaniards never were contented till they had gotten the Almaines out of the castle of St. Angelo, and so they had the whole custody of the pope. And thus much for the sacking of Rome.¹

When the cardinal here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stir coals, and hearing of his captivity, he laboured with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the said pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the church; which if he would do, the cardinal persuaded him that he should receive great reward at God's hand. To whom the king answered again, and said in this manner: "My lord! I more lament this evil chance, than my tongue can tell; but whereas you say I am the defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions. And now, since pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? neither my person nor my people can rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient."

Thus the cardinal, when he could not obtain at the king's hands what he would, in stirring him up to mortal war, made out of the king's treasure twelve score thousand pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as

(1) Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursp.

legate to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Litany after this sort, ' Sancta Maria! ora pro Clemente papa; Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente papa;'¹ and so forth all the Litany.

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

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

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

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

The cause why the cardinal should bear the emperor all this malice

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1527

to 1530.

England, by the cardinal.

War waged by the cardinal.

Crafty practice of the cardinal.

The cardinal sets Clarendieux to defy the emperor, and afterwards would be excused by his death.

(1) A new-found Litany of the lord cardinal's making.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1527
to
1530.Proud
threats
against
the em-
peror.

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

The em-
peror's
answer
unto the
cardinal's
threats.

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

*See
Appendix.*The title
of De-
fender
of the
Faith.

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

The
glorious
vanity of
the car-
dinal
laughed
to scorn.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the cardinal brought it unto the king's grace at Greenwich; and though the king had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the lords and gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the cardinal gat him through the backside, unto the Friars observant, and part of the gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome; part met him half way, and some at the court gate. The king himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read; which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied by many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; and so he proceeded to mass. When

mass was done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honour of the king's new style. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst whereof the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying, "Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor Fidei, et Dominus Hiberniæ." Thus were all things ended with great solemnity.

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

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A. D.
1527
to
1530.

The king's style augmented. The receiving of the cardinal's hat. See Appendix.

And forasmuch as we are in hand with the acts and doings of cardinal Wolsey, among many other things which of purpose we overpass, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his un-courteous, or rather churlish handling of Richard Pacy, dean of Paul's. This Pacy, being the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, was of such ripeness of wit, of learning and eloquence, also in foreign languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succeed after John Colet, in the deanery of Paul's; besides which he was also preferred to the deanery of Exeter. For the other he was sent in the king's affairs ambassador to Venice; which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and especially for his singular promptness in the Italian tongue, wherein he seemed nothing inferior, either to Peter Vanne here in England, the king's secretary for the Italian tongue, or yet to any others, who were the best in that tongue in all Venice. For opinion and fame of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not only here in England with Linacre, Grocine, More, and others, but also known and reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus's Epistles, he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacy.

The cruel dealing of the cardinal against Richard Pacy, dean of Paul's.

As the said Pacy was resident ambassador at Venice, the king, having war the same time with Francis the French king (as is afore rehearsed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then charged with his expenses, sent commandment to Pacy to give attendance to the duke of Bourbon, concerning the receipt of that money, and other necessities and exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the mean while, as the French king with his army, and the duke of Bourbon were approaching in battle together, near about the city of Pavia, it so happened (some think through the crafty packing of the cardinal) that the king's money was not so ready as it was looked for: by reason whereof the duke of Bourbon, perceiving his soldiers about to shrink from him to the French king for lack of payment, called to him the ambassador, complaining unto him, how the king of England had deceived him, and broken promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing, &c. Pacy then, being

The duke of Bourbon wagemeth war with the king of England's money.

Disappointed of it.

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to
1530.

Richard Pacy helpeth the duke.

The means why the French king was taken.

The cardinal hateth Pacy.

Practiseth against him.

Pacy in great credit with the Venetians.

Pacy be-straught of his wits.

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

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

This piteous case of Pacy was not a little lamented by the whole

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

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to
1530.

Pacy
prettilly
recover-
ed.

Brought
to the
king's
speech.

Com-
manded
to the
Tower,
but dis-
charged.

By this story of Pacy, and also by other passages above-mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this cardinal was to be made pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to treat, first it is to be understood, that forasmuch as Pacy either would not, or could not, serve the cardinal's purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other means, and namely by Stephen Gardiner, who was then shortly after sent ambassador to Rome by the king and the cardinal, in the time of pope Clement VII.; and that for two special causes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. As touching the divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time, as con-

The
cardinal
labours
to be
pope.

See
Appendix.

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Stephen Gardiner ambassador at Rome for the king and the cardinal.

cerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labour was made, as in letters may appear, sent from the cardinal to the said Stephen Gardiner; in which letters he did solicit the said Gardiner, by all means, to pursue the suit, willing him to stiek for no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more, he said, he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here, christian reader! what a holy catholic church this is, which rather may be called a bourse, or mart of merchants, 'ne quid dicam durius,' than any true form of a church.

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

The Copy of an ambitious Letter written by Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, unto Stephen Gardiner, one of King Henry's Orators in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papal dignity to the said Cardinal.

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

Crafty pretences to serve ambitious purposes.

I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider, as well the state wherein the church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this realm, and of the king's secret matter; which if it should be brought to pass by any other means than by the authority of the church, I account this prince and realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be pope and common father of all princes, as may, can, and will, give remedy to the premises. And albeit I account myself much unable,¹ and that it shall be now incommodiou in this mine old age to be the said common father; yet when all things be well pondered, &c. the qualities of all the cardinals well considered, 'absit verbum jactantiae,' there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the aforesaid things, but only the cardinal of York,² whose good will and zeal is not to you of all men unknown. And were it not for the re-integration of the state of the church and see apostolic to the pristine dignity, and for the conducting of peace amongst christian princes, and especially to relieve this prince and realm from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me, 'nedum aspirare, sed ne consentire,' to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.³

Nevertheless, conforming myself to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two princes, I am content to appone all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and ways, 'ut benefaciam rebus Christianitatis,' for the attaining of the said dignity: for the achieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two princes and their realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since

(1) O feigned hypocrisy!

(2) Belike the cardinal here lacketh good neighbours, seeing he is compelled to praise himself.

(3) You may long say so, before we will believe you.

you be so plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I shall pray you to extend omnes nervos ingenii tui, ut ista res ad effectum produci possit, nullis parcendo sumptibus, pollicitationibus, sive laboribus: ita ut hominum videris ingenia et affectiones, sive ad privata, sive ad publica, sic accomodes actiones tuas. Non deest tibi et collegis tuis amplissima potestas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus, limitata seu restricta; et quicquid feceris, scito omnia apud hunc regem et me esse grata et tuta. Nam omnia (ut paucis absolvam) in tuo ingenio et fide reposuimus. Nihil superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem, ut omnes actiones tuas secundet Deus optimus maximusque, et, ex corde, vale.

Ex ædibus meis Westmonast. vii. Febr.

Tuæ salutis et amplitudinis cupidissimus,

T. Ebor.

Henry
VIII.

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to
1530.

After this letter of the cardinal, consequently here ensueth another letter of the king, to the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, and other his orators at Rome; containing such instructions and documents as they should practise with the cardinals of Rome, in canvassing for the said Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, to be elected pope, if pope Clement were dead; or, if he were not dead, yet at least to instruct them what to do, when he should die.

Stephen
Gardiner
the
cardinal's
trusty
factor.

The contents of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly necessary for our story, yet for the ridiculous manner of the handling, and curious secretaryship thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought it not here unmeet for the studies and appetites of some, to exemplify the same, or at least to make the reader some pastime by the way, in beholding the glorious style of this vain-glorious cardinal, being suit-like to his glorious life. The copy of the letter bearing the name of the king, but indeed savouring altogether of the cardinal's device and swelling vein, doth thus proceed in form and style as followeth.

Instructions sent by the King's Highness, to his trusty Councillors and Servants, Master Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Knights; and Mr. Peter Vanne, the King's Secretary for the Italian Tongue; his Ambassadors in the Court of Rome, for the Election of the Cardinal of York to the Papacy, if Pope Clement were dead.¹

First, whereas a good season since the depeach of Master Stephen Gardiner, an ambassiate towards the court of Rome, the king's highness, by sundry ways, hath been advertised of the death of our holy father the pope Clement of that name the Seventh, whose soul Jesu pardon! by means whereof the charge heretofore committed by his grace unto his orators, to have been now executed with the said late pope, cannot at his hands take effect; his highness, pondering and profoundly considering the present state of Christendom, miserably and piteously afflicted with the intestine wars, dissensions, and discords, reigning amongst the princes of the same, and how the dignity of the see apostolic, by such trouble and persecution as hath been inferred thereunto these years passed, is not a little diminished and impaired, and like to come to a total ruin; if, by the help and assistance of good and virtuous princes, the ambition of those which study the extermination thereof be not in time repressed: considering furthermore, that as well to conduce to the rest and tranquillity in Christendom, as to restore, repair, and re-integrate the state, authority, and reputation of the said see apostolic, nothing is more requisite and necessary, than that such a head and

The total
ruin of
the apo-
stolic pa-
pacy, God
send it!

(1) Mark the style, and you shall see that it is all one with the cardinal's former letter, which, he saith, he wrote with his own hand.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
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1530.

common father be now at this time of vacation of the dignity papal, provided and elected to succeed in the same, as both may, can, and will, purvey to the restoration of the said see, and that hath, and may have the assistance of such virtuous and puissant princes as tender the defence, maintenance and increase of the dignity aforesaid; and that may meet with the inordinate ambition of the emperor, who nothing more studieth, than for his own exaltation to suppress the church and see apostolic: remembering also the high importance of the king's great and weighty cause of matrimony,¹ committed to the charge of the said orators, and how manifold dangers, and irreparable damages depend upon the tract, delay, or disappointment thereof, which by no way or mean can be conduced to the king's purpose and desire by the authority of the church, but only by special, assured, and perfect favour of the head of the same church: his highness also being as loth as any living prince or person may be, to recur unto other refuge, succour or remedy in the said cause, than to the authority of the see apostolic, if his grace may there find the favour and benignity that to his merits towards the same be correspondent; of which favour his highness should be clearly deprived and frustrate, in case the election of the future pope should pass upon any person, of whom his grace were not perfectly assured: his highness for the respects and considerations before specified, perceiving his good brother and perpetual ally the French king, in the said intention, to be united, knit, and, in all actions and doings of importance, assuredly combined, unto his grace, proceeding together in one will, mind, purpose, and conformity, hath by good and mature deliberation, studied, devised, and excogitated with himself; who were and might be the most able, meet, and convenient person, having the qualities before specified, to be advanced at this time unto the said dignity papal.

See how
this pre-
late is all
his exalt-
ation.

The Thra-
sonical
praise of
the car-
dinal.

And finally, when his grace hath well revolved with himself all the respects and considerations aforesaid, noting also all things meet to be regarded in every of the cardinals of the church of Rome, both present now in the court there, and absent from the same; it cannot be found that there is any person sufficiently furnished with the requisites before specified, but only the most reverend father in God, and his most trusty councillor, the lord legate, cardinal, archbishop of York, primate and chancellor of this realm: who, being well known to have as fervent a zeal, study, mind, and desire, to the universal weal, repose, and tranquillity of Christendom, to the re-integration and restoration of the dignity, authority, reputation, and rights of the church and see apostolic, to the surety, weal, and exaltation of the king's highness, the French king and other their confederates; and, finally, to the perfection of the king's said great and weighty cause, whereupon dependeth the surety of his royal person, succession, realm, people, and dominions, as any person living can or may have: and that the said most reverend father, who hath the fast assured favour herein of the French king (who of his own mere motion, hath frankly and liberally offered unto him, all that by himself, his friends, his power, his agents, or otherwise, he may or can possibly do for his advancement to the said dignity papal), is the person who for his singular virtue; his entire devotion to peace and restoration of the said see; the excellency of his wisdom, learning, and experience; the magnanimity in his actions and doings; the dignity wherein he is already constituted; the promotions which he hath attained; the substance that he is of; his reputation, his conduct, his diligence, his dexterity, his discretion, his policy; and, finally, the notable and high favour that the king's highness, and the said French king bear unto him: is only he, that being called unto the said dignity papal, may, can, and will, meet with the inordinate ambition of the said emperor,² and consequently with establishment of tranquillity amongst christian princes; and is, by the assistance of his friends, meet, convenient and able to succour, relieve, and clearly to repair, the piteous jacture and decay, that the church and see apostolic hath so long suffered, and to defend the same from the eminent danger now apparent to ensue if the said emperor, who (as the king's highness is ascertained) determined in the beginning of January now passed to take his journey towards Rome, should upon this vacation of the said see (chanced, as it is upon many evident presumptions to be thought, by

(1) He meaneth the matrimony between king Henry VIII. and queen Katharine, his brother Arthur's wife, whether it was lawful or no.

(2) Note this cause, the cardinal is most meet to be pope, because he can best bridle the emperor.

some detestable act committed for the said late pope's destruction), now by force, violence, cautele, blandishing, promises, or otherwise, have the election to proceed at his will, favour, and devotion; whereby, having a pope at his arbitre,¹ either he should not fail to usurp and take upon him the rights, privents, and patrimony of the church, using him as his chaplain and vassal, or else by little and little utterly to exclude and extinguish him and his authority.

For this cause, if ever it were expedient that good christian princes look to the tuition, maintenance, defence, and continuance of Christ's church, faith, and religion, now is it the time, above all others, to provide and beware by all ways possible; lest the same neglected, forgotten, and not in time relieved, be brought unto extreme ruin.² And therefore the king's highness, having singular and special trust and confidence in the wisdoms, discretions, fidelities, diligences and circumspections of his said orators (to whom no part of the premises is unknown, nor how necessary and in any wise expedient it shall be, for the perfection of the king's said great and weighty matter to them committed, to have the said lord legate of York and none other, advanced to the said dignity papal) willeth, desireth, ordaineth, and expressly chargeth and commandeth his said orators, and every of them, no less to employ, endeavour, and determine themselves, to solicit, set forth, further, promote, labour, and conduce, the advancement of the said lord legate of York to that dignity, than they would that thing which the king's highness most highly, next God and his soul, with all earnestness and fervent mind doth, above all other things, covet and desire; and also no less than they would the speedy obtaining and perfection of all such things, touching the king's said weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring whereof, the said late pope being now deceased, consisteth only in the advancement of the said lord legate of York to the dignity papal.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
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to
1530.

By this weighty matter here, is meant the cause of the king's divorce.

For (as the king's said ambassadors may, by their wisdom, well think and consider) the same must of necessity come, and fortune either to one that is an assured friend to his grace and the French king; or to one that is a manifest enemy to them, favouring the emperor's part; or to one indifferent and mean between both. And if it should chance upon a manifest enemy, it is evident that the king's desire at his hand were merely impossible to be had, and never were to be attained that way. If it should come to one being indifferent and mean between both, it is more than notorious that his grace, at the least, should be contained with fair words and promises; and yet such respect should be had to the emperor, that finally, under hope of obtaining something, there should be no more, but tract and delay, and finally, no manner of fruit nor effect: whereof experience hath already been seen in one that had cause to be more friendly to the king, than indifferent or mean between both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the king's said ambassadors well known; so that of necessity this thing must be conduced to one that is an assured friend. Then, noting substantially the things necessary to concur in such a friend, both for the weal of Christendom, the relief of the church, the firm adhering to the king's highness and the French king, with other their confederates, and the perfect conducing of the king's great matter, which suffereth no tract, delay, or negative, it shall be found that there is none other for this purpose, but only the said lord legate of York.

The king's said ambassadors shall therefore plant the foundation of all their study, labour, and solicitation, only to that purpose. And for the better introduction of the ways and means, how this thing shall be solicited; they shall receive herewith a schedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many, and what cardinals of likelihood, shall be present at the election, and how many and which of the others shall be absent. Semblably, how many of them that be like to be present, may be thought to be friends to the king's highness, and the French king, whose names in the said schedule be noted with A,³ and how many are thought to be imperial, whose names be noted with B.⁴ In the same schedule be also set out the number and names of those that be thought

(1) That is, after his own desire.

(2) If his usurped authority were clean extinct, the faith and religion of Christ should stand and flourish much better.

(3) A signifieth the cardinals of the king's, and the French king's side.

(4) B signifieth the cardinals of the emperor's side. But here is never a C, to signify any cardinals on Christ's side.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1527
to
1530.

As
though
the pope's
election
had any
thing to
do with
the Holy
Ghost!

to be neutral or indifferent, marked with N, and furthermore, they be first mentioned therein, who be thought most likely to aspire to that dignity.

Herein be many things well to be regarded: first, the number of the cardinals that are like to be present, which (as is thought here) shall not exceed nine and thirty: secondly, that to have election to the king's purpose, it shall be requisite to have two parts of the three of the said number, which two parts must be twenty-six. Then is it to be noted, that they who be thought to be friends to the king's highness and the French king, be in number twenty: so that if they may be made sure to the king's devotion, there shall lack but six of the number, which shall suffice to make the election: which number the king's said ambassadors shall move, win, and attain, either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or some others.

In the conducting hereof two ways be specially to be remembered. One is, if the cardinals present, having God and the Holy Ghost before them, shall be minded (as to their duty appertaineth) to have respect to the present calamity of the church and all Christendom, intending the relief, succour, and restoration of the same, and to preserve themselves, and the dignity of the see apostolic; then, looking profoundly upon the state of the things, they cannot fail easily¹ of themselves to find and perceive, that to conduce their purpose there is only the said lord legate of York. And in this case it is verily to be thought, that very reason itself, and their own conscience shall lead them, like virtuous fathers, to have their principal respect hereunto; and (particular affections set apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that which so manifestly is known to be the thing above all other expedient. Nevertheless, because percase human fragility suffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate, and weighed in just balance, but that (as we be men) errors may run; unless then remedy be provided, it appertaineth, in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relief of all Christendom, to succour the infirmity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any perverse, unlawful, or evil intent, but rather to help to the lacks and defaults, which, by such fragility, might else take place: and therefore expedient it shall be, that the king's said orators, to so notable a purpose, when they shall perceive the consideration and respect whereunto reason leadeth to be in any part to be aided or supplied, do the same with policitations of promotions, spiritual offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things,² such as to them shall seem meet to the purpose: inculking into the minds of such persons as shall be requisite, first what things the said lord legate of York shall leave, if he should be advanced to the said dignity; which be such as, the establishment of his state considered, be far more to his commodity (if he should regard his private weal) than to enter into this dangerous storm, and troublous tempest, for the relief of the church and all Christendom; whereunto (his said private weal set apart) he is totally devoted and dedicate, to the exposition of his body, blood, and life; glad and ready, with the sacrifice thereof to do service to God, his church, his faith and religion: which said promotions, the king's highness, finding cause given unto him by the gratitude and conformity of his friends, will not fail to bestow to their benefit, besides large rewards, to have this so virtuous an act brought to perfection. For pollicitation whereof, the king's said ambassadors be furnished at this time with ample commission, as by the same they shall perceive; the effect whereof they shall execute without exception, as by their wisdoms shall be thought convenient; so always as it be done with such circumspection, as that there may be appearance of good fruit to ensue. And semblably they be furnished with letters, as well to the college of cardinals in general, as to them all that be like to be present in particular, which they shall now deliver, to the best furtherance and advancement of their purpose, not sparing to declare unto them the liberality of the said lord legate of York; the substance that he is of; the assured assistance that he shall have of these princes and their confederates, whereby he shall be able above any other that they can devise, to reward, promote, advance, and recompense his friends to the uttermost: assuring them that these two princes will not fail also highly, and in the best sort, to consider

(1) He might as well have said 'easily,' as 'facily,' if it had pleased him, but our gross terms are too low for this high prelate, as here commonly you may see.

(2) Yea, Sir! now ye speak to the purpose. Now we begin to feel you, when ye bring your bribes and rewards of money.

their gratuities, with any thing that they may excogitate to their profits and promotions, or any of their friends. So that by this mean, and with such good pollicitations, grounded upon a lawful, honourable, and just cause (and not upon any corrupt or indue intent, to conduce things to sinister purpose), the king's said orators, by their good policies, shall attain the perfect and sure good will of a great many of them; and, by that way, shall, with good dexterity, combine and knit those who will adhere hereunto, in a perfect fastness, and in an indissoluble knot, firmly to stick and hold together, without variation or declining from their purpose, for any persuasion, practice, or mean, that can be made to the contrary.¹ Which thing surely to be provided, and such a knot of twenty, eighteen, or at the least (if it may be) of sixteen cardinals to be had, is in any wise expedient. For they, persisting in their determination, shall not fail to impeach, that no adverse part can have a full number to make a due and lawful election. And yet they, being found in a constantness to this good purpose, shall, by little and little, allure and bring other unto them, so as the residue, perceiving so great a towardness, and fearing a sufficient number to accede² without them, and thereby the election to pass against their wills, shall percase be the more prone and ready to come unto that party: whereunto nothing should of reason sooner move them, than the very respect to the infinite goodness, that thereby to themselves in particular, and the universal church and religion in general, is apparent to ensue.

Nevertheless, if, leaving the direct way, they will be abused with any other incantations, or for private ambition persist in contending for themselves, then is it evident, they search nothing more than the ruin of the see apostolic; in which case other ways it is to be devised, and their indue³ demeanor to be remedied and resisted. For this cause, and to be sure in all events, the king's said orators shall, by their wisdoms, find the means to have some fast and sure persons in the conclave, such as may not only practise and set forth things there to the purpose, but also give such knowledge outward, as the king's said orators may thereby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst others it is thought that Monsieur de Vaulx, one of the French ambassadors (whom the French king hath commanded expressly to further this matter by all the means to him possible), should be one to enter the said conclave, not as an ambassador, but as the minister of some cardinal, friend of the French king. And semblably Sir Gregory de Cassalis, who for his wisdom, conduct, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalf.

And in this matter it is to be considered, that since this election in the person of the said lord legate of York, by one way or other, suffereth no negative, albeit the king's highness trusteth that the same shall have its course directly; yet, if for lack of grace or intentment, there should be any despair thereof, other ways be to be provided. And for that cause to show the said orators secretly, there is a protestation passed by the cardinals being in England and in France, according to a copy which the said orators shall receive herewith, which is and shall be kept secret, unless then, by the indue proceeding used in the election, the same shall need to be published. So that the king's said orators, now advertised thereof, shall note for a special ground, that if it shall appear that the election cannot be had in the person of the said lord legate of York; the band and number, unite and knit together to the king's devotion, in finding none other remedy, must be instructed beforehand in that case to persist in their determination; and when time shall be, by reason of such despair, to protest, grounding the same their protestation upon such respects, as cannot lack to be introduced for the avoiding of the extreme danger, by the pertinacity and wilfulness of the adverse cardinals, imminent to the ruin of the church, and of all Christendom. Which protestation may beforehand be couched and devised by the said Master Stephen Gardiner, and by the policy of the said Monsieur de Vaulx, and Sir Gregory, be set forth in time convenient: and thereupon the cardinals of the king's, and the French king's adherents, to depart the conclave; whereby, repairing to some other sure place, they, with the residue of the cardinals absent, may proceed to such an election as may be to God's pleasure, the weal of his church and faith, and of all Christen-

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1527
to
1530.Well bid,
and like
a good
chapman!Another
shift, if
the worst
fall.The case
of the
cardinal
must
have no
negative,
so eager
he is of
his gain.
Secret
threaten-
ings to
the card-
inals to
cause
them to
consent
with car-
dinal
Woisey.Proviso
against
the card-
inals, if
they will
not con-
descend
to the
cardinal
of York.

(1) Thou must imagine here, good reader! to be no corruption, but honourable pollicitation.

(2) To accede, that is, to come.

(3) That is, not due.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1527
to
1530.

Note these proceedings in choosing popes.

dom: any election that thus, by pertinacity, may ensue at Rome notwithstanding.

And to the intent the cardinals may be the better animated to finish the said election to the king's desire, the king's said orators shall, as they see good, offer them a presidie of two or three thousand men, to be in the city of Rome for the time of the same election; which if they will accept, the said orators shall see furnished, taking money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money, or any other that they shall take for conducting this the king's purpose, shall be truly repaid, with *inpesse*,¹ and all requisites that they shall assign. And semblably, lest terrors or dread of the imperials in Naples should induce the cardinals to any error, the French king hath ordained, that seignior Renzio shall lie in a presidie between the army of Naples and the city of Rome. Like as the viscount of Turin is also commanded to lie on the other side, and, semblably, the Venetians. So that by those means not only they shall be out of all fear of the imperials, but also, in the more devotion of these two princes: which shall much confer to the king's purpose, and embolden the cardinal's favouring the desire of these two princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also, in time of extreme despair, to protest and depart, as is aforesaid.

The first reason.

And because nothing should withdraw the minds of the cardinals from this purpose, who perchance might think that the said lord legate of York, being elected, would not repair to the court of Rome, but demore² in Avignon, or some other place out of Italy, the king's said ambassadors shall remove all such suspicions, by two evident arguments and reasons. One is, that the said cardinal of York, advanced to that dignity, must thereby leave all other his promotions, and consequently should be dispurveyed of any habitation, place, or convenient living, if, remaining in another strange country, he should defer to come unto Rome, where should be the place of his see and entire living. Wherefore it were far from reason to think that he, which hitherto for his estate had lived in such abundance, should be so pusillanim³ for this promotion to bring himself into condign penury and poverty, or to live in place private, to the hinderance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moving him to be contented, at these princes' requests, to change his state present, is the fervent zeal he hath to expose his study, travail, labour, substance, wit, body, blood, and life, in the quarrel of God's church, faith, and of Christendom, which is too high an exception and a ground to be taken to remain and lie in a corner or private place; but that rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expose all that he might do: who, having the assistance of these two princes, should not fail (God willing) to pass directly to his see, with honour and comfort unto all Italy, and the discouragement of the party that would be adverse thereunto. And therefore the cardinals should not need to fear any such thing, but might be well assured to have his presence there to their comfort, in all celerity and diligence possible.

The second reason.

Furthermore, to the intent the king's said ambassadors may have all the friends that may be to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they, with the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, and other whom they shall think good to win unto their party, use the ways that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst other, forasmuch as they which depended upon the cardinal de Medices shall doubt in this case to be reject, the king's said orators shall inculke unto them the singular devotion and special favour that the said lord legate of York hath always borne unto their family; assuring them that he will take them in no further distance of entire love, than they were with pope Leo, Clement, or any other. And semblably, they shall put the Florentines in comfort of the exclusion of the governance of the said family De Medices in Florence, and of their enjoying of their liberty: likewise putting the cardinals in perfect hope of recovery of the patrimonies of the church; to contain the Venetians in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for Servia and Ravenna, to their contentment; and also to show the duke of Ferrara, how the said lord legate was the mean of the conjunction of him in league with the French king, with assured promise of his continuance in as much love and favour as he may bear unto him, in all his causes and affairs. And thus, having those folks

The cardinal dreameth that he is pope already. He casteth all his nets to catch the triple crown.

Two faces in one cardinal's hat.

(1) Search here thy dictionaries, good reader! for this eloquence passeth my intelligence.

(2) 'Demorari,' that is to say, 'tarry.'

(3) 'Pusillanime. i. e. Pusillo animo.' that is, 'weak hearted.'

to their friends, whose orators shall have the uttermost custody of the conclave, and the king's ambassadors and the French ambassadors being in the interior parts thereof, they being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not fail (God willing) by one or other of the said two ways, and especially by the direct election of Rome, if it be possible, or at the least, by the way of the said protestation and departure of the cardinals, to conduce the king's purpose in the said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, albeit there is no doubt but that the French orators will join with them sincerely, to the perfection of the premises in omnem eventum, it shall be well done, that the king's said orators have a substantial and politic regard to the proceedings of the same French orators; lest that if perchance they should find any despair in the election to pass in the person of the said lord legate of York, they, making some other cardinals to their side for the advancement of any of them to the said dignity, should be the more strange, alien, or peradventure refuse to come unto the said protestation and departure out of the conclave: which is the only remedy and refuge (the cardinals persisting in their wilfulness) to interrupt, disappoint, infringe and make void their election.

One other thing there is to be well noted by the said ambassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the minds of the cardinals, that if any manner of difficulty shall be made by the imperials to condescend unto this election upon the said lord legate of York; and that they of the emperor's part would refuse all ways of good order and reason, proceeding to any election without the consent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure that under their sinister and indue way they should have no prince or potentate adherent, but only the emperor and his brother; and that the other part should have the rest of all Christendom, that is to say, the king's highness, the French king, the king of Hungary, Poland, Scotland, and Denmark, with the Venetian, the dukes of Ferrara, Milan, the Florentines, and the rest of all Italy, besides the merchants of the Almans or Hans, and other leagues being in the dominion of the said king of Poland: and over, that the king of Portugal, who is loth and sorry to see the emperor to come to so great a height as he aspireth unto. So that, having these mighty and noble puissances to their assistance and the corroboration of their act, it is facile to think the other could be of no validity, nor have or take any manner of place: which is no small grounds whereupon the said cardinals may be the better animate to the king's, and the French king's devotion, and therefore it is better to be imprinted in their minds accordingly.

Finally, if the king's said orators, endeavouring themselves to the conducing of the said election in the person of the said lord legate of York, should at the last find, that there were none other difficulty, but only that the election in his person being totally desperate, the same were conducive to the cardinal Campeius: then, rather than all should fail, if the other could by no means be brought to pass, the king's pleasure is, that being assured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the same cardinal Campeius, they take such way as in that case the protestation be surborne: and, for the last refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the least to pass in the person of the said cardinal Campeius; whereof there is no appearance, considering that the respects, for the which the said lord legate of York should, by the king's, and the French king's means, be brought hereunto, do for the greatest part fail and cease by the election of any other than himself, which is in this case to be remembered accordingly.

Thus be the king's said orators instructed, as far as men's reason can here devise, what is to be done for conducing the king's purpose to effect, knowing well of what importance the thing is, and what consequences depend upon it; namely, for the perfection of the king's high and weighty matter, which, otherwise than by election of the said lord legate of York, hath no manner of way to be conduced by authority of the see apostolic. There resteth no more but that they who well know the same great matter, do suffer no way ne repulse; but by the election of the person of the said lord legate, do employ the uttermost that in their hearts, powers, wits, bodies, and miuds may be, to the perfection thereof: whereby they shall do the greatest service that can be for this time ex-cogitate to do, unto their prince, deserve immortal laud, thanks, and praise, and be sure to consecute thereby such reward, as shall be to their comforts, rejoice, and honour, besides manifold other notable goodnesses, whereof they shall be

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1527 to 1530.

How politic the children of this world be in their generation.

Is not here a holy election, meet for such a holy seat?

Sides against the emperor.

(1) By this one election, note the common order of Rome in canvassing for the popedom.

Henry VIII. the procurers and solcitors, to their merit perpetual. All which they may be sure shall be considered accordingly.

Out of the original, subscribed by king Henry the Eighth's own hand.

A. D.

1527

to

1530.

Man pur-
poseth,
and God
disposeth.

In these so great labours, pursuits, and travails of the king and of the cardinal, as in these their instructions above inserted may appear, thou hast for thine instruction, loving reader, to note and learn, how man purposeth one thing, and how God disposeth another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the see papal, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which, otherwise, he thought impossible to contrive. But God Omnipotent, who only is director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the divorce was concluded, and yet neither cardinal Wolsey made pope, nor yet pope Clement was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding pope Clement was alive, yet both the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodness: of which divorcement, and suppressing of the pope's authority, we have likewise to make declaration; but first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

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

See
Appendix.

Friar
Barnes
with two
mer-
chants of
the Stil-
yard,
caused by
the cardi-
nal to bear
faggots.

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

The occa-
sion of the
cardinal's
fall.

The year next following, which was A. D. 1529, began the question of the king's marriage to be revived; whereupon cardinal Campeius was sent again into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating

(1) The cause of the king's marriage with his brother's wife, was dangerous to the pope for this: if it were unlawful, then the dispensation of pope Julius was void: if it were lawful, then the judgments of so many universities were false.

of the matter: who then, with cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed with his fellow-cardinal to incline unto the king's disposition, yet afterwards, perceiving the sequel of the case, whither it tended, so far as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the court of Rome, and might shake perhaps the chair of the pope's omnipotent authority, as well in other like cases, if this case were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of God's word: he therefore, slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily shifted himself out of the realm before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtle fellow behind him, to weigh with the king in the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the court of Rome. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed, foded with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was so aggrieved in his mind with them, but especially with cardinal Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's; besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high rooms and preferments in the realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the king's presence.¹

Then followed first a council of the nobles, called the 1st of October; during which council all the lords and other the king's council, agreeing together, resorted to Windsor to the king, and there informed the king, that almost all things which he had done, by his power legantine, were in the case of Præmunire, and Provision; and that the cardinal had forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels to the king: wherefore the king, willing to order him according to the order of his laws, caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of Præmunire against him, in the which he licensed him to make an attorney.

And further, on the 17th of October, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great seal of England; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two dukes, who delivered the same to Dr. Taylor, master of the rolls, to carry it to the king; which he so did the next day.

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, newly made secretary, to see that no goods should be embezzled out of his house; and further ordained, that the cardinal should remove to Esher beside Kingston, there to tarry the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered unto him which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came unto the Star-Chamber, the 19th of October; where the duke of Norfolk declared, that the king's highness, for diverse and sundry offences, had taken from him his great seal, and deposed him from all offices; and lest men might complain for lack of

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1527 to 1530.

See Appendix.

The king deluded by the two cardinals.

[A. D. 1529.]

Council of the nobles.

The cardinal cast in the præmunire.

Deprived of the chancellorship.

Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary.

The cardinal's goods seized.

(1) Ex Hullo.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1530.He re-
moveth
from
York
place.

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

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

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

Tonsal
bishop of
Durham,
Stokesley
of Lon-
don.A. D. 1529.
A parlia-
ment
called.
See
Appendix.

That same year, which was A. D. 1529, was summoned a general parliament, to be holden at Westminster in the month of November. In the which year, about the 23d day of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, and there much consulted with his council for a meet man to be his chancellor, so that in no wise he were no man of the spirituality; and so, after long debate, the king resolved himself upon sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master More. And then on the Sunday, the 24th day of the same month, the king made him his chancellor, and delivered him the great seal; which lord chancellor the next morrow after was led into the chancery by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworn, and then the mace was borne before him.

Sir Tho.
More
chancel-
lor.

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

'The cardinal of York hath so offended the king's mind, that he, being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed, not to prison, but to a certain lordship of his, with thirty servants or keepers to give attendance upon

him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a school-master to be made a king: for so he reigned, more like a king than the king himself. He was dreaded of all men; he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused Richard Paey to be cast into the Tower: also he threatened my lord archbishop¹ of Canterbury. Solomon saith, that before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated. The archbishop of Canterbury was called or restored to be chosen lord chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to wield such a function: wherefore the said office was bestowed upon Thomas More, no less to the rejoicing of many, than that the other was displaced from it. These news my servant brought me out of England, &c.²

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

You heard before how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in the month of October, to assemble in the Star-Chamber, about the cardinal's matter; and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the year aforesaid, A. D. 1529. At the beginning of that parliament, after Master More, the new chancellor, had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose them a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, esquire, and attorney to the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament, being begun the sixth day of the aforesaid month of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber, the commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembling in the nether house, began to commune of their griefs, wherewith the spirituality had before-time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm; and especially were sore moved with these six great causes:

A parliament.

See Appendix.

Thomas Audley, speaker.

Grievances objected against the Clergy of England.

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

Excessive fine for probates.

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

Unreasonable exaction for mortuaries.

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

Farms and granges in priests hands.

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

Monks and priests, merchants.

V. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons, promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the Court in lords' houses, and took all of their parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence, both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

Beneficed men take of their flock but give nothing.

VI. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or

(1) By the archbishop he meaneth William Warham.

(2) Ex Epist. Erasmi ad Joan. Vergaram. [Epistol. 1151, col. 1347 Edit. Lug. Bat. 1705.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.

twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

A. D.
1530.

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

Three bills drawn out against the disorder of the clergy.

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

The first bill for mortuaries.

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

The second for probates

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

Dr. Fisher chargeth the commons with lack of faith. Their grudge against him.

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

and not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the king's highness to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more discreetly of such a number as were in the commons' house.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1530.

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

The king not contented with him.

The bishop's excuse.

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

Difference between the lay and spirituality.

Mortuaries, as they were used, differed but little from theft.

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

Redress of the commons. See Appendix.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made another act for pluralities of benefices, non-residence, buying and selling, and taking of farms by spiritual persons; which act so displeased the spirituality,

(1) Long use maketh not evil things lawful.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1530.The third
bill for
pluralities.

that the priests railed on the commons of the lower house, and called them heretics and schismatics: for which divers priests were punished.

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

And thus much concerning these bills against the clergy, by the way: now to return to the cardinal again. During the time of the said parliament, there was brought down to the commons the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal. The chief articles were these.

Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See
Appendix.

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

So he made great provision to go northward, and apparelled his servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household.

But divers of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and especially Thomas Cromwel, one of his chief council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of abbeys. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued thenceforth, ever grudging at his fall, as you shall hear hereafter: but the lands which he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the king's hands, by his attainder in the Præmunire; and yet the king, of his gentleness, and for favour that he bare to good learning, erected again the college in Oxford; and whereas it was named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College; and endowed it with fair possessions, and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and because the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1530.

See Appendix.

The cardinal's college now called Christ's college in Oxford.

Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attained in the Præmunire (as is above mentioned), yet the king, being good unto him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great plenty of substance, and had licensed him to lie in his diocese of York, where he so continued for a space quiet. But after in that same year, which was 1530, he being in his diocese wrote to the court of Rome, and to divers other princes, letters in reproach of the king, and in as much as in him lay he stirred them to revenge his cause against the king and his realm: insomuch that divers opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the king's orator at Rome; and it was said to him, that, for the cardinal's sake, the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his matrimony. The cardinal, also, would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and untruly ordered; which fair speaking made many men believe that he said true: and to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him. And, to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be enstalled or enthronised at York with all the pomp that might be; and caused a throne to be erected in the cathedral church, in such a height and fashion, as was never seen; and sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood on the 6th of November, and so to bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.

The cardinal complaineth to the pope of the king.

The cardinal's proud journey toward York.

The king, who knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this time dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he (seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly enstalled, without making the king privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the king) thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts: wherefore he directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he with a convenient number came to the manor of Cawood on the 4th of November; and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, "My lord! I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me?" said the cardinal: "Yea," said the

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VIII.

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The cardinal arrested.

earl, "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal, "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate *de latere*, and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it." "Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission (which he showed him), and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: "Well, my lord! I am content to obey; but although that I, by negligence, fell into the punishment of the *Præmunire*, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I should now be arrested, and especially considering that I am a member of the see apostolic, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the king lacketh good counsel." "Well," said the earl, "when I was sworn warden of the Marches, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged; and his physician, called Doctor Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welsh, one of the king's chamber. On the 6th of November he was conveyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered to the earl of Shrewsbury's keeping, till the king's pleasure were known. Of this attachment there was much communing among the common people, whereof many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the commonalty.

The cardinal brought up toward London.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with certain yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield, to fetch the cardinal to the tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was sore astonished, and shortly became sick; for then he perceived some great trouble towards him, and for that cause, men said, that he willingly took so much quantity of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his blankets by any means. But sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys brought him to the abbey of Leicester on the 27th of November; where, for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same abbey lieth buried.

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

The pride of the cardinal.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom,

as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of subjects, but also surmounted over kings and princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described.

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A. D.
1530.

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

Clark dieth in the cardinal's college in prison.

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

The Trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, Alderman of London.

See Appendix.

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

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

Articles ministered against Humphrey Mummuth, by bishop Stokesley.

He, being of these articles examined, and cast into the Tower, at last was compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the aforesaid cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, out of the Tower; in the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them that charged him with certain books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tyndale. Whereupon he said, that he denied not but that, four years then past, he had heard the said Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West; and afterwards, meeting with the said Tyndale, had certain communication with him concerning his living; who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service: for then he laboured to be his chaplain. But, being refused of the bishop, he so came again to the said Mummuth, this examine, and besought him to help him: who the

The purgation and answer of Humphrey Mummuth to the articles.

Tyndale refused of bishop Stokesley to be his chaplain.

Henry VIII. same time took him into his house for half a year; where the said Tyndale lived (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pounds (as he then said) for his father's and mother's souls, and all christian souls; which money afterwards he sent him over to Hamburg, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers others likewise, who were no heretics: as to Dr. Royston, the bishop of London's chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds; to Dr. Wodiall, provincial of the Friars Augustine, as much or more; to Dr. Watson, the king's chaplain; also to other scholars, and divers priests: besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denny, above fifty pounds sterling bestowed, &c.

The temperate conversation of William Tyndale.

See Appendix.

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

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

A notable example of christian patience in an alderman.

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

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reprov'd popery, and such kind of things; the poor man, being there present, took a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoid, but come near him: yet for all that, this poor man (I say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man, perceiv'ing that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying, "Neighbour! what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends."¹

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Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly and friendly, that it wrought so in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.²

Thomas Hitten, burned at Maidstone, A. D. 1530. Persecuted by William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

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

Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich.

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

In the story above passed of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of certain whom the said cardinal caused to abjure; as Bilney, Jeffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and such other, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to entreat.

*Now³ in the year after the death of the holy martyr Thomas Hytten, it cometh to hand to make mention of the famous and worthy man Thomas Bilney, who with no less constancy put himself forth for the Gospel of Christ. There was never a more innocent and upright man in all England than he was, whom amonges many other martyrs which after him ensued, the university of Cambridge

(1) 'Agree with thine enemy while thou art in the way with him.' Matt. v.

(2) Ex concione Doct. Hugo. Latimeri.

(3) See Edition 1563, page 461.—Ed.

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first brought forth, and afterward, as it were taking root upon this good man, after long barrenness, did begin to flourish and spring.*

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Thomas Bilney a bachelor of both laws.

This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the university of Cambridge even from a child, profiting in all kind of liberal science, even unto the profession of both laws. But at the last, having gotten a better schoolmaster, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by privy inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, that, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulness.

Master Latimer cross-keeper in the university of Cambridge.

Finally, as he himself was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his fellows unto the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number were Thomas Arthur and Master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession-days.

See *Addenda.*

*This¹ godly man, being a bachelor of law, was but of a little stature and very slender of body; and of a strait and temperate diet; and given to good letters; and very fervent and studious in the Scriptures, as appeared by his sermons, his converting of sinners, his preaching at the lazar cots,² wrapping them in sheets, helping them of that they wanted, if they would convert to Christ; laborious and painful to the desperates; a preacher to the prisoners and comfortless; a great doer in Cambridge, and a great preacher in Suffolk and Norfolk; and at the last in London preached many notable sermons: and before his last preaching at London, he, with Master Arthur, Master Stafford, and Master Thistel of Pembroke-hall, converted Dr. Barnes to the gospel of Jesus Christ our Saviour, with the assistance of Master Fooke, of Benet college, and Master Soud, master of the same college; to whom also were then associate Master Parker and Master Powry.

See *Appendix.*

Barnes converted by Bilney.

Lambert converted by Bilney.

Which Bilney, with Master Arthur, converted one Master Lambert, being a mass priest in Norfolk, and afterward a martyr in London. Which Lambert prospered mightily in the tongues, and specially in the Greek and Latin, and translated many books. After great persecutions in Antwerp, in the time of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and in the time of Stokesley bishop of London, he was condemned to death and burned in Smithfield. And Dr. Barnes, his other disciple, assisted by him and Master Stafford and the residue, and thereby both coraged by the Scriptures and continual prayers, was moved to preach a sermon for his declaration in Trinity church in Cambridge; whose theme was, "Gaudete in Domino semper, et iterum dico gaudete;" much moved as well by Master Stafford as by Master Bilney, because Dr. Barnes was doctor to the said Master Stafford, when he answered for his form in divinity. Therefore this Dr. Barnes, boldened in Christ, preached his sermon, and was accused by two of the King's Hall to be a heretic, as hereafter shall more appear. After that the said Bilney had converted Master Latimer, he, proceeding forward in his journey toward London, preached, among many sermons, one especially at St. Magnus, against the new idola-

Philip-pians, chap. iii.

(1) See Edition 1563, page 477.—Ed.

(2) "Lazar cots," houses for the reception of leprous or diseased persons, in Greco-Latin phraseology.—Ed.

trous rood newly erected, before it was gilded; and there was apprehended, and carried with Arthur¹ to Tonstal, and so to the coal-house: and from thence to the Tower, till they abjured and bare faggots at Paul's cross, as we shall anon more fully specify. Concerning his diet which we spake of, it was so strait, that for the space of a year and half commonly he took but one meal a day; so that if he were disposed to sup, he would keep his commons; and like wise his supper, if he were disposed to dine; and would bear it to some prison; where he used commonly to frequent, and to exhort such as were infamed or prisoned for evil life. Among whom there was a certain woman, one of the officers' wives, there cast in prison for adultery, whom he there converted with his daily exhortation, and brought to such repentance and also sincerity of faith, that afterward she offered herself ready to die for the same, in detesting of her former life. His scholar, who had daily conversation with him, told us, that, to his thinking, no night he slept above four hours; and yet we speak of more than he reported to us. He could abide no swearing nor singing. Coming from the church where singing was, he would lament to his scholars the curiosity of their dainty singing, which he called rather a mockery with God, than otherwise. And when Dr. Thurlby, Bishop after, then scholar lying in the chamber underneath him, would play upon his recorder (as he would often do), he would resort strait to his prayer.*

It was declared a little above, how that Bilney, forsaking the university, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with Arthur, who accompanied him from the university. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, of whom ye heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater; which did evidently declare unto all wise men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergy: whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolency of the clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business; neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent, for he understood well enough, upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel; lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily, in time, to withstand these beginnings; whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison, as before you have heard.²

After this, on the 27th of November, 1527, the said cardinal,³ accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Harry of St. Asaph, with many others, both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where the said Master Thomas

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Ex relatione eujusdam ipsius discipuli.

Bilney against the pride of the pope, and of his cardinals.
See Appendix.

Cardinal Wolsey with his accomplices against Bilney and Arthur.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) See p. 608.—ED.

(3) Regist. Tunstall. Lond. fol. 132.—ED.

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Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, were brought before them; and the said cardinal there inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church: whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any others, contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he would not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but would impugn the same every where? He answered that he had made such an oath; but not judicially. These interrogatories so administered, and answers made, the cardinal caused him to swear, to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

Thomas
Arthur
exa-
mined.

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

See
Appendix.

Work
they
ever so
secretly,
yet God
bringeth
their
practices
to light at
length.

On the 28th of November, in the year aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwich's house, where likewise, *ex officio*, they did swear certain witnesses against Master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before against Master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of Master Arthur; which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

(1) See the Appendix.

On the 2d of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and swore more witnesses against Master Bilney: that done they called for Master Arthur, unto whose charge they laid these articles following:

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See Appendix

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

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

II. That he said, though men be restrained to preach now-a-days (which is against God's laws), yet I may preach; first, by the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his license: secondly, by the authority of the university: thirdly, by the pope: fourthly, by the authority of God, where he saith, 'Euntes in mundum, prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ;' by which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to let any man to preach the gospel.—This article he confessed that he spake.

Authority to preach.

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

† The multitude of laws maketh laws to be contemned.

'Palea,' in the pope's decrees.

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

The preaching of the gospel is to be left for no persecution.

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

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

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

Against images.

VIII. He did preach upon Whit Sunday last, within the university of Cambridge, these or like words and sentences: that a bachelor of divinity, admitted of the university, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let for no man, of what estate or degree soever he were: and if any bishop did accure them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves.—He confessed this.

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

Arthur submitteth himself.

On the 3d of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the church of Rome, the bishop of London, in discharge of his conscience (as he said), lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which, all and every one, he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.²

Five letters of Bilney to the bishop of London.

(1) "Mingere."—Ed. (2) Ex Regist. Londinensi. [Tunstall. fol. 132.—Ed.]

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

See Appendix.

Interrogatories whereupon Master Thomas Arthur, and Master Bilney, were accused and examined.

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

Constitutions.

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

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

The church.

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

Images.

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

Whether souls be already judged.

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

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

Breaking of fasting-days sin.

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

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

X. Whether they believe that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints?

Christ not only to be prayed to.

XI. Whether they think that Christ only should be prayed unto, and that it is no heresy, if any man affirm that saints should not be prayed unto?

XII. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keys of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, who have obtained the Spirit of God, and only such, whether they be laymen or priests?

XIII. Whether they believe with their hearts, that faith may be without works and charity?

Prayer in a learned tongue.

XIV. Whether they believe that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their own tongue, than in a learned unknown tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no?

XV. Whether they would have the masses and gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latin tongue?

XVI. Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lord's Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed?

Beads.

XVII. Whether they do think the wooden beads, which the common people do use, worthy to be denied or not?

XVIII. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English, or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read?

Organs.

XIX. Whether they would have the organs, and all manner of songs, to be put out of the church of God?

XX. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporal power and authority?

XXI. Whether they think that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another man's diocese without letters of commendation and license obtained of the bishop?

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XXII. Whether they think the vows of religious men, and private religion, to be constituted and ordained by the Spirit of God; neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect christian life?

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XXIII. Whether they believe that we should pray for the dead, or believe that there is a purgatory; or that we are bound, by necessity of faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free *without* sin, either to believe it, or not to believe it?

Purgatory.

XXIV. Whether they believe that moral philosophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth?

Philosophy.

XXV. Whether they think that the pope's indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received?

XXVI. Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by any means contend in the law, to seek any manner of restitution?

XXVII. Whether they believe all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills?

XXVIII. Whether they believe God to be the author of evil, as well of the fault, as of the punishment?

XXIX. Whether they think mass only to be profitable to him who saith it, and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the mass without hurt of faith?

Mass.

XXX. Whether they believe that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of christian living; or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather feigned?

XXXI. Whether they think it heresy to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poor man?

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

Image

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

XXXIV. Whether that thou, Thomas Bilney! being cited upon heresy to appear before my lord cardinal, and, before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation as to those points that thou wast cited upon, hast preached openly in divers churches of the city and diocese of London, without sufficient license from the bishop, or any other?¹

Relics. See Appendix.

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

Bilney's Answers to the Interrogatories aforesaid.

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

Against the multitude of laws.

(1) [Regist. Tunstall. London. fol. 132.—Ed.]

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The true church cannot err in faith.

To the fourth article he said, that the catholic church can by no means err in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so known only unto God, who knoweth who are his: otherwise no man should be ascertained of another man's salvation, or of his own, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, 'No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love.'¹ It is also sensible, and may be demonstrated so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the general council being congregated in the Holy Ghost, 'Behold here the catholic church;' denominating the whole, by the most worthy part.

To the fifth article he answered affirmatively in these words: 'Cum sint libri laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem sed prototypum.'

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

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

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

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

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

Scripture to be in English. St. John's gospel, translated into English by Bede.

To the fifteenth article he said, he would wish that the gospels and epistles should be read in English, 'For I would (saith Paul) rather have five words, &c. that the church might be edified,'² &c.; and Chrysostom exhorteth his hearers to look upon books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard; and St. Bede did translate St. John's gospel into English.

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

The pope's pardons injurious to Christ's passion. How Christians may go to the law. see Appendix.

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

Touching the six and twentieth article, he said, that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles to contend in the law, so it be done with charity, if St. Augustine and the reverend father Marcus Marulus did not err, which granted that liberty to the weak Christians: albeit that all true Christians ought to give ear unto St. Paul's saying, 'Why do ye not rather suffer injury?'³ and to Christ himself, who saith, 'He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also.'

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, that God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basil the Great teacheth in his sermon upon these words of the prophet, 'Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit Dominus.'⁴ And St. Augustine in another place, as I remember, prayeth, 'that he be not led into that temptation, that he should believe God to be the author of sin and wickedness.'

(1) Eccles. ix.

(2) 1 Cor. xiv.

(3) 1 Cor. vi.

(4) Amos iii.

Here ensueth a brief Summary or Collection of certain Depositions, deposed by the several Witnesses afore-named, upon certain Interrogatories ministered unto them for the Inquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching.

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

See Appendix.

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

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets: but John Baptist, being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, 'Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi.'² Then, if this were the very lamb, which John did demonstrate, which taketh away the sins of the world, what an injury is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in St. Francis' cowl should remit four parts of penance.³ What is then left to our Saviour Christ, who taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.

Heresy in the pope's church. to confess Christ to be our only mediator.

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

Against pilgrimage.

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

Against blind miracles.

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

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

†

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

Certain other Articles produced against Master Thomas Bilney.

First he said, 'Pray you only to God, and to no saints,' rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to 'Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,' he said, 'Stay there.'

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

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

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

These five hundred years there hath been no good pope, and in all the times past we can find but fifty: for they have neither preached, nor lived well, nor conformably to their dignity; wherefore, till now, they have borne the keys of simony. Against them, good people! we must preach and teach unto you,

But fifty good popes since Christ.

(1) May 28th, 1527, Reg. Tunst. Lond. fol. 134.—Ed.

(2) John i.

(3) St. Francis's cowl remitteth four parts of penance. What remaineth then for Christ to remit?

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for we cannot come to them; it is great pity they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have used foolishly of late pilgrimages, when for them it had been better to have been at home.

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

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

The prophecy of
Bilney.

I trust that there shall and will come others besides me, who shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced; for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, 'Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credit,'¹ &c.

These and many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we return again to the order of his examination, we think it good here to infer a certain dialogue, containing a communication between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the copy whereof we have, written with the friar's own hand in Latin,² the translation whereof in English here ensueth.

A dia-
logue.

A Dialogue between Friar John Brusierd and Master Thomas Bilney, at Ipswich, concerning Worshipping of Images.

Brusierd: 'Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet, being moved partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretly, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold errors which I see in you. First, for that when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error, more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seemed to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence, out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. This thing you are not able to deny, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, according as in the sevenfold Litany most manifestly appeareth to be seen.'

A great
blas-
phemy
among
the friars,
to set up
Christ
only, to be
our me-
diator.

Bilney: 'I marvel at you, and doubtless cannot marvel enough, but that the strong and vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babbling, doth put an end to my admiration: for our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, There is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed Lady? where are then St. Peter and other saints?'

One me-
diator
and no
more.

Brusierd: 'I suppose that no man is ignorant but that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed that there is one mediator between God and man. Neither could any at that time praise or pray to the saints, when as yet they, living in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this world, were not yet come to the port of rest wherunto they were travel-

(1) Matt. xviii. (2) Ex Regist. Tuust. Lond. fol. 133.—ED. (3) See Edition 1563, p. 471.—ED.

ling. Paul, I grant, did rightly affirm that there is but one mediator of God and man, what time as yet there was no saint canonized, or put into the calendar.¹ But now, seeing the church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she, therefore, like a good mother, hath taught, and that most diligently, us her children, to praise the omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions unto God. Thereof it is that the Psalmist saith, Praise ye the Lord in his saints. Rightly also do we say and affirm, that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; *ergo*, much more may saints who do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayer always for you,² &c.

Bilney: 'I marvel, doubtless, that you, a man learned, are not yet delivered out of the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the holy gospel: especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my name, he will give it unto you.³ He saith not, whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints; but in my name. Let us ask therefore help in the name of him, who is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, lest peradventure hereafter, in the end of the world, at the strait judgment, we shall hear, Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing.'

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In nomine meo.

Brusierd: 'Whereas ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I, being a learned man (as you say), am not delivered yet from the confuse dungeon of heresy, through the help of the gospel; much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I choose but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here, in the lower parts of terrene philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to look so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun, nor can tell whither to turn him? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, be he ever so young, that knoweth not that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?'

Argumentum ab autoritate destructivè.

Bilney: 'So as the Pharisees took Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant.'

Brusierd: 'Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.'

Bilney: 'Such as invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well resembled to delicate patients, who, being under the hand of physicians, and having medicines ministered against their diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all asunder: wherefore I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity.'⁴

Temporal infirmities.

Brusierd: 'O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that ever I heard! Thus you, fleeing the smoke, fall into the fire; and, avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis.⁵ O heart of man, wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search and set out the first origin of these Rogation days: for so we read in the church story,⁶ that they were first ordained by pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence, by the infection of the air then reigning among the people; at which time, the people then going in the procession, a certain image like to our blessed Lady, painted by the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, did go before them; about which image, in honour of the Virgin, angels did sing this anthem: 'Regina cœli lætare,' &c. 'O Queen of heaven, be glad!' to which anthem, the pope also adjoined this, 'Ora pro nobis Dominum,' &c. 'Pray to the Lord for us.' Wherefore, seeing the angels did worship the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, in honour of her; and seeing moreover the holy father,

The pope's Litany at Rome.

(1) The pope's calendar maketh more mediators now, than wère in the primitive church!

(2) Note this argument: 'We must praise God in his saints.' Rom. i. (3) John xiv.

(4) He meaneth absolutely, without condition.

(5) Scylla and Charybdis be two dangerous rocks in the sea.

(6) By this church story he meaneth belike 'Legenda aurea,' otherwise called 'The Legend of Lies.' [cap. 46. § 4.]

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Scripture well appo-
peled.Whether the pope
be Anti-
christ.

pope Gregory, with all the clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the saints, and also to give honour in a manner to their images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the gospel, 'Send them away, because they cry after us.' And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleged out of the holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily resist this your error, yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous error, wherein you, like an ingrate child, go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For in that you say and affirm blasphemously, that the bishop of Rome is the very Antichrist, and that his privileges have no force against the gates of hell; in so saying, what do you, but like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her, being spoiled; and being wounded, pluck out her bowels most miserably upon the earth? But forasmuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, but shall be received by some itching ears, I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sitteth in the temple of God as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God; or how he showeth himself as Lord, in power and signs and wonders deceitful.'

Bilney: 'Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord; beseeching you that, setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the table of the Ten Commandments?'

Brusierd: 'According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them meanly; but how you do expound them I cannot tell.'

Bilney: 'And do you know also the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men; whereunto men are so straitly bound, that under pain of death, they are compelled to observe them?'

Brusierd: 'I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers; but such as you speak of, to be devised by men's dreams, I know none.'

Bilney: 'Now then let us set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily understand the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, to sit in the temple of God as God, and to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, 'The temple of the Lord is holy, which is you.'¹ Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Ghost; in which temple, I will prove the pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God.² For whoso contemneth the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him; neither is that punishment to death: but contrariwise, he that shall contemn or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment guilty of death. What is this, but for the high bishop of Rome to sit and reign in the temple of God (that is, in man's conscience), as God?'

Brusierd: 'Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for christian ears, yet I would hear you further, how he showeth himself in signs and wonders deceitful.'

Bilney: 'These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan rather, who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath been loose now abroad five hundred years, according as it is written in the book of the Apocalypse, After a thousand years Satan shall be let loose,³ &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true christian men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude men's minds; to make them put their faith in our lady, and in other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever.'

Brusierd: 'But that I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge upon thee, I would surely, with these nails of mine, be thy death, for this horrible and enorme injury against the precious blood of Christ.⁴ God saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he con-

(1) 1 Cor. iii.

(2) 2 Thess. ii.

(3) Apoc. xx.

(4) We read of a like saying of another friar, Augustine of Antwerp, testified by Erasmus in his Epistles, who, openly in the pulpit at Antwerp, preaching to the people, wished that Luther were there, that he might bite out his throat with his teeth. So doing, he would nothing doubt with the same bloody teeth to resort to the altar, and receive the body of Christ. Erasm. Epist. lib. vi. Ad oblectatorem. [Col. 630, Edit. Lug. Bat. 1706.—Ed.]

The place
of St. Paul
expound-
ed concern-
ing Anti-
christ sit-
ting in the
temple of
God, &c.See
Appendix.Signs and
miracles
wrought
by illu-
sions.

vert and live. And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them; which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victor in this manner: If it be an error, it is by thee, O God, that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, as cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical, and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of saints; for once I remember, in a certain sermon of yours you said, that no saint, though his suffering were ever so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life: which is contrary to St. Augustine.'

Bilney: Christ saith one thing, St. Augustine another: whether of these two shall we believe? for Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, wanting the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners: by the wise virgins, he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish, craving oil of them; 'No,' say they, 'lest peradventure we have not sufficient for us, and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serve your turn.'¹ Wherefore, if they had not oil sufficient for themselves, and also for the others, where then be the merits of saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us, certes I cannot see.'

Brusierd: 'You wrest the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine eyes from tears, hearing with mine ears these words of you. Fare ye well!'

The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

On the 4th of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistances, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; whither also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant, who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London, with the other bishops, 'ex officio,' did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself, whether he would return to the church, and renounce his opinions, or no; and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. This done, the bishop asked him again if he would return? who answered, 'Fiat justitia et judicium in nomine Domini.' And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but 'Fiat justitia,' &c. and, 'Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus; exultemus, et lætemur in ea.' Then the bishop, after deliberation had, putting off his cap, said, 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen!'² 'Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus.' And making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops he gave sentence against Master Bilney, being there present, in this manner: 'I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow.'

On the 5th of December, the bishops assembled there again, before whom Bilney was brought; whom the bishop asked, if he would return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, that he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him. These witnesses, the bishop said, came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

In the afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the church; and required time and place to

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God leadeth not into error but hath left his Scriptures to lead us into truth.

Saints have not merits sufficient for themselves, much less to spare others.

Bilney convented again before the bishop of London.

Bilney refuseth to recant.

Bilney convented again before the bishop.

Bilney again refuseth to recant.

Convented the third time.

(1) Matt. xxv.

(2) Psalm cxviii. In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

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bring in witnesses: which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the catholic church: whereunto he answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself: and he desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses; and other answer he would give none.

Then the bishop put Master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows; and afterwards calling in Master Bilney, asked him again, whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the law: and inquiring again, whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read, he required the bishop to give him license to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master Dancaster; but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master Farman and Master Dancaster, but the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal. However at last the bishop, inclining unto him, granted him two nights' respite to deliberate; that is to say, till Saturday at nine o'clock in the forenoon: and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premises.

On the 7th of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the bishop of London with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared; whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. He answered, that now he was persuaded by Master Dancaster and others his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration; which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself: and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the bishop, who then did absolve him, and, for his penance, enjoined him, that he should abide in a prison appointed by the cardinal, till he were by him released; and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bareheaded, with a faggot on his shoulder; and should stand before the preacher at Paul's cross all the sermon time.¹

Bilney
denieth
the third
time to
recant.

Dancaster
conferreth
with Bil-
ney.

See
Appendix.

Bilney,
through
infirmity,
rather
than by
convic-
tion, re-
canteth.

Bilney
enjoined
penance.

Here, forasmuch as mention is made before of five letters or epistles, which this good man wrote to Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, and by the said bishop delivered unto the registrars, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands: the copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former edition² to be seen and read in the same Latin wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this book to express the same only in English. Concerning the first epistle, which containeth the whole story of his conversion, and seemeth more effectual in the Latin, than in the English, we have exhibited it in the second edition,³ and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly; the copy whereof beginneth as in the note below.⁴ The same in English is as followeth:

(1) Ex Regist. London. (2) See Edition 1563, pages 465, 469 (printed, 465): pages 466, 467. These letters will be found in the Appendix.—ED. (3) The Edition of 1570.—ED.

(4) *Reverendo in Christo Patri D. Cuth. Tonstallo, Londini Episcopo, T. Bilneus salutem in Christo, cum omni subjectione tanto Præsuli debita.*

Hoc nomine, Pater in Christo observande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) ut ipsemet non possis (alioqui divinarum in te dotium astimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi succurrit, quanta tibi gratis fecerit Deus, in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum

A Letter of Master Thomas Bilney to Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London.

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To the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate :

In this behalf, most reverend father in Christ, I think myself most happy that it is my chance to be called to examination before your reverence, for that you

in corde tacitus exclamare, 'Fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et sanctum nomen ejus' [Luke i.] In talem nunc me judicem incidisse gratulor, ac Deo, qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo.

Et quanquam (testis est mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus, erroris mihi conscius sum, nedum hæreseos aut factionis (quod calumniatur quidam, quæstus sui, quam animarum lucri avidiores) tamen supra modum lætor, divina (haud dubie) benignitate provisum est, ut ob veritatis testimonium, ad Tonstalli tribunal sisterer: qui, si quis alius, optime novit, nunquam defuturos Jannes ac Jambres, qui veritati resistent: nunquam defuturos Elimates [Acts xiii.], qui conentur subvertere vias domini rectas: denique nunquam defuturos, Demetrios, Pythonissas [Acts xvi.], Balaamos, Nicolaitas [Apoc. ii.], Cainos, Ismaeles: qui omnes, cum quæ sua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi, avidissime sectentur et quærant, qui fieri potest ut Christum sincere ac simpliciter annunciatum perferant? Nam si populus semel in Christum pro se passum, solide ac pure confidere coeperit, ruent mox in vere fidelium pectoribus, quæcunque hactenus pro Christo amplexi sunt.

Tunc intelligit non hic aut illic Christum esse, sed regnum Dei in semetipsis esse. Tunc intelligit patrem neque in montibus Samariæ, neque Hierosolymis adorandum esse, sed in omni loco, in spiritu et veritate. Quod si fit, actum de lucris suis putabunt bestię agri, quorum interest impleri illud Ezechielis xxxiv. Dispersæ sunt oves meæ, eo quod non esset pastor et factæ sunt in devotionem omnium bestiarum agri, et dispersæ sunt. Erraverunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, et in universo colle excelso, et super omnem faciem terræ: dispersi sunt greges mei, et non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo, si quis requirere velit, ac in caulis Christi, unitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox insurgunt nomine Pastores, sed revera lupi, qui non aliud de grege, quam lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt; animas cum suas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo.

Insurgunt inquam, ac Demetrii instar exclamant: Hic hæreticus nihique suadet avertitque multam turbam, dicens, quod non sunt dii qui manibus fiunt. Hi sunt, hi (pater colende) sunt, qui, sub pretextu persequendi hæreticos, ventris sui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Christi. Qui quidvis potius ferre possunt, quam puram Christi pro peccatis nostris crucifixi annunciationem. Hi sunt, quibus Christus æternam minatur damnationem, cum ait, Væ vobis Scribæ et Pharisæi, hypocritæ! qui clauditis regnum cælorum ante homines: vos enim non intratis, nec introcantes sinitis intrare [Matt. xxiii.] Hi sunt, qui, cum ipsi aliunde ascenderunt, alios intrare non sinunt. Quod patet, quia si quis per me, inquit Christus, introierit, salvabitur, et ingredietur, et egredietur, et pascua inveniet [John x.]: et hi non inveniunt pascua (nunquam enim docent) et alios post se trahunt, ut non per Christum, qui solus est ostium per quod ad patrem pervenit, sed aliunde per opuscula, quæ ovibus, tacito nonnunquam Christo, suadet, proponunt et injungunt, ad suum potius quæstum, quam animarum salutem spectantes; hoc deteriores, quam illi qui super Christum fundamentum edificant lignum, fœnum, stipulam [1 Cor. iii.] Isti fatentur se Christum scire, sed factis negant.

Denique hi sunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa, annis duodecim sanguinis profluvio vexata, omnia sua consumpserat, sed adjumento quicquam senserat, sed deterius se habebat, donec vix tandem ad Christum venerat: quæ simulatque fimbriam vestimenti ejus in fide tetigerat, sic sanabatur, ut statim in corpore idipsum sentiret [Luke viii.] O mutationem dexteræ excelsi! quam et ego miser peccator non semel sensu: qui tamen antea quam ad Christum venire potui, sic omnia mea insumpseram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confessionum auditores, ut parum mihi vicium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ, ingenii item parum. Indicebant enim mihi jejunia, vigillas, indulgentiarum ac missarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (ut nunc intelligo) sua potius quærebant, quam salutem animæ meæ languentis.

Sed tandem de Jesu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum novum Testamentum primum ab Erasmo æderetur. Quod cum ab eo Latinus redditum accepi, Latinitate potius quam verbo Dei (quod tunc quidnam esset prorsus nesciebam) alectus, emebam, providentia (sine dubio) Divina, ut nunc interpretor. Incidit prima (ut memini) lectione in hanc (o mihi suavissimam Pauli sententiam). Certus sermo, et dignus, quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quod Christus Jesus venit in mundum ut peccatores salvos faceret, quorum primus sum ego [1 Tim. i.] Hæc una sententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, sic exhibaravit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conscientia saucium ac pene desperandum, ut mox visus sim mihi, nescio quantum intus tranquillitatem sentire, adeo quod exultaverunt ossa humiliata [Psalm li.]

Postea Scriptura cepit mihi dulcor esse melle ac favo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia jejunia, omnes vigillas, omnes missarum et indulgentiarum redemptiones, quæ sine fiducia in Jesum (qui solus saluum facit populum suum a peccatis suis) fierent; didici, inquam, hæc omnia nihil aliud fuisse, quam (quod ait Augustinus) celerem cursum extra viam: quam perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam et Eva verenda olim sua frustra tegere conati sunt: Nunquam prius tranquillitati quam promissioni Dei de serpentis capite, per mulieris semen Christum contendero credidissent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morsibus sanari potui, quam a Deo doctus essem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Christus. Sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam [John iii.]

Hanc tandem gratiam lectionem, quam nullus docere potest nisi Deus, qui hanc Petro revelavit, ubi pro modulo tribuæ Dei mihi data, gustare cepi, rogavi Dominum ut augeter mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optavi, quam ut, sic reddita mihi lætitia salutaris sui, spiritu me suo utuncque confirmaret, ut virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias ejus, quæ sunt misericordia et veritas, ut impii ad ipsum per me olim impium, converterentur [Psalm li.] Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blasphematur in me (hæc est unica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Christus, quem pro virili docco, factum nobis a Deo Patre sapientiam, justitiam, sanctificationem, redemptionem denique et satisfactionem [1 Cor. i.] Qui factus est pro nobis peccator, id est, hostia pro peccato, ut nos efficeremur justitia Dei per illum [2 Cor. v.] Qui factus est pro nobis maledictum, ut nos a maledicto legis redimeret [Gal. iii.] Et

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are of such wisdom and learning, of such integrity of life, which all men do confess to be in you, that even yourself cannot choose (if you do not too lightly esteem God's gifts in you), as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightways secretly in your heart, to his high praise say, 'He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.' I rejoice, that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, who ruleth all things.

And albeit (God is my witness) I know not myself guilty of any error in my sermons, neither of any heresy or sedition, which divers do slander me of, seeking rather their own lucre and advantage, than the health of souls: notwithstanding I do exceedingly rejoice, that it is so foreseen by God's divine providence, that I should be brought before the tribunal seat of Tonstal, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting a Jannes and a Jambres,² which will resist the truth; that there shall never be lacking some Elymates,³ which will go about to subvert the straight ways of the Lord; and finally, that some Demetriuses, Pithonises,⁴ Balaams, Nicolaitans,⁵ Cains, and Ishmaels, will be always at hand, who will greedily hunt and seek after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached? for if the people in every place once begin wholly to put their confidence in Christ, who was for them crucified, then straitways that which they have hitherto embraced instead of Christ, shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful.

God never builded a church, but the devil hath his chapel by.

Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdom of God to be in themselves. Then shall they plainly see, that the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, but in all places, in spirit and truth: which thing if it come once to pass, the beasts of the field will think all their gain and lucre lost. In them the saying of Ezekiel is fulfilled: 'My sheep are dispersed because they had no shepherd, and are devoured of the beast of the field, and strayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandered in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed throughout all the earth; and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together; no, there was no man which once sought after them.'⁶ But if any man seeketh to reduce those who were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unity of faith, by and by there rise up certain against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves; which seek no other thing of their flock, but the milk, wool, and fell, leaving both their own souls, and the souls of their flock, unto the devil.

Demetrius the silversmith cried out against Paul.

These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, 'This heretic dissuadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, that they are not gods, which are made with hands.'⁷ These are they, these I say, most reverend father! are they, who, under the pretence of persecuting heretics, follow their own licentious lives; enemies unto the cross of Christ, who can

qui non venit ad vocandum justos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam: Matt. ix., justos inquam, qui se sanos putant, et falso putant: (Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quae est in Christo Jesu: Rom. iii.), quia omne genus humanum sauciatum gravissime fuerat in eo, qui inter Hierusalem et Hierico incidit in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, ut omnes primum peccata sua agnoscant ac damnent, deinde esuriant ac sitiunt justitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur; Justitia Dei per fidem Jesu Christi in omnes et super omnes qui credunt in eum. Non est enim distinctio; omnes enim peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei; justificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipsius, per redemptionem quae est in Christo Jesu [Rom. iii.] Quam qui esuriant ac sitiunt, haud dubie sic aliquando saturabuntur, quod neque esuriant neque sitiunt in aeternum.

Sed quoniam hanc esurientiam ac sitim extinguere solet humanae justitiae saturitas, quam parat potissimum opusculorum nostrorum electiorum fiducia, qualia sunt peregrinationes, veniunt redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa a nobis jejunia, et interdum superstitiones, denique qualescunque (ut vocant) velumariae devotiones, contra quae loquitur Scriptura Dei [Deut. iv. 2.] Non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, sed quod ego praecipio tibi, hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam hujusmodi opusculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio; non ea (Deum restor) unquam damnans, sed eorum abusum reprehendens, legitimumque usum parvulis manifestum faciens, hortans, ne sic his adhaereant, ut his saturati (quod plerique faciunt) Christum fastidiant. In quo feliciter valeat Paternitas tua.

Et haec omnium summa. Si indixeris mihi ut singula dilatem, non recusabo, modo tempus mihi concesseris. Nam statim hoc facere non est harum, quoad corpus, virium; paratus semper, sicuti lapsus fuero, meliora doceri. Totus tuus, T. BILKÆUS.

(1) Luke i. (2) Jannes and Jambres were two of Pharaoh's priests who resisted Moses, but their names he not expressed in Exodus vii., but only in 2 Timothy iii.

(3) Elymas Magus. Acts xiii.

(4) Pithonissæ. Acts xvii.

(5) Nicolaitæ of Nicolaus. Apoc. ii.

(6) Ezek. xxxiv.

(7) Acts xix

suffer and bear any thing rather than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sins. These are they unto whom Christ threateneth eternal damnation, where he saith, 'Wo be unto you scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites! which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in.'¹ These are they that have come in another way to the charge of souls, as it appeareth; 'For if any man,' saith Christ, 'come in by me, he shall be saved; and shall come in, and go out, and find pasture.'² These men do not find pasture, for they never teach and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, who alone is the door whereby we must come unto the Father; but set before the people another way, persuading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the salvation of souls: in this point being worse than those who upon Christ (being the foundation) do build wood, hay and straw.³ These men confess that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

These are those physicians upon whom that woman that was twelve years vexed with the bloody flux had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as she came at last unto Christ; and after she had once touched the hem of his vesture, through faith she was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her body.⁴ O mighty power of the most Highest! which I also, miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt, who, before I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physicians; that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession; so that there was but small force of strength left in me (who of nature was but weak), small store of money, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed me fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and masses; in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and languishing soul.

But at last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather by the Latin than by the word of God (for at that time I knew not what it meant), I bought it even by the providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive: and at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in 1 Tim. i., 'It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief and principal.' This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that even immediately I seemed unto myself inwardly to feel a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that 'my bruised bones leaped for joy.'⁵

After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honey-comb; wherein I learned, that all my travails, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without trust in Christ, who only saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as St. Augustine saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way; or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover themselves, and could never before obtain quietness and rest, until they believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpent's head: neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, before I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in John iii.: 'Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, should not perish, but have life everlasting.'⁶

As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taste and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but only God, who revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and at last I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth; and that the

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Pretended priests and prelates, under colour of persecuting heretics, crucify Christ.

The first conversion of M. Bilney by reading the New Testament set out by Erasmus.

All the travails of men without Christ, are but a hasty running out of the right way.

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The way of the Lord be mercy and truth.

The sum of M. Bilney's teaching.

A difference between man's righteousness, and the righteousness of God. Voluntary devotions spoken against.

wicked might be converted unto him by me, who sometime was also wicked; which thing whilst with all my power I did endeavour, before my lord cardinal and your fatherhood Christ was blasphemed in me (and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions), whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, being made for us by God his Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction; ¹ who was made sin for us (that is to say, a sacrifice for sin) that we, through him, should be made the righteousness of God; ² who became accursed for us, to redeem us from the curse of the law; ³ who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. ⁴ The righteous (I say) who falsely judge and think themselves so to be (for all men have sinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth sins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus⁵), because that all mankind were grievously wounded in him who fell amongst thieves, between Jerusalem and Jericho. And therefore, with all my whole power I teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness whereof St. Paul speaketh, 'The righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference: all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ:' ⁶ which whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

But, forasmuch as this hunger and thirst were wont to be quenched with the fulness of man's righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious; and finally all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call them), against which God's word speaketh plainly in Deut. iv., v. 2, saying, 'Thou shalt not do that which seemeth good unto thyself; but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it.' Therefore, I say, oftentimes I have spoken of those works, not condemning them (as I take God to my witness), but reproving their abuse; making the lawful use of them manifest even unto children; exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they, being satisfied therewith, should loathe or wax weary of Christ, as many do: in whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

And this is the whole sum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to do it, so that you will grant me time (for to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakness of my body); being ready always, if I have erred in any thing, to be better instructed.

Another Letter of Master Thomas Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London.

Another letter of M. Bilney. Malchus-hearing of sermons.

Notes and differences between the true and false church.

Albeit I do not remember, reverend father in Christ! whether I have either spoken or written that the gospel hath not been sincerely preached now of long time, which your lordship seemeth to have gathered, either by some Momes and sinister hearers of my sermons, who (like Malchus having their right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to sermons; or else by some words or writings of mine, which have rashly passed me, rather than upon any evil intent; yet forasmuch as in this behalf your reverence doth command me, and that, of a good mind I trust (for how can I think in Tonstal any craft or doubleness to dwell), I will briefly declare unto you what I have learned of God, through Christ, in the Scriptures; and how the doctors, even of great name and renown, have not taught the same of late in their sermons; referring, or rather submitting all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and sharp than that it can by any means be blinded; and so sincere, that it will not in any point seek slander or discord. Therefore I do confess, that I have often been afraid that Christ hath not been purely preached now a long time: for who hath been now, for a long season, offended through him? Who hath now these many years suffered any persecution for the gospel's sake? Where is the

(1) 1 Cor. i.
(5) Rom. iii.(2) 2 Cor. v.
(6) Ibid.

(3) Gal. iii.

(4) Matt. ix.

sword which he came to send upon the earth? And finally, where are the rest of the sincere and uncorrupt fruits of the gospel? which, because we have not a long time seen, is it not to be feared that the tree which bringeth forth those fruits, hath now a long time been wanting in our region or country? Much less is it to be believed, that it hath been nourished amongst us. Have we not seen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what saith the church? 'My grief most bitter is turned to peace,'¹ &c. But the malignant church saith, 'Peace, peace; and there is no peace,'² but only that whereof it is written, 'When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he possesseth all things in quiet; but when he seeth that he shall be vanquished of a stronger than he himself is, he spoileth and destroyeth all things.'³

What now-a-days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not say. God grant us grace that we do not refuse and reject (if it be Christ) him that cometh unto us, lest we do feel that terrible judgment against us: 'Because,' saith he, 'they have not received the love of truth, that they might be saved; therefore God will send upon them the blindness of error, that they shall give credit unto lies.'⁴ O terrible sentence (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred), 'That all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but consented unto iniquity.' 'The time shall come,' saith he, 'when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to be preached.'

And what shall we then say of that learning, which hath now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth against it? shall we think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never more abound, nor was charity ever so cold. And what should we say to be the cause thereof? Hath the cause been for lack of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary. And yet all these notwithstanding, we see the life and manners of men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seem to cry out indeed, that that is fulfilled in us, which God in times past threatened by his prophet Amos,⁵ saying, 'Behold the day shall come,' saith the Lord, 'that I will send hunger upon the earth: not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God. And the people shall be moved from sea to sea, and from the west unto the east; and shall run about seeking for the word of God, but shall not find it. In those days the fair virgins and young men shall perish for thirst,' &c.

But now to pass over many things whereby I am moved to fear that the word of God hath not been purely preached, this is not the least argument, that they that come, and are sent, and endeavour themselves to preach Christ truly, are evil spoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and stumbling-block unto them that stumble upon his word, and do not believe on him on whom they are builded.⁶

But you will ask, who are those men, and what is their doctrine? Truly I say, whosoever entereth in by the door, Christ, into the sheepfold: which thing all such shall do, as seek nothing else but the glory of God, and salvation of souls. Of all such it may be truly said, that whom the Lord sendeth, he speaketh the word of God. And why so? Because he representeth the angel of the church of Philadelphia, unto whom St. John writeth, saying, 'This saith he which is holy and true; which hath the keys of David; which openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth.'⁷ 'Behold,' saith he (speaking in the name of Christ, who is the door and door-keeper), 'I have set before thee an open door, that is to say, of the Scriptures, opening thy senses, that thou shouldst understand the Scriptures; and that, because thou hast entered in by me which am the door: 'For whosoever entereth in by me, which am the door, shall be saved; ye shall go in and come out and find pasture: for the door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the sheep hear his voice.'⁸ But contrariwise, they who have not entered in by the door, but have climbed in some other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they shall even in a moment go down into hell, except they repent. And by them is the saying of Jeremy verified: 'All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion,'⁹

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Notes and arguments, proving that it is not the true word of God, which hath been preached in the pope's church.

Who entereth in by the door and who not.

(1) Isa. xxxviii. (2) Jer. vi. and viii. (3) Luke xi. (4) 2 Thess. ii. (5) Chap. viii.

(6) This letter may well answer to the note in Dr. Sanders's book, entitled 'The Rock of the Church,' fol. 14, and note 5.

(7) Apoc. iii.

(8) John x.

(9) Lam. ii.

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Outward calling by kings and princes in Christ's ministry availeth nothing without the inward calling of God.

The root of all mischief in the church. Ex prudentio.¹ Lay this letter against Dr. Sanders's book aforesaid. The persecutors of our time compared to Pharaoh.

because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture. And why so? because like thieves and robbers they have climbed another way, not being called nor sent.

And what marvel is it if they do not preach, when they are not sent, but run for lucre; seeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and salvation of souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the church, that they are not sent inwardly of God; for without this inward calling it helpeth nothing, before God, to be a hundred times elect, and consecrate by a thousand bulls, either by pope, king, or emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whose judgments are according to truth, howsoever we deceive the judgment of men for a time; who also at the last shall see their abomination. This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church, that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls, whose salvation and the glory of God (which is, to enter in by the door), we do not thirst nor seek for; but altogether our own lucre and profit.

Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Christ purely; 'For how should they preach Christ,' saith the apostle, 'except they be sent?' for otherwise many thieves and robbers do preach him, but with their lips only, for their heart is far from him: neither yet do we suffer those who do know how to preach, but persecute them, and go about to oppress the Scriptures now springing, under the pretence of godliness; fearing, as I suppose, lest the Romans should come and take our place. Ah! thou wicked enemy Herod! why art thou afraid that Christ should come? He taketh not away mortal and earthly kingdoms, who giveth heavenly kingdoms.¹ O blindness! O our great blindness! yea, more than that of Egypt; of which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by saith Pharaoh, 'Moses and Aaron! why do ye cause the people to cease from their labours?' and truly called their labours. 'Get you to your burdens. Lay more work upon them, and cause them to do it, that they hearken not unto lies.'² Thus the people were dispersed throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather up chaff; I say, to gather up chaff. Who shall grant unto us, that God shall say, 'I have looked down, and beholden the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them?' But whither bath this zeal carried me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it appertaineth to you, reverend father! to judge thereupon.

Now you do look that I should show unto you at large (as you write), how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here, I confess, I was afraid that you had spoken in some derision, until I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand. Then again I began to doubt, for what intent Tostal should require that of Bilney: an old soldier, of a young beginner; the chief pastor of London, of a poor silly sheep. But for what intent soever you did it, I trust it was of a good mind; and albeit that I am weak of body, yet, through the grace of Christ given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far pass my power: under which burden if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

As touching what pertaineth to the preaching of the gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the holy Scriptures for the consolation of my conscience; which if you will do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted unto your judgment; who (except I be utterly deceived), will not break the reed that is bruised, and put out the flax that is smoking:³ but rather, if I shall be found in any error (as indeed I am a man), you, as spiritual, shall restore me through the spirit of gentleness, considering yourself, lest that you also be tempted: for every bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, and not against men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant and do err; for he himself is compassed with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learn to have compassion upon other miserable people.⁴

I desire you that you will remember me to-morrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the tribunal seat of my lord cardinal; before whom I had rather stand, than before any of his deputies.

YOURS, THOMAS BILNEY.

(1) Rather, Ex *Solutio*. See Appendix.

(2) Exod. v.

(3) Isa. xlii.

(4) Heb. v.

A Letter of Master Bilney, to Tonstal, Bishop of London, fruitful
and necessary for all Ministers to read.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1527.

Most reverend father! salutations in Christ. You have required me to write unto you at large, wherein men have not preached as they ought, and how they should have preached better. This is a burden too heavy for my strength, under which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you, who have laid this burden upon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they have not preached as they ought, who, leaving the word of God, have taught their own traditions; of which sort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report those who preach the word of God sincerely, to teach new doctrine. This is also no small testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what marvel is it, if all godly things do seem new unto them unto whom the gospel is new and strange, being noused in men's traditions now a long time? Would to God these things were not true, which I utter unto you! but alas! they are too true.

Preachers of the pope's church, leaving the word of God, preach their own traditions.

They have also preached evil, which either have wrested the Scriptures themselves, or have rashly gathered them out of old rotten papers, being wrested by others: and how should it be but that they should wrest them, or else how should they judge them, being falsely interpreted by others, when they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great rabbins or masters shall hardly excuse themselves; whom the people have hitherto revered instead of gods. And these are they that now serve their bellies, seeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, who might be set forth even by Balaam's ass; and much less then ought we to contemn such abjects, who preach the word of God. 'We have,' saith St. Paul, 'this treasure in bricke vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us.' 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things God hath chosen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and despised, hath he chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight.'¹ But now all men in a manner will be wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple gospel; they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to perform it indeed, 'I brethren, when I came unto you, did not come in gloriousness of speech or of wisdom, preaching the testimony of Christ; for I esteemed not myself to know any thing amongst you, but only Jesus Christ, and him crucified.'² O voice of a true evangelist! But now we are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by which it hath pleased God to save all those that believe in him; and being puffed up with our own fleshly mind, we choose rather proudly to walk in those things which we have not seen, preaching fables and lies, and not the law of God, which is undefiled, converting souls.'³

Preachers in the popish time have wrested the Scriptures.

Balaam's ass is not to be despised, setting forth God's word; ergo, much less other abjects.

Ignorance of the law of God noted in prelates.

But how should they teach the law of God, which they have not once read in the books, much less learned at the mouth of God? But in a pastor and a bishop this is required: 'Thou son of man!' saith God, 'lay up in thy heart all my words which I do speak unto thee,' &c.: and shortly after he saith, 'Thou, son of man! I have ordained and given thee a watchman unto the house of Israel.' 'I have given thee,' saith he; not coming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thyself, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I have given thee unto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel unto thee, that thou shouldst acknowledge thyself to be the servant of the sheep, and not their lord; for I have not given the sheep for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the sheep. He that sitteth down, is greater than he that doth minister and serve unto him: which thing was well known of him who truly said, 'We are your servants for Christ's cause.'

Pastors, servants to the congregation for Christ's cause, and not masters.

But for what purpose have I given thee unto the house of Israel?—that thou shouldst only minister the sacraments? consecrate wood, stones, and churchyards? (This, I take God to witness, with great sighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No truly. What then? First followeth the office of the bishop, 'Thou shalt hear the word out of my

(1) 1 Cor. i.

(2) 1 Cor. ii.

(3) Psalm xix.

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The true office of pastors well described out of Ezekiel. See *Addenda.*

The poverty of untrue pastors

A true note of the sincere doctrine.

Information to preachers to preach rightly.

The preaching after the pope's church, is all to beat down, and not to lift up.

By this one, you may see what all the rest are. Mark the manner of the common preaching of the papists. I John i.

mouth.' This is but a short lesson, but such as all the world cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

And what else meaneth this, 'Out of my mouth thou shalt hear the word,' but that thou shalt be taught of God? Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be ever so well exercised in the Scriptures by man's help, yet are they not watchmen given by God; and much less they that do not understand and know the Scriptures. And therefore such as these be, lest they should keep silence, and say nothing, are always *carping* upon the traditions and doctrines of men, that is, lies: for he that speaketh of himself, speaketh lies. Of these it is written, 'They would be doctors of the law, not understanding what they speak, neither of whom they speak.'¹ Such of necessity they must all be, who speak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are persuaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are to be accounted as sheep, although they boast themselves to be shepherds. But contrariwise, touching the true and learned pastors given by God, it may be truly said, 'We speak that which we know, and that which we have seen (even with the infallible eyes of our faith) we do witness:'² and these are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worse and worse, erring themselves, and bringing others also to error, and because they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear them. 'They are of the world,' saith St. John, 'and therefore they speak those things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.'³

Behold, reverend father! this is the touchstone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleasure and delight? But the flesh could never suffer the preaching of the cross, nor yet the wisdom of the flesh, which is enemy unto God, neither is subject unto his law, nor can be. And why then are they accused to be heretics and schismatics, who will not seek to please men, but only to their edifying? being mindful of that place of Scripture, 'God hath dispersed the bones of them which please men, saying unto them, Speak unto us pleasant things.'⁴

But now, letting these matters pass, we will come unto the second point, wherein you ask how a man should preach better? Forsooth, if we had heard him of whom the Father spake, saying, 'This is my dearly beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear him;' who also, speaking of himself, said, 'It was meet that Christ should suffer, and rise again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all people.' What other thing is that, than the same which the other evangelists do write, 'Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved?'⁵ What can be more pleasant, sweet, or acceptable unto afflicted consciences, being almost in despair, than these most joyful tidings?

But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late preach (I speak even of the most famous), they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his name), after he had sharply inveighed against vice (wherein he pleased every godly man, forasmuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon), he concluded, 'Behold,' said he, 'thou hast lien rotting in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from heaven toward hell in sixty years? Is not this, think you, a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with Antichrist's doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour; thou must make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt perish eternally! Then doth St. John lie, who saith, 'Behold the Lamb of God! that taketh away the sins of the world;' and in another place 'His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins;' and again, 'He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world:'⁶ besides an infinite number of other

(1) 1 Tim. i. (2) 1 John i. (3) 1 John iv. (4) Isaiah xxx. (5) Matt. xxviii. (6) 1 John I

places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying, 'There shall be false teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, who hath redeemed them?' And what followeth upon such doctrine of devils, speaking lies through hypocrisy? A conscience despairing, and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of St. Paul, 'After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with a greedy desire.' For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel, as they do preach and declare him to be.

The lack of paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto yourself; whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness), it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your flock, heartily well to fare.

Your prisoner, and humble beadman unto God for you,

THOMAS BILNEY.

Thus have you the letters, the abjuration, and the articles of Thomas Bilney. After which abjuration made, about A.D. 1529 the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh sermon preached before king Edward, which be these: "I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who, what time he had borne his faggot and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding this image of death), that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could: but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome."¹

Again, the said Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following: "That same Master Bilney, which was burnt here in England for God's word's sake, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a faggot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge again a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor even any other communication of God's word; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation: so that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarly acquainted with him); but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that afterwards he came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesu Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England,"² &c.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said Master Latimer before the duchess of Suffolk,³ he, yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth: "Here I have," said he, "occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather saint Bilney, that

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The effect
and end
of the
pope's
doctrine.

Bilney
cast down
with re-
pentance.
See
Appendix.

(1) Hæc Latin. Ser. 7. [vol. i. p. 200, in Dr. Watkins's edition, 1824 Ed.]

(2) Hæc ille. Ser. 8. fol. 152.

(3) Fol. 5.

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Latimer called and converted by Bilney.

suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God; for I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Master Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so, and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors, and such fooleries," &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master Latimer.

Bilney returneth again from his abjuration.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus, being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity Hall, at ten o'clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said, that he would go to Jerusalem;¹ alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he before had abjured to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends, in causes of religion. And so, setting forward on his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nixie sent up for a writ to burn him.

Bilney goeth up to Jerusalem.

See Appendix.

Four orders of friars against Bilney. Dr. Call, and Dr. Stokes, sent to dispute with Bilney. Dr. Call called by Bilney.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors civil and canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned body and soul if he so continued; among whom, first, were sent to him of the bishop, Dr. Call, minister (as they call him) or provincial of the Grey Friars; and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Dr. Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side. Dr. Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another

(1) Nam facies ejus erat euntis Hierosolymam.

great doer against him was one friar Bird with one eye, provincial of the White Friars. This Bird was a suffragan in Coventry, and afterwards bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Bonner, mentioned in the story of Hawkes. Another was a Black friar, called Hodgkins, who, after being under the archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterwards, in queen Mary's time, put away his wife. These four orders of friars were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney; who, notwithstanding, as he had planted himself upon the firm rock of God's word, was at a point; and so continued unto the end.

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But here now cometh in sir Thomas More, trumping in our way with his painted card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him, being alive; yet now, after his death, by false play they will make him theirs, whether he will or no. This sir Thomas More, in his railing preface before his book against Tyndale, doth challenge Bilney to his catholic church, and saith, that not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as mill-posts, fetched out of Utopia, from whence thou must know, reader, can come no fictions, but all fine poetry.

Four reasons of sir Thomas More. Utopia, one of More's fantasies.

First, he saith, that certain Norwich men, writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterwards, being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his execution, read a bill; but what it was they could not tell, for they stood not so near as to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

See Appendix

First, to answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master More, let us see with what conveyance he proceedeth in this narration. "At his first examination," saith he, "he waxed stiff in his opinions, but yet God was so good Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true catholic faith," &c. And when might this goodly conversion begin? "Many days," quoth he, "before his burning." Here is no certain day assigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well then, but how many days these could be, I would fain learn of Master More, when he was not many days in their hands; no longer than they could send up to London for a writ to burn him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the friars unto him, by and by he revolted. A strange matter, that he, who two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his first abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the same doctrine again which before he had renied, utterly resigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to Jerusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the Scribes and Pharisees for that doctrine's sake, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, give over to the contrary doctrine again. It is not likely. "God was so good a Lord unto him," saith Master More. That God was a good Lord unto him,

Answer to sir Thomas More

A likely tale of Master More.

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very true it is: but that God did so turn him indeed, to be a member of that Romish church, that hath not Master More yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence, and special demonstration of witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in Master More: "And there lacked not some," saith he, "that were sorry for it." No doubt but that if our Bilney had so relented, some would have been very sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all Norwich, was sorry; *that* Master More must specify unto us before we believe him: so well are we acquainted with his poetical fictions. But how else should this narration of Master More seem to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and saith, "And some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them." This soundeth rather to come more near to a truth; and here is a knack of Sinon's art,¹ to interlard a tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among, that some things being found true, may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men believed, for the not recanting of Bilney? "Because," saith he, "afterward, they being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that Bilney revoked." By whom was it proved? "By those," saith he, "who at his execution stood by, and heard him read his revocation himself," &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one man's name in all the city of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear Bilney read his revocation as well as these? "Because," saith More, "he read it so softly that they could not hear him."

Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his revocation so softly that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why Bilney read his revocation so softly; which must needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience: if it were by imbecility of voice and utterance, then how followeth it, Master More! in this your narration, where you say, that the said persons, who could not hear him read the bill, yet notwithstanding could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his errors, &c. Ah Master More! for all your powder of experience, do ye think to cast such a mist² before men's eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? unless peradventure you will excuse yourself, 'per licentiam poeticam,' after the privilege of poets and painters: for you know the old liberty of these two,

' Pictoribus atque poetis
' Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.'

(1) Read of Sinon in the second book of Virgil: who craftily mixeth true things with false, to betray the city of Troy.

(2) Thomas More here painteth Antics.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extremely raileth and fareth against the poor martyrs and servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe, that Bilney died a papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial conveyance: "Mendacem enim (ut scis) memorem esse oportet:" that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hanged with itself, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to incur the same vice of his, 'in mordendo mortuos.' Yet forasmuch as his books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his book-disciples, this would I know, how hangeth his gear together? Bilney was heard, and yet not heard; he spake softly, and yet not softly!¹ Some said he did recant; some said he did not recant. Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forasmuch as the said Bilney (as he saith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at London, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution; then, seeing a certain bill in his hand, which some said was a bill of his revocation, others heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false: at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected, and contraried of a great multitude.

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I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth that the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the chancellor absolution from the sentence of excommunication; holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

The second reason of Master More.

As touching the patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think, that he had deserved any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might so do, so I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the chancellor, to ask absolution from his excommunication. And if he were assoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assoiled from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down, and was assoiled or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himself; and therefore, with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, unless he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, *αὐτὸς ἔφη*.² And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous conscience, of a humble spirit, and not fully resolved touching that matter of the church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is said), that he revoked his other articles and doctrine by him before professed.

Answer

(1) Mark how these things hang together.

(2) That is, 'He so saith.'

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The third
reason of
Master
More.
Answer.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, that certain days after his judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the blessed body of Christ in form of bread, which the chancellor, after a great sticking awhile, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not impossible, but that Bilney might both hear mass, and desire to receive the sacrament: for in that matter it may be that he was not resolved otherwise than common custom then led both him and many others. Neither do I find in all the articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the mass or the sacrament; which maketh me think that he was yet ignorant, and also devout as others then were.

The
fourth
reason of
Master
More.

An argu-
ment of
More's
authority.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More saith, that in receiving of the sacrament, he, holding up his hands, should say the collect, "Domine Jesu Christe:" and coming to these words, "Ecclesie tue pacem et concordiam," he knocked upon his breast, divers times repeating the same words, &c.: all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I listed here to stand dallying with Master More in the 'state inficial,'¹ and deny what he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, that Bilney, kneeling before the chancellor, desired absolution: then, coming to mass full devoutly, required to see the body of Christ in form of bread, repeating divers times the words of the collect, "Domine Jesu Christe," &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be so? Master More in his preface before the book against Tyndale so saith: ergo it is certain. If Master More had never made fictions in his writings beside, or had never broken the head of verity in so many places of his books as I could show him, then might this argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Was this Master More present at the judgment of Bilney? No. Or else, what registers had he for his direction? None. Or else, by what witnesses will he avouch this to be certain? Go and seek these witnesses, good reader! where thou canst find them; for Master More nameth none. Only because Master More so saith: *that* is sufficient! Well, give this to Master More: although he hath cracked his credit so often, and may almost be bankrupt, yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be oracles that he saith; yet nevertheless here must needs remain a scruple: for what will Master More, or (because he is gone) what will his disciples say to this; that if Bilney was before assoiled upon his judgment (as they pretend), how was he then afterwards degraded? what assoiling is this, to be forgiven first, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they surmise) converted so fully to the catholic faith, and also assoiled, why then did the chancellor stick so greatly for a while, to housel him with the body of Christ in form of bread? I am sure that if Christ had been here himself in form of his own flesh, he would nothing have stuck to receive him, being so converted at the first. To be short: If Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy mother the catholic church, repenting his errors, and detesting his heresies, and now being in no purgatory, but being a very saint in heaven,

Master
More's
credit
cracked.

(1) State inficial, in rhetoric, is when one standeth to the denial of the fact.

as ye say he is: why then did ye burn him whom ye yourselves knew should be a saint? Thus if ye burn both God's enemies, and God's saints too, what cruel men are you!

But here you will allege perhaps your law of relapse,¹ by which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into heresy is in no case pardonable; for so standeth your law, I grant. But how this law standeth with the true church of Christ, and with his word, now let us reason. For this being a law not of politic or civil government (where such laws be expedient for public necessity), but being only a mere law ecclesiastical, what a cruel mother-church is this, that will not and cannot forgive her children, rising and repenting the second fault or error committed, but needs must burn their bodies, that their souls may be saved from the painful passion of purgatory, whom nevertheless they know forthwith shall be blessed in heaven? If God do save them, why do you burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the law of your church, according to your doctrine, to burn them at the second time, though they be amended; how then doth this church agree with the word of Christ, and the nature of his true spouse, that only seeketh repentance and amendment of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosom, and motherly receiveth them whensoever they return. Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your church (as ye say he did), then was your church a cruel mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire, when he had repented.

Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, which, in express words, teaching all bishops and pastors, by the example of Christ the great bishop of our souls (being compassed about with temptations, that he might have the more compassion for them that be infirm), exhorteth all other spiritual persons by the like example, saying, "For every bishop which is taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, to offer gifts and sacrifice for sins, that he may be merciful to the ignorant, and to such as err; forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity,"² &c. Besides which Scripture, add also, that some doctors of the canon law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they that be fallen in relapse, whether it be 'vere,' or 'fictē,' yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison in some monastery,³ &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so many days (as More saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death which he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough, yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first, if Thomas Bilney was assoiled from excommunication, and after that heard his mass so devoutly, and at the end of the mass was confessed, and consequently after confession was houseled, and lastly, asked mercy for contemning of the church, as Master More doth bear us in hand (to see now how

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The law of relapse.

More's words in his Preface.

The pope's law disagreeing from the condition of the true church of Christ.

(1) Extravag. de hæret. 'super eo.' [Sexti Decretali. lib. v. tit. 2. cap. 4.]

(2) Heb. v.

(3) Bilney needed not to be burned by the sentence of the canon-law. Ex Tractatu cujusdam Doct. Canonistæ.

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Master More's tale full of absurdities.

this tale hangeth together), why then did the chancellor stick so greatly to give him the sacrament of the altar, whom he himself had assailed, and received to the sacrament of penance before; which is plainly against the canon-law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the mother-church by the sacraments of penance and of the altar, why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the church, since the canon permitteth no degradation, but to them only that be incorrigible? Furthermore, if he, the said Bilney, being converted so many days before (as More pretendeth) to the catholic faith, was now no heretic, how then did the sentence pronounce him a heretic? or finally, how could they, or why would they, burn him being a catholic, especially since the canon-law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison in some monastery, as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

A summary answer to Master More, or in his absence, to Alan Cope.

Wherefore, in three words to answer to Master More: first, All this tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together: secondly, It may also well be denied, for the insufficiency of probation and testimony: thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Master More any great advantage against Bilney, to prove him to have recanted; nor yet Master Cope against me, who, by the authority of Master More, seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story. For be it granted that Bilney, at his death, did hold with the mass, with confession, and with the authority of the Romish church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premises, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

More's consequence denied.

For the better demonstration hereof I will recite out of the registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Richard Neale, priest, who, amongst other witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the town of Wilsdon, these words following:

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Bilney against offerings to images. †

'Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stony gods, and leave your offerings, and lift up your hearts to the sacrament of the altar.' Also the said Master Bilney said in his sermon, 'I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterwards given to abandoned women; and I call them abandoned women, that be naught of their living,' &c.

Item, By another witness, named William Cade, it was deposed against him, that he thus preached, 'Jews and Saracens would have become christian men long ago, had not idolatry of christian men been, by offering of candles, wax, or money to the stocks and stones of images, set and standing in the churches,' &c.

Item, By the said deponent against Bilney: 'The priests take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks: and after that, they take them again from the women if they please them not, and hang them upon the images; and is not that a great relic, when it is hanged there again?'

Bilney against pilgrimage.

Item, By the said deponent it was testified against Bilney, 'That going on pilgrimage is naught, and that no man should use it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in alms, and offer your hearts, wills, and minds, to the sacrament, and leave your idolatry to saints.'

Item, By William Nelms of Wilsdon, that Bilney should preach, 'That they gild their gods, and bear them about, and men say they do speak; and if they do speak, it is the devil that speaketh in them, and not God,' &c.

(1) Ex Regist. London. fol. 131. [Where it appears, that Bilney preached at Wyllsdon, diocese of London, in Whitsun Week, 1527: also at Newyngton, same diocese, same week.—ED.]

Item, By Thomas Daly of Wilsdon, that Bilney thus preached, ' You come hither on pilgrimage to stocks and stones. You do naught; keep you at home, and worship the sacrament at home,' &c.

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Item, By friar John Huggen, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich: ' The coming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers and many prophets prophesied, that he should come. But John the Baptist, more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world! Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate and show, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is this bull of the bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesu Christ, that to be buried in the cowl of St. Francis should or may remit four parts of the penance? What is left to our Saviour Jesus Christ which taketh away the sins of the world? This will I justify to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ,' &c.

Bilney against false merits.

Item, By another friar Julles, that Bilney thus preached: ' I trust there shall and will come others besides me, who shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour, whereby you shall be brought from your errors, wherein you have been so long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you and the gospel of our Saviour Christ; of whom speaketh our Saviour Christ, Matt. xviii. Qui scandalizaverint unum de pusillis istis qui crediderunt,' &c.

Add moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words: ' Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour Christ; like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it under the foot, and to set the foot above.

Bilney against more me diators.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate again out of the registers, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney; whereby may appear the whole sum of his preaching and doctrine to proceed chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust to men's merits, and such other gross points of religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the mass, and sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himself, so likewise he never differed therein from the most gross catholics. And as concerning his opinion of the church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appear by his own hand in Latin, which I have to show, as followeth: " Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, et quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore St. Augustinus, et item Gersonus, qui miratur quomodo nunc post lapsum inter tot laqueos constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, et ante lapsum, et unicum præceptum non observarint,"¹ &c. Moreover, concerning the authority of the keys, thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth article, " Soli sacerdotes, ordinati rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant et solvunt (clave non errante²); quod et facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam sacramentorum efficaciam non

Note here how gross Bilney was yet in the sacrament.

(1) See Answer to Art. III. suprâ, p. 625.—ED.

(2) At hæc clavis errat perpetuò.

Henry VIII. minuit, nedum tollit, ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur,"¹ &c.

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By these words of Bilney, written by him in Latin, although it may be thought how ignorant and gross he was after the rudeness of those days, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appear, how falsely he is noted and slandered by Master More, and Cope my friend, to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my friend Cope, that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Contrary
Reasons to
prove
that Bil-
ney did
not again
recant.

Now that I have sufficiently, I trust, put off the reasons of Master More and others, whereby they pretend falsely to face us out, that Bilney the second time again recanted at his death, it remaineth, on the other part, that I likewise do infer my probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as he is untruly slandered. And first, I will begin even with the words and testimony of Master More's own mouth, who, being lord chancellor, when message was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the messengers that came, "Go your ways," saith he, "and burn him first; and then afterwards come to me for a bill of my hand." These words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the lord chancellor would not have been so greedy and hasty, no doubt, to have him dispatched. And how standeth this with Master More's words now, who beareth us in hand, that he recanted many days before his burning?

More's
own
words
against
himself.

Proved
by bishop
Nix's
words,
that Bil-
ney did
not recant
at his
burning.

The like evidence we may also take by the verdict of the bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these (after he had burned him, and then heard tell of Dr. Shaxton,) "Christ's Mother!" said he (that was his oath), "I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain go," &c.; as who would say, "I had thought before, that I had punished Cain, and let Abel go; but now I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain escape." Hereby it is plain to understand what was the bishop's judgment of Bilney, before his burning; that is, that he was a Cain, and the other an Abel: but after the burning of Bilney, the bishop hearing now of Shaxton, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, lest he had burned Abel, and let Cain go.

Furthermore, where the bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abel, what doth this fear of the bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? for who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that Bilney at his burning did not recant, as More reporteth. For then the bishop, knowing Bilney to die a catholic convert, and a true member of the church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed Bilney to have died a true Abel indeed. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney died an Abel, then the bishop, by his own confession, must needs prove himself to be a Cain, who slew him. What more clear probation could we bring, if there were a thousand, or what need we any other, having this alone?

Cain
burneth
Abel.

Now, for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, forasmuch as Master More allegeth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant, I will assay what testimony I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

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And forasmuch as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that university in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt but that amongst so many friends as he had in that university, some went thither to hear and see him. Of these one was Thomas Allen, then fellow of Pembroke-hall, who, returning the same time from Bilney's burning, declared to Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, being yet alive (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted), that the said Bilney took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had professed.

Testimonies proving that Master Bilney did not recant at his death. Witness for Bilney. Dr. Turner, dean of Wells.

In the city of Norwich, Necton and many others be now departed, who were then present at the burning of Bilney: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the mean time, at the writing hereof there was one Thomas Russel, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise, being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

Another witness for Bilney.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, named Master Baker, a man yet alive, who, being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him and saw him, when a certain friar called him heretic: whereunto Bilney replying again made answer, "If I be a heretic," said he, "then are you an Antichrist, who of late have buried a certain gentlewoman with you, in St. Francis's cowl, assuring her to have salvation thereby." Which fact although the friar the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but Bilney spake these words, whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation; according as by the said gentleman it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

Another witness for Bilney.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand jury. But what need I to spend time about witness, when one Master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authority of Master More, saith, that he will believe him before me; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a seignior, Father Latimer, being both in Bilney's time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, than Master More.

One martyr witness for another martyr.

Touching the testimonial of Latimer I have noted before, how he, in three sundry places of his sermons, hath testified of "good Bilney," of "that blessed Bilney," of "saint Bilney;" how he died patiently, "against the tyrannical see of Rome," &c. And in another sermon

The testimony of Latimer for Bilney.

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also, how the said Bilney "suffered his body to be burned for the gospel's sake," &c. Item, in another place, "how the said Bilney suffered death for God's word's sake."

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter; but the cause that moved, and half constrained me thereunto, was sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, and now a great arch-pillar of all our English papists; a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate: esteemed no less industrious in his studies, than well exercised in his pen; who, if he had kept himself within his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a layman, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himself to prove masteries in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also a longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own vocation, hath, with Uzzah, reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with God's ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and while he thinketh to help religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spiritual doctrine, and his poor afflicted church: to the intent therefore, that he, being taken for a special ringleader and a chief stay in the pope's church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present history of Bilney's recantation, I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificate of Master Bilney's burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by some-says and by hear-says (as Master More useth), but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded, by one, who, as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master More (though he were lord chancellor), so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, *αὐτόπτης τε καὶ μαρτύρος* of his martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master More. The order of this martyrdom was as followeth.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to the custom of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. This done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed; but such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him: who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death, so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus'-day and on Saturday, the

Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, a present witness at the burning of Bilney.

Thomas Necton sheriff of Norwich.
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said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst them, one of the said friends, finding him eating of an ale-brew with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "O," said he, "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see." Then, sitting with his said friends in godly talk to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney, putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides¹), and feeling the heat thereof, "O," (said he) "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance, is naturally hot: but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And here he much treated of this place of Scripture.² "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel, thy Saviour." Which he did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present; of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be fair written in tables, and some in their books; the comfort whereof, in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the manner is), with their graves and halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly called 'The Lollards' Pit, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution), at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison-door, one

(1) In other words; 'As it is reported, by him that was his scholar, he would many times attempt to prove the fire with holding his finger nigh to the candle; but especially the night before he suffered martyrdom, at what time he did hold his finger in the prison at Yeld Hall, after twice proving so long in the flame, that he burnt off the first joint; giving thanks to God for his strength. Then said the doctor that lay with him, 'What do you, Master Bilney?' He answered, 'Nothing, but trying my flesh by God's grace, and burning one joint, when to-morrow God's rods shall burn the whole body in the fire.'—See Edition 1563, p. 466.—Ed.

(2) 'Noli timere, quia redemi te, et vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum transieris per aquas, tecum ero, et flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, et flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus, sanctus Israel, salvator tuus.' [The copy of the Holy Scriptures originally belonging to Thomas Bilney, is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Many annotations are inscribed upon its pages with his own hand; and it is an interesting fact that this opening of the xliii. chapter of Isaiah, which consoled the pious martyr in the hours of his deepest affliction, is particularly distinguished with a pen, in the margin.—Ed.]

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Good
courage
of Bilney
before his
death.

Tasteth
the fire
with his
finger.

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Constant Bilney exhorted to constancy!

of his friends came to him, and with few words as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet, in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing; and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof, by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

He goeth to his death.

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And so he, going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied by one Dr. Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort, came at last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman's gown with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out; his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but always of a good upright countenance), and drew near to the stake prepared; and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said: "Good people! I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye may testify that I depart out of this present life as a true christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith the articles of my creed." And then he began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence; and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words: "Good people! I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, where I was fellow; earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.¹

His words at the stake.

Bilney put to death for preaching, being thereunto desired.

Thomas Bilney praying at the stake.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended at last his private prayers with the Psalm,² beginning, "Domine! exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe

(1) Thus Master More is proved a liar by a witness present at Bilney's death. (2) Psalm cxliii.

obsecrationem meam," &c., that is, "Hear my prayer, O Lord! consider my desire." And the next verse, he repeated in deep meditation thrice: "Et ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Domine;" that is, "And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified:" and so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was east about him; and standing thereon, the said Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping: upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks; and the last were these, "O Master Doctor! Pasce gregem tuum, pasce gregem tuum; ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem." That is, "Feed your flock, feed your flock; that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing." And, "Farewell, good Master Doctor! and pray for me;" and so Warner departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.), came to him and said, "O Master Bilney! the people be persuaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter:" whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, "I pray you, good people! be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire to the reeds, which made a very great flame, that sparkled and deformed the visor of his face; he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus!" sometimes, "Credo!" which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great; in which it was said, that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn; and so, for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him; and then he gave up the ghost, and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, with his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood upon it; and so he was consumed.¹

Thus have ye, good readers! the true history, and martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed saint Bilney (as Master Latimer doth call him), without any recantation, testified and ratified by the

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1531.

Doctor
Warner
taking his
farewell
of Bilney.

The friars
desire
Bilney to
speak for
them.

His pa-
tient
death and
martyr-
dom.

(1) The story in the first edition, page 467, slightly differs—'And from thence was he carried in the morning to be burned in Lollares' pit in Norwich with great joy and gladness falling down flat upon his face before the stake, then, rising up, kissed it and embraced it, and took the chain and closed in himself, confessing his faith, and animating the people to stand fast in the truth of God's holy word; and so suffered as a true martyr of Jesus Christ.'—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1531.

authority abovesaid : by which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such bill, scrip, or scroll in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master More, 'per licentiam poeticom,' would bear us down. Wherefore, even as ye see Master More deal in this, so ye may trust him in the residue of his other tales, if ye will.

Master Stafford, of Cambridge.

Bilney
the chief
converter,
or apostle
of Cam-
bridge.

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk, where he was burned ; so his diligent travail, in teaching and exhorting others, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of him, and partly also of another, called Master Stafford, the word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish ; in the company of whom were Master Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Thistell of Pembroke-Hall, Master Fooke of Benet-college, and Master Soude of the same college, Dr. Warner above-mentioned, with divers others. This Master Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that university ; who, as he was an earnest professor of Christ's gospel, so was he as diligent a follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

Notable
zeal of
Stafford,
in saving
a damna-
ble priest.
See
Addenda.

For as the plague was then sore in Cambridge, and amongst others a certain priest, called sir Henry Conjurer, lay sore sick of the said plague, Master Stafford, hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that he, neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring books burned before his face. This being done, Master Stafford went home, and immediately sickened, and, shortly after, most christianly deceased.¹

Latimer
asketh
Stafford
forgive-
ness.

Concerning this Master Stafford, this moreover is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to hear him ; and also, preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him : and yet the said Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed. And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney, in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

The Story of Master Simon Fish,

AUTHOR OF 'THE SUPPLICATION OF BEGGARS.'

Before the time of Master Bilney, and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the book called The Supplication of Beggars ; declaring how, and by what means, it came to the king's hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things ; especially of the clergy. But the

See
Appendix

(1) Ex fidei testimonio D. Ridlei, et Edmund. Episc. Lond.

missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though that be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this :

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

After that the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many ; so that coloured hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be espied more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist ; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion : in the number of whom was the said Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about A. D. 1525, that there was a certain play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same inn, gentleman, in which play partly was matter against the cardinal Wolsey ;¹ and when none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said cardinal, this aforesaid Master Fish took upon him to do it. Hereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, insomuch that he, being pursued by the said cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, was compelled by force to void his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tyndale : upon occasion whereof, the next year following, this book was made (being about the year 1527) ; and so, not long after, in the year, as I suppose, 1528, was sent over to the lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. This book her brother seeing in her hand, took and read, and gave it to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she did. This was (as I gather) about A. D. 1528.

See Appendix.

The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who made it : whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal. After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the king's servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril or danger : whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband ; who, understanding whose wife she was, showed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered " If it like your grace, not far off." " Then," saith he, " fetch him, and he shall come and go safe, without peril, and no man shall do him harm : " saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long ; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the mean time the cardinal was deposed, as is afore showed, and Master More set in his place of the chancellorship.

The Supplication of Beggars given to the king.

Thus Fish's wife, being emboldened by the king's words, went immediately to her husband (being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court), and brought him to the king ; which

Fish brought to the king.

(1) Ex certa relatione, vivoque testimonio proprię ipsius conjugis.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

See Appendix.

Rescued by the king.

Sir Tho. More persecuteth Fish's wife.

Fish dieth of the plague.

'The Sum of the Scripture.'

Moddis, the king's footman.

The Book of Beggars brought to the king.

The king's answer.

appeareth to be about A. D. 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. After long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together in hunting, the king at length dimitted him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him; who answered the king again, and said, he durst not so do, for fear of sir Thomas More, then chancellor, and Stokesley, then bishop of London. This seemeth to be about A. D. 1530.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy as to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him, if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife? For she, a little before, had by chance displeased the friars, by not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say them in English. Hereupon the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him: who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of which plague her husband (the said Master Fish) deceasing within half a year, she afterwards married one Master James Bainham, sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of Gloucestershire; which aforesaid Master James Bainham not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the process of this story, shall appear.

And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a book, called 'The Sum of the Scripture,' out of the Dutch.

Now cometh another note of one Edmund Moddis the king's footman, touching the same matter.

This Master Moddis, being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, if it might please his grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as it was a marvel to hear of. The king demanded who they were. He said, "Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson." The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him, which they had there to show his grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your grace to hear it." "I thought so," said the king, "for if need were, thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell any man that he had seen the book, &c. The copy of the aforesaid book, entitled, 'Of the Beggars,' here ensueth.

A certain libel or book, entitled, 'The Supplication of Beggars,' thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day, before king Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse. Made and compiled by Master Fish.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1531.

To the king our sovereign lord;

Most lamentably complaineth their woeful misery, unto your highness, your poor daily beadmen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look; the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm are not half enough to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor beadmen, by the reason that there hath, in the times of your noble predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong, puissant, and counterfeit, holy and idle beggars and vagabonds, who, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and williness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

These are not the herds, but the ravenous wolves going in herds' clothing, devouring the flock: bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners and sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, that (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm? The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese and butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be countable to them of every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as a heretic. Hereto have they their four offering-days. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy-tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses! Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel), by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars, chapels and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money! What a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a year! How much money get the sumners by extortion in a year, by asciting the people to the Commissary's court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money! Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what get they in a year!

Strong,
valiant,
sturdy,
and idle
beggars.
More
than the
third
part of the
realm, in
the spi-
ritual
men's
hands

Here if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches.¹ And this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households. And of every of these households, hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, five-pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, twenty-pence a-year of every house. Summa, five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of angels, that is, 260,000 half angels. Summa, 130,000 angels. Summa totalis, £43,333. 6s. 8d. sterling.² Whereof, not four hundred years passed, they had not one penny.

See
Appendix.

(1) Peradventure the common count of the parishes of England, among men, and in maps of the old time so went. And albeit the said parishes do not amount now, to the same rate of 52,000, yet nevertheless the number, no doubt, is great, and therefore the quarterage of the friars cannot be little, but riseth to a great penny through the realm: wherupon the scope of this man's reason soundeth to good purpose; for although he hit not perfectly on the just sums, yet it cannot be denied, but that the friars had very much, and much more than they deserved. Again, neither can it be denied, but that the more they had, the less redounded to the impotent needy beggars indeed. And what reason is it, that such valiant beggars, who may work, and yet will needs be idle, should reap any piece of the crop, who bear no burden of the harvest, but wiffully do sit idle, and serve to no use necessary in the commonwealth?

(2) Admit the summa totalis came not to so much, yet it came to more than the friars deserved, who could well work, and would not; and would needs beg, and needed not; whereof read before the story of Armachanus.

*Henr^d
VIII.*A. D.
1531.*See
Appendiz.*

An unequal division that the friars should have half with the multitude.

The rule of kings impaired by the pope's clergy.

King John submitted himself unto the pope.

Oh grievous and painful exactions,¹ thus yearly to be paid; from the which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free! And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an heretic. What tyrant ever oppressed the people, like this cruel and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly, of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny, that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should ever have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither into your land to have conquered it, if they had had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home.² The noble king Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to find. The ancient Romans had never been able to have put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed. The Turk now, in your time, should never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm or not: so shall ye find that it draweth far above.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, unto the number of the lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, then are they not the four hundredth person in number. One part, therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed since the world first began?

And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves, with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace! Nothing, but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them! Nothing, but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them; as they did unto your noble predecessor king John; who, because he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French king to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (among whom a clerk called Stephen, whom afterwards, against the king's will, the pope made bishop of Canterbury, was one), interdicted his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas for shame!) hath stand tributary, not unto any kind temporal prince, but unto a cruel devilish blood-supper, dronken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ, ever since.

Here were a holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm and succession, for doing right. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for no other cause, but for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, onless this good and blessed king, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than

(1) 'Oh grievous,' &c. These words, saith Master More, the souls themselves did hear even into purgatory. Belike Master More himself stood behind purgatory-door at the same time; or else how could he tell that the souls did hear him?

(2) He meaneth all this only of idle friars.

the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them.

Oh case most horrible, that ever so noble a king, realm, and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the commonwealth should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers, to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy translated from this good king unto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that licentiousness should reign over all among your subjects, that no man should know his own child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right-begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order.¹ These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do let the increase of the people, whereby all the realm at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and in-habitable.

These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches illected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch a disease of one woman, and bear it unto another, &c. &c. Yea, some one of them shall boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with a hundred women. These be they, that when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands' goods; make the women to run away from their husbands; yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bringing both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea, full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished?

Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons, committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempt from your grace unto them? Yes, truly; what an infinite number of people might have been increased to have peopled the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men?² What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? such truly as was never since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. Who is she that will set her hands to work, to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day for yielding to a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve-pence a day to be at the command of a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests' sovereign ladies, but to cloke the priests' incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves for their labour? How many thousand doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, who should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had there not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man dare take any man or woman into his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

Oh the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the coming in of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft at that time was so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

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Vice increased in England by the pope's clergy.

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Priests and doves make foul houses.

The pope's clergy a shipwreck to all commonwealths.

(1) If this be not true in the whole, I would the greatest part were not such.

(2) The realm of England is diminished and decayed by the number of two hundred thousand persons at least, or else replenished with so many wanton men and women, by restraining of marriage from priests, monks, friars, nuns, colleges, hospitals, beadmen, and such like orders, within the realm of England. The increase of which number might be recovered, and the realm more peopled, and also God's commandments better kept, if these vows of bondage were broken, and matrimony permitted free to all men.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

The cause of so many beggars and thieves.

No law or remedy against the clergy.

All laws and actions captive to them.

Of Richard Hun, read before. See *Addend.*

The statute of mortmain.

Half the profit of the realm in the clergy's hands.

The most good the pope's clergy do in England, is to pray men's souls out of purgatory!

Purgatory denied.

yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? Nay, truly! What remedy?—make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament! Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house¹ for them, against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never so sore) that for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy; yea, they will so handle him or he pass, that except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated; and then be all his actions dashed.

So captive are your laws unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, or the year go out, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it maketh him wish that he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London; how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year in the wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hun commenced an action of præmunire against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof, among which the statute of mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? but what availed it? Hane they not gotten into their hands more lands since, than any duke in England hath, the statute notwithstanding? yea, have they not, for all that, translated into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom thoroughly, only the name remaining to you for your ancestors' sake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I should weigh all things to the uttermost, they would also take the name unto them, and of one kingdom make twain; the spiritual kingdom, as they call it (for they will be named first), and your temporal kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clear out of memory? Truly the kingdom of the blood-suppers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and what is once given them, never cometh from them again. Such laws have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What law can be made so strong against them, which they, either with money, or else with other policy, will not break or set at nought? What kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from it, and receiveth nothing again? Oh how all the substance of your realm (your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people) runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory; without whose prayer, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence: which if it be true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, although it were a hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, who, for the love they have unto the truth and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no purgatory; but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture. They say, also, that if there were a purgatory, and also if the pope with his pardons

(1) The pope's clergy stronger in parliament than princes, as hath appeared by their cruel laws against the poor gospellers.

may for money deliver one soul thence, he may deliver him as well without money: if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand: if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all; and so destroy purgatory: and then he is a cruel tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain, till men will give him money.¹

Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spirituality, that if they will pray for no man but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics; these they burn; these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots: but whether they be heretics or no, well I wot that this purgatory, and the pope's pardons are all the cause of the translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ, for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea he himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death. This is the great scab why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy that they, by their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him.

Here may your grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety, not to give them. For this I am sure, your grace thinketh (as the truth is), 'I am as good a man as my father; why may I not as well give them as much as my father did?'² And of this mind, I am sure are all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England; yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of mortmain was never made with any good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore, if ye will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they ever so strong; for to make a law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Alen³ most presumptuously, now in your time, against all his allegiance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not also Dr. Horsey⁴ and his complices, most heinously (as all the world knoweth) murder in prison that honest merchant Richard Hun, for that he sued your writ of præmunire against a priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts? and what punishment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds (as it is said) to the building of your star-chamber; and when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom, because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times⁵ as much. The other (as it is said) paid six

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Christ submitted himself under temporal government.

The New Testament in the mother tongue.

(1) If the pope may deliver souls out of purgatory for money, he may then as well deliver them without money, if it pleased him. Again, if he deliver one, he can deliver a thousand; if he can deliver a thousand, he can deliver all; and so make a gaol-delivery, and a clean despatch of all purgatory, if he would: and if he will not when he may, then is there no charity in him.

(2) Master More here played the caviller, noting the author of this supplication to desire leave to rail on the whole clergy; as though the hypocrisy of the Friars could not otherwise be disclosed without railing on the whole clergy.

(3) Of Dr. Alen, the cardinal's chancellor, read before.

(4) Of this Dr. Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, read before.

(5) 'Ten times,' that is, ten times as much as he had in benefices before, and not as he paid to the king. And although these murderers of Hun were not recompensed with ten times, or with four times as much (which More denieth), yet can he never be able to deny the substance of the story, that is, that Hun, by these, was brought to his death; and that they, being put to their fines, were afterwards sufficiently recompensed with benefices upon benefices.

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hundred pounds for him and his complices; which, for because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately as he had obtained your most gracious pardon promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of this punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation!

Inconvenient for a spiritual man to be lord chancellor.

And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, who hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest that we, declaring such a horrible carrion of evil against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself.¹

Priests turn the hospitals to their own profit.

But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore beadmen? to make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay, truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereof, for the ancienty of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain of masses said daily for them, whereof they say never a one. If the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few. Wherefore if your grace will build a sure hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all your poor beadmen, so take from them all these things. Set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world, to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God in the 3d of Genesis; to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour.

See Appendix.

What wealth and goodness cometh to the realm by putting out monks,

tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they fall to labour, that they, by their importunate begging, take not away the alms that the good christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadmen. Then shall as well the number of our aforesaid monstrous sort, as of the profligate men and women, thieves, and idle people, decrease: then shall these great yearly exactions cease: then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, be translated from you: then shall you have full obedience of your people: then shall the idle people be set to work: then shall matrimony be much better kept: then shall the generation of your people be increased: then shall your commons increase in riches: then shall the gospel be preached: then shall none beg our alms from us: then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us: then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

The supplication of purgatory, made by sir Tho. More, against the Book of Beggars.

Against this Book of the Beggars, above prefixed, being written in the time of the cardinal, another contrary book or supplication was devised and written shortly upon the same, by one sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, under the name and title of, 'The poor silly souls puling out of Purgatory.' In that book, after the said Master More, the writer thereof, had first divided the whole world into four parts, that is, into heaven, hell, middle earth, and purgatory; then he maketh the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical 'prosopopœia,' to speak out of purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at

(5) More expoundeth this to mean the abuse of the sacrament of the altar.

the author of the *Beggars' Book*; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, a heretic, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if these simple souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat (ye know) is testy, and soon inflameth choler. But yet these purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel doth pronounce them guilty of hell-fire, which say, 'Fatue,' 'Fool! it may be doubted, lest those poor, simple, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man fool so oft as they have done, do bring themselves thereby out of purgatory-fire to the fire of hell, by that just sentence of the gospel; so that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the friars, can release those poor wretches! But yet, forasmuch as I do not, nor cannot think, that those departed souls either would so far overshoot themselves, if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory at all (unless it be in Master More's Utopia),¹ as Master More's poetical vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book, for not keeping 'decorum personæ,' as a perfect poet should have done.² They that give precepts of art, do note this, in all poetical fictions, as a special observation, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree and condition, to speak and utter. Wherefore if it be true which Master More saith, in the sequel of his book, that grace and charity increase in them that lie in the pains of purgatory, then is it not agreeable that such souls, lying so long in purgatory, should so soon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their supplication so fumishly, both against this man, with such opprobrious and unsuiting terms, and also against John Badby, Richard Hovedon, John Goose, lord Cobham, and other martyrs of the Lord, burned for his word; also against Luther, William Tyndale, Richard Hun, and others besides, falsely belying the doctrine by them taught and defended; which it is not like that such charitable souls of purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that case; which indeed, though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the bishop of Rochester defineth the angels to be ministers to purgatory-souls, some will think, peradventure, Master More to have missed some part of his 'decorum,' in making the evil spirit of the author³ and the devil to be messenger, between middle-earth and purgatory, in bringing tidings to the prisoned souls, both of the book, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touching the manner how this devil came into purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing his teeth, in sooth it maketh me to laugh, to see the merry antics of Master More. Belike then this was some merry devil, or else had eaten with his teeth some nasturcium before; who, coming into purgatory, to show the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. "But this was," saith he, "an enmious and an envious laughing, joined with grinning and

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Matt. v.

Master More's antics.

Satan nasturcium.

(1) 'Utopia,' that is to say, 'nusquam,' no place.

(2) A poet, saith Horace, 'reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.'

(3) 'The author,' that is, of the 'Beggars' Supplication.'—Ed.

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A black sanctus in purgatory.

The answer of Frith against More's purgatory.

Provision by the bishops against English books.

See Appendix.

gnashing of teeth." And immediately upon the same, was contrived this scoffing and railing supplication of the puling souls of purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, here was envying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnashing of teeth, puling, scoffing, railing and begging; and all together to make a very black 'sanctus' in purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in hell, where the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil angel of this man that made the Book of Beggars, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, had teeth to gnash, and a mouth to grin? But where then stood Master More, I marvel, all this mean while, to see the devil laugh with his mouth so wide, that the souls of purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike, this was in Utopia, where Master More's purgatory is founded; but because Master More is hence departed, I leave him with his merry antics. And as touching his book of purgatory, which he hath left behind, because John Frith hath learnedly and effectuously overthrown the same, I will therefore refer the reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the history.

After the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of The Beggars' Supplication aforesaid to be strawed abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the said cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons who have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies;" desiring his grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely this Book of the Beggars, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers others; the tenor of which prohibition here followeth

A Prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments translated into English, with divers other Books; the Catalogue whereof hereafter ensueth.¹

Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official, health, grace and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently, with all our power, to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and especially to the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we, having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic

(1) For the Latin of this prohibition see Edition 1563, p. 449.—Ed.

faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people; attempting, by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same, of which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number; which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy; to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine majesty. Wherefore, we Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, who seek the destruction of our flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to our charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

Given under our seal, the four and twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, anno 1526.

The like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the bishop's seal.

The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

The Supplication of Beggars; the Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther; the New Testament of Tyndale; the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; an Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans; a Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son; *Oeconomia Christiana*; *Unio dissidentium*; *Piæ Precautiones*; *Captivitas Babylonica*; *Johannes Hus in Oseam*; *Zuinglius in Catabaptistas*; *De pueris instituendis*; *Brentius de administranda Republica*; *Luther ad Galatas*; *De libertate Christiana*; **De vera obedientia*.* Luther's Exposition upon the Pater Noster.

Besides these books here before-mentioned, within a short time after, there were a great number more of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation, but yet by the bishop's procurement, A. D. 1529: the catalogue whereof, with the names and the authors, is here to be seen.

See Addenda.

Libri Sectæ sive Factionis Lutherianæ importati ad Civitatem London. per fautores ejusdem Sectæ, quorum Nomina et Auctores sequuntur.

Johannis Wycleffi viri piissimi Dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem et ideas tractat: secundus, rerum universarum creationem complectitur: tertius, de virtutibus vitiisque ipsis contrariis copiosissime loquitur:

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- quartus, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Sacramenta, ejus pestiferam dotationem, Antichristi Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocrisim demonstrat.
- De Bonis Operibus doctoris Mart. Lutheri.
- Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X., summum pontificem.
- Tessaradeca Consolatoria pro laborantibus et oneratis Mart. Lutheri.
- Tractatus Lutheri de Libertate Christiana.
- Sermo doctoris Martini Lutheri.
- Enarrationes Martini Lutheri in Epistolas D. Petri.
- Responsio Martini Lutheri, ad librum magistri Bartholomæi Catharini defensoris Silvestri pontificis, cum exposita visione Danielis viii., de Ann. Christi.
- De Operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.
- Deuteronomos Mosis, ex Hebræo castigatus, cum annotationibus Mart. Lutheri.
- Lutheri Catechismus Latina donatus civitate, per Johannem Lonicerum.
- Jonas propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.
- In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas Mart. Lutheri commentarius.
- Martini Lutheri Epistolarum farrago pietatis et eruditionis plena, cum Psalmorum aliquot interpretatione.
- Enarrationes seu Postillæ Martini Lutheri in lectiones quæ ex Evangelicis Historiis, Apostolorum scriptis, aliisque sacræ Scripturæ literis desumptæ per universum annum, tam diebus dominicis, quam divorum memoriæ sacris, super missam faciendam recitantur.
- Conclusiones sedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri, de fide et ceremoniis.
- Ejusdem de Fide et Operibus saluberrima declaratio.
- Ceremoniarum eruditissima resolutio, quid sint et quomodo eis utendum.
- Conclusiones Quinquaginta ejusdem pro timoratis conscientiis.
- Resolutio Lutheriana super propositionem suam 13, De potestate Papæ.
- Didimi Faventini adversus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Luthero theologo oratio.
- Enarrationes novæ Domini M. Lutheri in Jonam Prophetam.
- De Votis Monasticis, Martini Lutheri judicium.
- Enchiridion piarum precepcionum Martini Lutheri.
- Conciunculæ quædam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ Virginis, et aliquot festos dies nuper e populari lingua Latine factæ.
- In Esaiam Prophetam Commentarius Joannis Œcolampadii.
- In Daniele Prophetam Joannis Œcolampadii libri duo.
- Apologetica Johannis Œcolampadii de dignitate Eucharistiæ. Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cœnæ alienum sensum inferent.
- De non habendo pauperum delectu, Johannes Œcolampadius.
- In postremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam, et Malachiam, Commentarius Johannis Œcolampadii.
- Quid de Eucharistia veteres tum Græci, tum Latini senserint dialogus: in quo Epistolæ Philippi Melanthonis et Johannis Œcolampadii insertæ sunt.
- Apologetica Johannis Œcolampadii de dignitate Eucharistiæ.
- Johannes Œcolampadius de genuina verborum Domini, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' significatione.
- In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli adnotationes a Joanne Œcolampadio recognite.
- Acuta exegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharistici negotii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldrico Zuinglio auctore.
- Complanationes Esaiæ Prophete, factura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zuinglium.
- Farrago annotationum in Genesim, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii. Annotatiunculæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Zuinglii, in utramque Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam.
- Ad Philippenses annotatiunculæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii exceptæ.
- Ad illustrissimos Germaniæ principes Augustæ congregatos de convitiis Eechii.
- *Epistola Huldrici Zuinglii contra venerabile Sacramentum Eucharistiæ.*
- In Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii.
- De vera et falsa Religione Huldrici Zuinglii Commentarius.
- Ad illustrissimum Cattorum principem Philippum Sermones de providentia Dei, Huldrico Zuinglio auctore.

Complanationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ, fœtura prima, cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zuinglium.

Ad Theobald. Bellicani et Urbani Regii Epistolæ responsio Huld. Zuinglii.

Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sunt, præceptiones pauculæ, Huldrico Zuinglio auctore.

Annotationes Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani in Epistolas Pauli ad Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses, Thessalonicenses, primam et secundam.

In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani post Samuelem, jam primum emissæ.

Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, et in Samuelem Prophetam, id est, duos libros Regum.

De conjugio Episcoporum et Diaconorum, ad venerandum Doctorem Wolfgangum Reissenbusch, monasterii Lichtenbergensis [præceptorem], per Johannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum.

Explicatio brevis, simplex, et canonica libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris test. Canonici Libri expositi sunt, auctore Conrado Pellicano.

Psalterium Davidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non esse ferendas in templis Christianorum imagines et statuas coli solita, authoribus Ecclesiasticis Argentoraten.

Epistola Martini Bucerii, Evangelistarum enarrationes nuncupata. De hebdomadis quæ apud Daniele sunt opusculum, in quo tractatur de sacrificio missæ abolendo; incerto auctore.

Novæ Doctrinæ ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium, in quo tractat de sacris Ecclesiæ.

Collectanea Communium Troporum sacrosanctæ Scripturæ, Bartholomæo Westhemero collectore.

In Epistolam ad Romanos, Andreæ Knopken Costeriniensis interpretatio, Adjuncta est Epistola a Philippo Melanct.

Loci utriusque Testamenti complectentes præcipua capita totius Christianismi, cum adjunctis scholiis.

Epistola Pauli ad Titum jam recens per Johann. Agricolam scholiis novis illustrata.

De operibus Dei Martino Cellario auctore.

In Hoseam Prophetam quinque sermones Capitonis.

Seditio orationis in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos; Phil. Melanct. Auctore.

Sancti Pauli ad Colossenses Epistola, cum commentariis Phil. Melancthonis.

Nova scholia Philip. Melancthon. in Proverbia Salomonis.

De autoritate, officio et potestate Pastorum Ecclesiasticorum, ex Phil. Melanct. editione.

Philippi Melancthonis Annotationes in Johannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melancthonis in Evangelium Matthæi.

Enarrationes perpetuæ in sacra quatuor Evangelia, per Martinum Bucerum.

In Sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Ephesios, Martinus Bucerus.

In Theophaniam, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocant, Epitomographus ad Hebraicam veritatem versus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Job cum Commentariis Johannis Brentii.

Ecclesiastes Salomonis cum Commentariis Johannis Brentii.

In Divi Joannis Evangelium Johannis Brentii exegeses.

Francisci Lamberti Avinionensis in divi Lucæ Evangelium Commentarii.

Francisci Lamberti Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione et Linguis, deque Litera et Spiritu.

In Regulam Minoritarum, et contra universas perditionis Sectas, Francisci Lamberti commentarii.

Ejusdem libellus de differentia stimuli carnis Sathanæ nuncii, et ustionis.

In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem sensibus altissimis, in quo sublimia sacri conjugii mysteria, quæ in Christo, et Ecclesia sunt, pertractantur, Francisci Lamberti commentarii.

In Amos, Abdiam, et Jonam, Prophetas, Commentarii Francisci Lamberti.

Francisci Lamberti commentarii in IV ultimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Ageum, Zachariam et Malachiam.

Wessellus de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, et de Audienda Missa. Farrago Wesseli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicti, in qua tractatur de providentia Dei, de dignitate et pietate Ecclesiastica, de sacramento Penitentia, et quæ sunt claves Ecclesiæ, et de Purgatorio.

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Wesselli Epistola adversus M. Engelbertum Leidensem, in qua tractatur quid sit tenendum de spirituum et mortuorum apparitionibus, ac de suffragiis et celebrationibus.

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Tractatus Wesselli de oratione et modo orandi.

De Christi Incarnatione, de magnitudine, et amaritudine dominicæ passionis, libri duo, Wessello Groningensi auctore.

In Dei gratiæ et Christianæ Fidei commendationem, contra falsam et Pharisæicam multorum, de justitiis et meritis operum doctrinam et gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Joannis Gocchii, nunquam ante hæc excusa.

Dialogus D. Johannis Gocchii Mechliniensis, de quatuor erroribus circa Evangelicam legem exortis.

Quod non sit onerosa confessio paradox. Johannis Œcolampadii. De cœlibatu monachatu, et viduitate, Domino Andrea Carolostadio Auctore.

Francisci Lamberti commentarii, de causis excecationis multorum seculorum, ac veritate denuo et novissime Dei misericordia revelata, &c.¹

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The New Testament, in the catalogue above recited, began first to be translated by William Tyndale, and so came forth in print about A. D. 1529, wherewith Cutlibert Tonstal, bishop of London, with sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, "My lord! I can do more in this matter, than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold." The bishop, thinking he had God 'by the toe,' said, "Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross." This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. After this, Tyndale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely, I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure:" at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

Augustine Packington, the bishop of London's merchant.

George Constantine.

In short space after, it fortun'd that George Constantine was apprehended by sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies during the time that he was in the custody of Master More. After divers communications, amongst

(1) Ex Regist. Lond. [Good titles are given of many of these works in Autographa Lutheri, &c., Brunsvigæ, 1691, tom. ii. p. 107. See also Le Long's Biblioth. Sacra, vol. ii. The titles distinguished with asterisks are in only the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 450.—Ed.]

other things, Master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will show thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?" "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

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Of this George Constantine, moreover, it is reported by sir Thomas More, that he, being taken and in hold, seemed well contented to renounce his former doctrine; and not only to disclose certain other of his fellows, but also studied and devised, how these books, which he himself, and other of his fellows had brought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, and showed to the aforesaid sir Thomas More, chancellor, the ship-man's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by which the books afterwards were taken and burned. Besides this, he is reported also to have disclosed divers of his companions, of whom some were abjured after, some had abjured before; as Richard Necton, who was committed to Newgate upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else he had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited.¹

Constantine, a discloser of his fellows.

Notwithstanding the same Constantine afterwards, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the seas, and after that, in the time of king Edward, was one of them that troubled the good bishop of St. David's,² who after, in queen Mary's time, was burned. But of Constantine enough.

*Against³ the proceedings of these bishops, in forbidding the Scripture in English, instead of an answer to the same, I have thought meet to adjoin a certain old treatise, found in a certain ancient English book; which, as it may serve well for a confutation of the bishops' doings in this behalf, so have I thought not to defraud the reader of the profit thereof.

A Compendious old Treatise, showing how that we ought to have the Scripture in English.

For to make upon Antichrist, I take figure of king Antioche, of whom God's law speaketh in the book of Machabeus: for right as king Antioche came in the end well nigh of the old law, and brent the books of God's law, and compelled the people to do maumentry; so now Antichrist, the king of the clergy, that liven worse than heathen priests, brenteth now nigh the end of the new law the Evangely of Christ (that is nigh the end of the world), to deceive well nigh all the world, and to prove the servants of God. For now God shall know who will stand by his law, for Sathanas, as prophets say, is now unbound, and hath been four hundred years and more, for to inhabit our clergy, as he did the clergy of the old law: but now with much more malice; for as they damned

(1) See More, in his Preface against Tyndale.

(2) A troubler of Ferrar, bishop of St. David's.

(3) For this passage, and the "Compendious old Treatise," see Edition 1563, pp. 452—455.—Ed.

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Christ, so now our bishops damn and bren Goddes law, for because it is drawn into our mother tongue. But it ought to be (and we saved should be), as we shall prove by open evidence, through God's help.

First, we take witness of Boetius, 'De disciplina Scholarium,' that sayeth that children should be taught in the books of Seneke. And Bede expoundeth this saying and sayeth, that children in virtues should be taught: for the books of Seneke ben morales, and for that they be not taught thus in their youth, they continue still evil-mannered, and be unable to conceive the subtle science of truth, saying 'that a wise man is as a clean mirror new polished.' 'Wisdom shall not enter into a wicked soul.' And much is hereof the sentence of Bede. And Algasel in his Logic sayeth, 'The soul of man is a clean mirror new polished, in which is seen lightlye the image of virtue.' And for that the people have not cunning in youth, they have darke souls and blind with ignorance, so that they profit not in virtue, but in falseness and malice and other vices; and much is thereof the matter.

Sithen heathen philosophers wolden the people to profit in natural science, how much more should christian clerks will the people to profit in science of virtues: for so wold God. For when the law was given to Moses in the mount of Sinai, God gave it to his people in their mother-tongue of Hebrew, that all the people should understand it; and commanded Moses to read it to them until they understood it: and so he did, as it is plain.¹ And Esdras also read it in their mother-tongue, from morrow until noon, as it is plain.² And he read it apertly in the street, and the ears of the people were intently given thereto, insomuch that the people fell into great weeping for the mis-keeping of the law.

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Also God's law saith,³ that fathers should make the law known to their sons, and that the sons that should be born of them, should rise and teach these things to their sons. And the holy apostle St. Peter⁴ speaketh after this manner, saying: 'Whosoever speake, speak he as the word of God: and every man as he hath taken grace of knowing, so minister he forth to other men.' It is written plainly in the book of Numbers:⁵ when the prophet Moses had chosen seventy eldersmen, and the Spirit of God rested on them, and they prophesied, two men besides them, Eldad and Medad, prophesied in the tents, and Joshua the minister of Moses said to Moses, 'Forbid thou them.' And Moses said, 'What enviest thou for me? who shall let, that all the people prophesy, if God give them his Spirit?'

Also it is read in the gospel, that St. John Evangelist said unto Christ, 'Lord, we shall forbid one that casteth out spirits in thy name, which followeth not us?' And Christ said, 'Do not forbid, for whoso is not against us, is with us.' And unto the same agreeth well the prophecy of Joel, which St. Peter, preaching to the Jews, strongly alleged, as Luke reciteth in the Acts of the Apostles,⁶ saying after this manner: 'That God now, in the last days, shall shed out his Spirit upon all flesh. For God saith, Your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions.' And upon Whitsunday God gave knowledge of his law to divers nations, without any exceptions, in their mother tongue, by the understanding of one tongue.

And of this it is notable, sithen the lay people in the old law had their law in their mother tongue, that the lay English people in the new law have it, as all other nations have; since Christ bought us, as he did other, and hath given to us the same grace as to other. For St. Peter was reproved, for he had baptized Cornelius and his fellows that were heathen men; and Peter answered and said, 'If God have given the same grace to them, that he hath to us, who am I, that I may forbid God?'⁷ As who sayeth, 'It lieth not in the power of men.'

Then, who art thou that forbiddest the people to have God's law in their mother tongue? We say that thou art Antichrist himself. For Paul saith, 'I will every man to speak with tongues, but more, forsooth, to prophesy.'⁸ Also he saith, 'How shall he say Amen upon thy blessing, who wotteth not what thou sayest?' Upon this saith Dr. Lyre: 'If the people understand the prayer of the priest, it shall the better be led unto God, and the more devoutly answer, Amen.' Also Paul saith, 'I will rather five words to be

(1) Deut. xxxi.

(2) 1 Esdras viii.

(3) Deut. xxxii.

(4) 1 Pet. iv.

(5) Numb xi

(6) Acts ii.

(7) Ibid. xi.

(8) 1 Cor. xiv.

spoken to the understanding of men, than ten thousand that they understand not.¹

And seventy doctors with other mo, before the incarnation of Christ, translated the Bible out of Ebrew into Greek; and after the Ascension many translated all the Bible in divers languages, as into Spanish tongue, French tongue, Almany and Italy; and by many years have had it.

It was hard of a worthy man of Almany (that the same time was a Fleming), whose name was James Merland, which translated all the Bible into Flemish, for which deed he was summoned before the pope of great malice, and the book was taken to examination: and truly he approved it. And then it was delivered unto him again, unto confusion of all his enemies.

Worshipful Bede, in his first book, called 'De gestis Anglorum,'² telleth that St. Oswald, the king of Northumberland, asked of the Scots an holy bishop Aidan to preach to his people, and the king himself interpreted it in English to the people. Sithen this blessed deed of this king is allowed of all holy church, why not now ought it as well to be allowed a man to read the gospel in English to the people, sithen that St. Paul saith, 'If our gospel be hid, it is hid in them that shall be damned.' And he saith also, 'He that knoweth not, shall not be known of God.' And therefore Venerabilis Bede, led by the Spirit of God, translated a great part of the Bible into English, whose originals bene in many abbeys of England.

And Cisterciensis³ saith, that the Evangely of John was drawn into English by the foresaid Bede, which Evangely of John, and other gospels, bene yet in many places of so old English, that skant can any English man read them. For this Bede reigned A.D. 732. Also Cisterciensis⁴ saith, that king Alred ordained open schools of divers arts in Oxford, and he turned the best laws into his mother tongue, and the Psalter also. He reigned A.D. 873.

And St. Thomas saith, 'Super Librum Politicorum,' expounding this word 'barbarous,' that "barbarous is he that understandeth not that he readeth in his mother tongue. Wherefore the apostle saith, 'If I know not the virtue of the voice to whom I speak, I shall be to him barbarous;' that is to say, he understandeth not what I say, nor I what he sayeth. And so, altho priests that understand not what they readyn by their mother tongue be called barbarous; and therefore Bede did draw into English liberal arts, lest English men should become barbarous."—Hec Thomas.

Also Lincoln⁵ sayeth, in a Sermon that beginneth 'Scriptum est de Levitis,' "If any priest say he cannot preach, one remedy is, resign he up his benefice. Another remedy, if he will not thus, record he in the week the naked text of the Sunday gospel, that he have the gross story, and tell it to the people; that is if he understand Latin: and do he this every week in the year, he shall profit much. For thus preached our Lord, saying, 'The words that I speak to you be spirit and life.'⁶ If he do not understand Latin, go he to one of his neighbours that understandeth, which will charitably expound it to him; and thus edify he his flock."

Upon this argueth a great clerk, and sayeth, 'If it be lawful to preach the naked text to the people, it is also leful to write and read it to them.' Also sir William Thorisby, archbishop of York, did do draw a treatise in English by a worshipful clerk, whose name was Gatricks, in the which were contained the Articles of Belief, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Works of Mercy, the X Commandments; and sent them in small pagines to the common people to learn it, and to know it; of which yet many a copy be in England.

Also Richard, the heremite of Hampole, drew into English the Psalter, with a gloss, and the 'Lessons of Dirige,' and many other treatises, by the which many English men have been greatly edified. 'And they bene cursed of God, that woulde let the people to be lewder than they bene: but many men now be like unto the friends of Job, that whiles they enforced to defend God, they offended him grievously. And though such as be slain do miracles, nevertheless they bene stinking martyrs.' This sayeth Richard the hermite, expounding this verse, 'Ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque.' And Christ sayeth, that men should deme them self to do great pleasant service to God in killing of his

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Bede translated the Bible.

He meaneth by like Thomas a Becket.

(1) 1 Cor. xiv.

(4) Lib. vi. cap. 1.

(2) Lib. iii. cap. iii.—Ed.

(5) Bishop Grosthead.—Ed.

(3) Lib. v. cap. 24.

(6) John vi.

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people: 'Arbitretur se obsequium præstare Deo,' &c. Also a man of London, whose name was Wyring, had a Bible in English of Northern speech, which was seen of many men, and it seemed to be two hundred years old.

Also it is known to many men, in the time of king Richard II. that into a parliament there was put a Bible, by the assent of ii archbishops and of the clergy, to adnule the Bible that time translated into English, with other English books of the exposition of the gospel, which when it was heard and seen of lords and of the commons, the duke of Lancaster, John, answered thereto right sharply, saying this sentence, 'We will not be refuse of all other nations: for sithen they have God's law, which is the law of our belief, in their own language, we will have ours in English, whosoever say nay!' And this he affirmed with a great oath.

Also Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, said in a sermon at Westminster, at the burying of queen Anne, that it was more joy of her, than of any woman that ever he knew; for she, an alien born, had in English all the iiiii gospels, with the doctors upon them. And he said, that she had sent them to him to examine, and he said, that they were good and true. And he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men; insomuch that he said that he would leave up the office of chancellor, and forsake worldly business, and give him to fulfil his pastoral office, for that he had seen and read in the books. And after this promise, he became the most cruel enemy that might be against English books. And therefore, as many men saine, God smote him with a cruel death, as he did also Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln.

And yet our bishops bene so indurate, and so far strayed from God, that they had no grace one to beware of another, but proudly, against all reasons and evidence of God's laws and doctors' sentences, they bren Goddes word; the which hath brought this realm to undoing for ever, but if God's grace be the more. For this cruel deed is cause of pestilence, hungers, wars, and that also this realm shall be conquered in short time; as St. Edward, the king and confessor, prophesieth in his book that beginneth thus, 'Sanctus Edwardus rex vidit spiritualibus oculis.' And therefore it were good to the king, and to other lords, to make some remedy against this constitution of Antichrist, that saith it is unlawful to us English men to have in English God's law; and therefore he brenneth and slayeth them that maintain this good deed: and that is for default that the king and lords knowen not ne will not know their own office, in maintenance of God and his law. For as St. Austen saith, the king with his knights representen the godhead of Christ, and priests the manhood of Christ: 'Rex est vicarius divinitatis, et sacerdos est vicarius Christi humanitatis.'¹ And if the king desire to know perfectly his office, he may find men to show to him books that truly and perfectly shall inform him to do his office to the pleasance of God. But this can he not learn of bishops, for they inform him after Antichrist's law and ordinance; for his laws now reignen. Yet against them that saine the gospel in English would make men to err, wot they well that we find in Latin language more heretics, than of all other languages, for the decree sayeth [xxiv. xciii.]² 'Quidam autem heretici,' that there be founden sixty Latin heretics. And if men should hate any language for heresy, then must they hate Latin. But God forbid that any language should be hated for heresy, sithen many heretics were of the disciples of the apostles; for St. John sayeth, 'They have gone out from us, but they were not of us;' and Paul sayeth, 'It behoveth heresies to be:' and Antichrist maketh many more heretics than there should be, for he stoppeth so the knowing of Goddes law, and punisheth so them that he knoweth that have it, that they dare not commen thereof openly, to have true information; and this maketh lay men, that desiren and loven to know God's law, to go together in privy, and conceive by their own wits many times heresies; the which heresies in short time should be destroyed, if men might have free commening openly: and but if this may be had, much of the people shall die in heresy. For it lieth never in Antichrist's power to destroy all English books; for as fast as he brenneth, other men shall draw. And thus the cause of heresy, and of the people that dieth in heresy, is the frowardness of bishops, that will not suffer men to have open commening and free in the law

The king
is the
vicar of
Christ.

(1) Hæc Augustinus in 'de questionibus veteris et novæ legis.' Cap. 91.

(2) Decreti Pars II. causa xxiv. cap. 39: "xciii." in the text is a mistake.—Ed.

of God : and therefore they be countable of as many souls as dien in this default ; and are traitors to God in stopping of his law, that which was made in salvation of the people. And now they turu his law by their cruel constitutions into damnation of the people, as it shall be proved upon them at the day of doom. For God's law sayeth, ' Stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt, et qui abstulerunt labores eorum,' &c. For that the other men labouren, they brennen ; and if our clergy would study well this lesson of Sapience to the end, they should now read therein their own damnation, unless they amend this default, with other defaults.

Saith not the holy man Ardemakan in the book of Questions, that the worshipful sacrament of the altar may be made in each common language ? For he sayth, ' so diden the apostles.' But we covet not this, but that Antichrist give us leave to have the law of our belief in English ; also they that have commoned much with the Jews, say that they have in every land that they be born in the Bible in their mother tongue, that is, Ebrew ; and they be more practised therein than any men, ye, as well the leude men, as the priests. But it is read in their synagogues amonges the people of their priests, to fulfil their priests' office, and to the edification of the poverty, that for worldly business and sloth may not study it.

* Also the four evangelists wrote the gospel in divers languages, as Matthew in Jury, Mark in Italy, Luke in Achaie, and John in Asie. And all these wrote in the languages of the same countries. Also Toby sayeth, that God dispersed, spread, or scattered abroad the Jews among the heathen people, that they telling unto them the marvels of God, they should know that there were no other God but God of Israel.¹ And God ordained his people to believe his law, written among them in their mother tongue ; ut patet in Genesis xvii., and Exodus xiii. : insomuch the book of Judith is written in Chaldee speech, ut patet per Hieronymum in prologo ejusdem. Also the books of Daniel and of Esdras bene written in Chaldee, ut patet per Hieronymum in prologis Eorundem. Also the book of Joel is in Arabic and Syre speech, ut patet per Hieronymum in prologo ejusdem. Also Ezekiel the prophet prophesied in Babylon, and left his prophecy under the mother-tongue of Babylon, ut patet per Hieronymum in prologo ejusdem. Also the prophecy of Isaye is translated into the tongue of Ethiope, as Hierome concludeth in primo prologo Genes.

Then sythen the dark prophecies were translated amonges the heathen people, that they might have knowledge of God and of the incarnation of Christ, much more it ought to be translated to English people that have received the faith, and bounden themself to keep it upon pain of damnation ; sythen Christ commanded his apostles to preach his gospel unto all the world, and excepted no people nor language. Also Origen translated the Bible out of Ebrew into Greek with help of other A.D. 234. Also Aquila translated it in the time of Adrian the emperor, A.D. 124. Also Theodotion translated it in the time of the emperor Commode, fifty-four years after Aquila. Also Simacus translated it in the time of the emperor Severus, thirty years after Theodosius. Eight years after Simacus it was translated, the author unknown, in the time of Alexander the emperor.

Argumentum doctum et irrefragabile.

And Jerome translated it into Latin ; ut in Chronicis Cestercien. lib. ii. cap. 32 ; and after that Jerome had translated it into Latin, he translated for two women much of the Bible. And to the maidens Eustochia and Paula he translated the books of Joshua, of Judges, and Ruth, and Esther, and Ecclesiastes, Jercmy, Isay, and Daniel, and the twelve prophets, and the seven canonic Epistles, ut patet in prologo eorundem. And so all men may see here by Jerome, that it was never his intent to bind the law of God under his translation of Latin ; but by his own deed giveth leave to translate it into every speech. For Jerome writeth, in his 78th Epistle, to the lady Læta ; that she should inform her daughter in the books of the Old Law and the New. Also in his 75th Epistle he writeth to the virgin Demetrias, that she should, for to increase herself in virtue, to read now upon one book, and now upon another ; and he specifeth unto her, that she also read the Gospel, and the Epistles of the Apostles.

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And thus the English men desire to have the law of God in English, sythen it is called ' the law undefiled, converting souls into clennes ;² but Antichrist sayeth,

(1) Tobit xiii.

(2) ' Lex Domini immaculata, convertens animas.'

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that it is corrupt with the literal letter that slayeth souls; taking his authority of Paul, that sayeth, 'littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat:' That is, the letter of the ceremonies of the old law slayeth the Jews, and them that now usen them; but the spirit of the new law quickeneth true christen men, sithen Christ sayeth, 'My words bene spirit and life.' Also we take ensample of holy virgins to love to read the gospel as they dyden; as Catherine, Cecyle, Lucy, Agnes, Margaret, which alleged the holy gospel to the infidels, that slew them for the keeping thereof.

Of these forsaid authorities it is proved lawfull, that both men and women lawfully may read and write God's law in their mother-tongue, and they that forfenden this, they shew themselves heirs and sons of the first tormentors, and worse; for they shewen themselves the very disciples of Antichrist, which hath and shall pass all the malice of tyrants that have been before, in stopping and perverting of God's law; which deed engendereth great vengeance to fall in this realm, but if it be amended. For Paul saith,¹ 'The wrath of God is shewed from heaven upon cruelty and unrighteousness of those men that withhold the truth of God in unrightwiseness.'

Now God of his mercy give unto our king and to our lords grace of true understanding to amend this default principally, and all other; then shall we mowe easily to be amended. For until it be amended, there shall never be rest and peace in this realm.

Who that findeth or readeth this letter, put it forth in examination and suffer it not to be hid or destroyed, but multiplied; for no man knoweth what profit may come thereof. For he that compiled it, purposeth, with God's help, to maintain it unto the death, if need be. And therefore, all christen men and women! pray that the word of God may be unbound, and delivered from the power of Antichrist, and runne among his people. Amen.*

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Mention has been made, how the bishops had procured of the king a proclamation to be set forth A. D. 1529, for the abolishing of divers books aforesaid, and also for the withstanding of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome. Upon this proclamation ensued great persecution and trouble against the poor innocent flock of Christ, as here following you may see, with the said proclamation also prefixed before the same, the tenor whereof is this.

A Proclamation for the resisting and withstanding of most damnable Heresies, sown within this Realm by the Disciples of Luther, and other Heretics, perverters of Christ's Religion.²

The king our sovereign lord, of his most virtuous and gracious disposition, considering that this noble realm of England hath of long time continued in the true catholic faith of Christ's religion, and that his noble progenitors, kings of this his said realm, have before this time made and enacted many devout laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the said faith against the malicious and wicked sects of heretics and Lollards, who, by perversion of holy Scripture, do induce erroneous opinions, sow sedition amongst christian people, and finally disturb the peace and tranquillity of christian realms, as lately happened in some parts of Germany, where, by the procurement and sedition of Martin Luther, and other heretics, were slain an infinite number of Christian people: considering also, that as well by the corruption and malice of indiscreet preachers, fautors of the said erroneous sects, as by certain heretical and blasphemous books lately made, and privily sent into this realm, by the disciples, fautors and adherents of the said Martin Luther, and other heretics, the king's subjects are like to be corrupted, unless his highness (as the Defender of the Faith) do put to his most gracious help and authority royal, to the due and speedy reformation thereof: his highness therefore, like a most gracious prince, of his blessed and virtuous disposition, for the incomparable zeal which he hath to Christ's religion and faith, and for the singular

(1) 'Revelatur enim ira Dei super omnem impietatem et injustitiam hominum eorum qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinent.' Rom. i.

(2) This proclamation was made throughout all England, A. D. 1529, and the twenty-first year of king Henry VIII.

love and affection that he beareth to all his good subjects of this his realm, and especially to the salvation of their souls, according to his office and duty in that behalf, willetth and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble realm may be preserved from the said pestiferous, cursed, and seditious errors. And forasmuch as his highness is credibly informed, that some of the said errors be already sown and spread within this his realm, partly by the corruption of indiscreet preachers, partly by erroneous books, compiled, printed and written, as well in the English tongue, as in Latin and other languages, replete with most venomous heresies, blasphemies, and slanders, intolerable to the clean ears of any good christian man: his highness therefore, like a most gracious and christian prince, only intending the safeguard of this his realm, the preservation of his subjects, and the salvation of their souls, willetth now to put in execution, with all diligence possible, all good laws, statutes and ordinances, concerning the premises before this time provided, made, and ordained by his most noble progenitors, kings of England, for that purpose and intent: which laws and statutes by our sovereign lord and his most honourable council, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, suppressing and withstanding of the said heresies, have been seen, examined, and by them in every part thought good and necessary to be put in execution.

Wherefore his highness chargeth and straitly commandeth all and every his lords spiritual and temporal, judges, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other his officers, ministers, and all his true and loving subjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they, effectually, with all diligence and study, endeavour themselves substantially for the executing of all and every of the articles hereafter ensuing, without dissimulation, intermission, or excuse, as they will avoid his high indignation and displeasure.

First, that no man within the king's realm, or other his dominions subject to his highness, hereafter presume to preach, teach, or inform any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any book, or hold, exercise, or keep any assemblies or schools, in any manner of wise, contrary to the catholic faith, or determination of holy church; and that no person, within this his said realm and dominions, do presume to preach openly or secretly, without they have first obtained license of the bishop of the diocese where they intend to preach: curates in their parishes, persons privileged, and others, by the law of the church only excepted.

Also that no man wittingly hereafter favour, support, or maintain any person, who preacheth in form aforesaid, or maketh any such or like conventicles and assemblies; holdeth or exerciseth any schools; maketh, writeth, or publisheth any such book; teacheth, informeth, or stirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of form to the said errors. Moreover, that all and every person and persons, having any books or writings of any such errors, erroneous doctrine and opinion, do deliver or cause to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every such books and writings, to the bishop of the diocese, or to the ordinary of the place, within fifteen days after this proclamation pronounced. And in case any person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this act and proclamation, or do not deliver or cause to be delivered such books, within the time aforesaid, that every bishop in his diocese, or ordinary, shall cause that person or persons, and every of them in that behalf defamed or evidently suspected, to be arrested, and shall detain and keep them under safe custody in their prisons, until such time that the said persons, and every of them, either have purged themselves of the said errors, or else do abjure the said erroneous sects, preachings, doctrines, or opinions; as the law of holy church doth require.

Penalty.

Furthermore, if any person by the law of holy church be convicted before the bishop of the diocese, or his commissary, in any case above expressed, that the said bishop may keep in prison the said person or persons so convicted, as it shall seem best to his discretion, after the grievousness or quality of the crime: and further, may set a fine to be paid to the behoof of the king, by the person or persons convicted, as it shall be thought convenient to the said bishop, having respect to the grievousness of the offence of the said person or persons: the said fine to be certified by the bishop into the king's exchequer, there to be levied to the king's use, except in such cases in which, by the laws of holy church, the said persons convicted of heresies ought totally to be left to the secular jurisdiction.

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to be pre-
sent at
the sen-
tence.

Also if any person within this his realm of England, or other his dominions, be, by sentence judicial, convicted of the said preaching and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions, schools, and informations, or any of them, and before the bishop or his commissary do abjure, according to the form of the laws of holy church, the aforesaid erroneous sects, doctrines, schools, or informations; or else be pronounced, by the bishops or their commissaries after their abjuration by them before made, to be relapsed, so that, after the laws of holy church, they ought to be relinquished to the jurisdiction secular (wherein faith is to be given to the bishop or his commissaries in that behalf): then the sheriff of the county, mayor, sheriffs, or mayor and bailiffs of the same city, town, or borough, next unto the said bishop or commissaries, shall be personally present at the sentence-giving, by the said bishop or commissaries thereunto required, and after the said sentence given, shall receive the said persons, and every of them, and put them to further execution, according to the laws of this realm.

Also the chancellor, treasurer of England, the justice of the one bench and the other; justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of cities and towns, and other officers, having governance of the people which now be, or for the time hereafter shall be, shall make oath in taking their charge and ministration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within the precincts of their offices and administrations, from time to time, with all their power.

Also they shall assist the bishops and their commissaries, and shall favour and maintain them as oftentimes as so to do, they or any of them shall be required by the said bishops or their commissaries; so that the bishops or their commissaries shall bear and pay the reasonable costs of the said officers and ministers, when, and as often as, they shall travel or ride to arrest heretics and Lollards, or to assist the said bishops or commissaries, by virtue of the king's laws and statutes.

Inquisi-
tion at
sessions.

Moreover, the justices of the king's bench, justices of peace, and justices of assize, shall inquire, at their sessions and sittings, of all those that hold any errors or heresies; and who be their maintainers, recepters, favourers, and supporters, common writers of books; as also of their sermons, schools, conventicles, congregations, and confederacies.

Furthermore, if any person be indicted of any of the points above said, the justices of the peace have power to award against them a 'capias,' and the sheriffs be bound to arrest such persons so indicted, so soon as they may be found by themselves, or by their officers. And forasmuch as cognisance of heresies, errors, and Lollardies, appertaineth to the judge of holy church, and not to the judge secular, the persons so indicted are to be delivered to the bishops of the places, or their commissaries, by indenture between them to be made within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it can be done; thereof to be acquitted or convicted by the laws of holy church, in case that those persons be not indicted of other things, whereof the knowledge appeareth to the judges and officers secular: in which case, after they be acquitted and delivered before the justice secular of those things pertaining to the judge secular, that they be conveyed in safeguard to ordinaries or their commissaries, and to them to be delivered by indentures (as is above said), there to be acquitted or convicted of the said heresies, errors, and Lollardies, (as is above said), after the laws of holy church; provided that the indictments be not taken in evidence, but for an information afore the judges spiritual, against such indict; but that the ordinaries commence their process against those indicts, in the same manner as if no indictment had been, having no regard to such indictments.

Moreover, that no manner of person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, do from henceforth presume to bring into this realm, or do sell, receive, take, or detain, any book or work, printed or written, which is made, or hereafter shall be made against the faith catholic, or against the holy decrees, laws, and ordinances of holy church, or in reproach, rebuke, or slander of the king, his honourable council, or his lords spiritual or temporal. And in case they have any such book or work, they shall, incontinent upon the having of them, bring the said book or work to the bishop of the diocese, without concealment or fraud: or if they know any person having any of the said books, they shall detect them to the said bishop, all favour or affection laid

apart, and that they fail not thus to do, as they will avoid the king's high indignation and displeasure.

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See Appendix.

The books which in this proclamation generally are restrained and forbidden, be afterwards in the register more especially named by the bishops; whereof the most part were in Latin, as are above recited, and some were in English, as these and others, partly also above expressed.

A Disputation between the Father and the Son; a Book of the old God and new; Godly Prayers; the Christian state of Matrimony; the burying of the Mass; the Sum of the Scripture; Mattens and Even-song, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations, in English; an Exposition upon the seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the chapters of Moses called Genesis; the chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomy; the Matrimony of Tyndale; David's Psalter in English; the Practice of Prelates; Hortulus animæ, in English; A. B. C. against the Clergy; the Examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Although these books, with all other of the like sort, by virtue of this proclamation were inhibited to all Englishmen to use or to read; yet license was granted before to sir Thomas More, by Tonstal, bishop of London, A. D. 1528, that he, notwithstanding, might have and peruse them; with a letter¹ also sent to him from the said bishop, or rather by the advice of other bishops, desiring him, that he would show his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a Demosthenes, in expugning the doctrine of these books and opinions: who, albeit he was no great divine, yet because he saw some towardness in him by his book of Utopia, and other fine poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpose, to withstand the proceedings of the gospel, either in making some appearance of reason against it, or at least to outface it, and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to serve the bishop's turn, so far forth as all his rhetoric could reach; filling up with fineness of wit, and seoffing terms, where true knowledge and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings against Bilney, Tyndale, Frith, Fish, Barnes, Luther, &c., may soon be discerned, if the reasons, and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchstone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our story again.

Master More, the bishop's agent, in confuting the Lutherans.

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamation aforesaid, thus devised and set out in the king's name, A. D. 1529, the bishops, who were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have; neither did there lack on their part any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same: whereupon ensued a grievous persecution, and slaughter of the faithful; of whom the first that went to rack was Thomas Bilney, of whom sufficiently afore hath been said; and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the story shall shortly follow.

* The² Copy of a Letter sent by Bishop Nixe, of Norwich, which was taken out of the Letter subscribed with his own Hand.

Master doctor, as I have written to you before in Master Pellis's absence, I give you full power to exercise, in the consistory and elsewhere, all such juris-

(1) For this Letter see page 697.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, page [printed] 467.—Ed

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diction as I should do if I were myself there. And as touching Master Nicholas Shaxton, there was with me yesternight the prior of Penteney and the prior of Westacre, and they both showed unto me, that he made a very good sermon at Westacre upon St. Thomas's day, and that there was no heresy in it. And so I think he did. They two priors have promised me to be at Norwich upon Monday, next coming. The prior of Westacre went home to examine his brother better; and that done, to certify you thereof upon Monday. When they come, you may use them as you think best, and let the prior of Westacre swear upon a book before you, whether he knoweth the man that spake and said, in St. Thomas's chapel at Westacre, that images were but stocks and not to be worshipped, and whether he hath made any inquisition for him: and also whether Master Shaxton hath taught to any of his brethren any erroneous opinion or not. Ralph Cantrel was lately at Cambridge, whom I commanded not only to inquire of Master Vice-chancellor, but of others, of the demeanour of Master Shaxton; and he is very sore suspected of many men. And upon Ash Wednesday last past he made a sermon, 'ad clerum,' wherein Master Vice-chancellor took him in two points. The first was, 'Quod malum et periculosum est, publice asserere aut prædicare purgatorium non esse; credere tamen purgatorium non esse, nullo pacto esse damnabile.' The second was, 'Impossibile est hominem continere aut castum esse, etsi seipsum jejunio maceret, orationibus incumbat, ac a consortio visu et cogitatione se abstineat et cohibeat, nisi Deus det.' And another saying he had which was not in his sermon, which was this, 'Quod in quotidiana missæ celebratione preces assiduas Deo obtulit, ut celibatus a clero penitus tolleretur, et matrimonium sive conjugium eidem concedatur et permittatur.' The which points he stood in stedfastly, insomuch that Master Vice-chancellor, with the assistance of Master Doctor Wilson and Edmonds, had much ado to bring him to forsake them, the which at their persuasions [he did], but with great difficulty, and to avoid open abjuration; and, upon consideration hereof, Master Vice-chancellor devised and drew an oath for him specially, the which not only he, but all other that this year do proceed in holy divinity, did openly and solemnly swear; the which oath ensueth as followeth in this letter: 'You shall swear by the holy contents of this book, that thou shalt not keep, hold, maintain, and defend at any time during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of Wickliff, Huss, Luther, or any other condemned of heresy; and that ye shall keep, hold, maintain, and defend, generally and specially, all such articles and points as the catholic church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or maintaineth at this time; and that ye shall allow and accept, maintain and defend, for your power, all traditions, institutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable customs of the church, as the said church of Rome taketh them, alloweth them, and approveth them; and that you shall namely and especially hold, as the said catholic church holdeth, in all these articles, wherein lately hath been controversy, dissension, and error; as, 'De fide et operibus, de gratia et libero arbitrio, de peccato in bono opere, de sacrificio Novi Testamenti, de sacerdotio novæ legis, de communionem sub utraque specie, de baptismo et libertate Christiana, de votis monasticis, de jejunio et delectu ciborum, de celibatu sacerdotum, de ecclesia, de libris canonicis, de non expressis in scripturis firmiter tenendis, de conciliorum generalium indiviabilitate in fide et moribus, de potestate ecclesiæ ad condendas leges, de sacramentis ecclesiasticis et eorum efficaciam, de potestate excommunicandi collata ecclesiæ, de hereticis puniendis, de sacrificio missæ, de purgatorio, de veneratione sanctorum eiusque orandis, de imaginibus sanctorum venerandis, de peregrinationibus, de præceptis et consiliis evangelicis.' And likewise of all other articles wherein controversy or dissension hath been in the church before this day. If he will not abjure for buying of the books, keeping and conveying of them into my diocese, I shall keep him till I have asked further counsel. And therefore speak to Richard Hill, that he keep him surely, and as a prisoner, for surely he shall abjure, or he depart from me. And thus fare ye well.

At Hexne, the 16th day of June, 1531.*

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Following the order of years and of times, as the course of our history requireth, next after the consummation of Thomas Bilney, we have

to treat of the martyrdom of Richard Bayfield, who, in the month of November, the same year, which was A. D. 1531, was burned in Smithfield.

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This Richard Bayfield, sometime a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barnes, and two godly men of London, brickmakers, Master Maxwell and Master Stacy, wardens of their company, who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year, of their own cost, went about to visit the brethren and sistern scattered abroad. Dr. Barnes, at that time, much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Dr. Ruffam; who had been at Louvaine together students. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the monk was chamberlain of the house, to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained; who delighted much in Dr. Barnes' talk, and in the other lay-men's talk, afore rehearsed; and at last, Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with a book called 'The Wicked Mammon,' and 'The Obedience of a Christian Man;' wherein he prospered so mightily in two years' space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there sore whipped, with a gag in his mouth, and then stocked; and so continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Dr. Barnes could get him out; which he brought to pass by means of Dr. Ruffam aforesaid, and so he was committed to Dr. Barnes, to go to Cambridge with him. By the time he had been there a good while, he tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned home again to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the sea; Dr. Barnes being then in the Fleet for God's word. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith; for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works, and the works of the Germans, both in France and in England; and at last, coming to London, to Master Smith's house, in Bucklersbury, there was he bewrayed, and dogged from that house to his bookbinder's in Mark-lane, and there taken, and carried to Lollards' tower, and from thence to the coal-house; by reason that one parson Patmore, parson of Much Haddam in Essex, then lying in Lollards' tower, was, in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ, there confirmed by him. This parson Patmore, after long trouble, was abjured and condemned by the bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterwards by the king's pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurers, &c. He was taken, because he married his priest in those days. He had always corn in plenty, and when the markets were very dear, he would send plenty of his corn thither, to pluck down the prices thereof.

Maxwell and Stacy, Londoners. See *Appendr.*

Bayfield, monk, and chamberlain of the abbey of Bury.

Whipped and imprisoned amongst the friars

A maintainer of Tyndale and Frith.

Parson Patmore died in Lollards' tower.

Thus Richard Bayfield, being in the coal-house, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollers' tower; for there he was fied both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse others who had bought his books. He accused none, however, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, unto the very end, and was, in the consistory of Paul's,

Cruel handling of Bayfield in the coal-house.

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thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would dispute for his faith, and so did to their great shame; Stokesley then being his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

See Appendix.

The articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the aforesaid bishops, A. D. 1531, Nov. 10, were these.

Articles laid to Richard Bayfield.

See Addenda.

I. That he had been many years a monk professed, of the order of St. Benet, of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich.

II. That he was a priest, and had ministered, and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

III. That since the feast of Easter last, he, being beyond the sea, brought and procured to have divers and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of divers other of his damnable sect, and of Ceolampadius the great heretic, and divers other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

IV. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.

V. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for license; as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said bishop.

VI. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and did renounce and forswear them, and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

VII. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the said bishop.

VIII. After his abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's at Billingsgate,¹ and to bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

IX. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit, requisite and meet for his order and profession, as shortly as he might; and that he should come or go no where without such a habit: which he had not fulfilled.

X. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that, sometime before the feast of the Ascension then next ensuing his abjuration, he should go home unto the monastery of Bury, and there remain, according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

XI. That he was appointed by the said bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, the 25th of April next after his abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance; and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

XII. That the 20th day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said bishop Toustal, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's place, and there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him a habit convenient for his order and profession, within eight days then next following; which he had not done.

XIII. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London; and no more come within it, without the special license of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled.

The Answer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles prefixed.

To the first article he confessed, that he was professed a monk in the monas-

(1) So in the original editions.—Ed.

A rank heresy in the pope's church, to give all laud and praise to God alone.

tery aforesaid, A. D. 1514. To the second article he answered, that he was a priest, and took orders, A. D. 1518. To the third article he confessed the bill and schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought over the said books and works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort.

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Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the realm; he answered, 'To the intent that the gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm amongst christian people;' and that he had sold and dispersed many of those books before named, to sundry persons within this realm, and to divers of the diocese of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther was condemned as a heretic by the pope? he answered, that he heard say, that Martin Luther with all his sect and adherents, were, and are, condemned as heretics by the pope. And being demanded, whether Zuinglius was of Luther's sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether Zuinglius was a Catholic? he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the books contained in the schedules did contain any errors in them? he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, that the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that *(Ecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretics; also that such as lean to Martin Luther be heretics. Also he confessed, that being beyond the sea, he heard say, before he brought into this realm the books contained in the said bills, that the king had by proclamation prohibited, that no man should bring into this realm any of Martin Luther's books or of his sect: which confession thus ended, the bishop appointed him to appear the next day.*

Saturday being the 11th of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers that he had made in the session the day before. This thing done, the official objected the fourth article unto him: whereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there be any heresies in them; for he had read no heresies in them. And being demanded whether he had read any of those books? he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there; but not throughout. He was demanded, whether he believed the aforesaid books to be good, and of the true faith? He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true faith. Being inquired, what books he read in the realm? he said, that he had read the New Testament in Latin, and other books mentioned in the bills; but he said, that he read none translated: notwithstanding he did confess that he had read a book called Thorp's, in the presence and audience of others, and also a book of John Frith's purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a book called, 'The practice of Prelates;' and also said, that he had read a book called, 'The Parable of the wicked Mammon,' but in the presence and hearing of others whom he knew not. Also he confessed that he had read 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' and the 'Sum of Scripture' among company, and also, 'The Dialogue betwixt the Ploughman and the Gentleman,' among company, as he thought; also he had read a piece of the answer of Tyndale made to sir Thomas More; likewise he had read the Dialogue of Frith, to himself: he had read also the prologues of the five books of Moses, contained in the long schedule, and in company, as he thought.

See Appendix.

Certain old books.

All these books he had read in manner aforesaid within these two years last past, and as for the New Testament in English, he read it before he had read these books specified in the schedule before rehearsed.

To the third article, as touching Zuinglius and others, he supposed that they held the same doctrine that Luther did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The 16th day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the bishop; who inquired of him, of what sect Zuinglius was. He said, he thought that he held with Luther in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought books of the sorts abovenamed into this realm, about Midsummer was a twelvemonth, and landed them at Colchester; and afterwards brought part of them to this city; and some he dispersed and sold in this city. The second time that he brought books was about All-Hallowtide was a twelvemonth, and that he landed them at St. Catharine's,

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which books the lord chancellor took from him. Also that at Easter last was the third time that he brought over the books now showed unto him, and contained in these two bills, and landed with them in Norfolk, and from thence brought them to the city of London in a mail.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoined him as is contained in the article; which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoined him that he should go to the abbey of Bury, and there continue; which, he said, he did three times; but he did not wear his monk's cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, That he did not wear his monk's habit according to the abjuration, he referred himself to the acts, whether he were so enjoined or no.

To the thirteenth article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no license of the bishop of London to come to the city or diocese of London, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Registro Lond.

The Sentence given against Richard Bayfield in a case of Relapse.

In the name of God, Amen. We John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, first begun before Master Richard Foxford, doctor of both laws, our official, now depending before us undecided, against thee Richard Bayfield, priest and monk, professed to the order and rule of St. Benedict, in the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich, and by means of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the cause of this inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us the said bishop, reserving unto ourselves that which by law ought to be reserved; have thought good to proceed in this manner, to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain errors and heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then thy ordinary, according to the form and order of the church: and that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as a heretic by the authority of pope Leo X., of most happy memory, and by the authority of the apostolic see, and the books and all writings, schedules, and sermons of the said Master Luther, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected; and inhibition made, by the authority of the said see, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any means do defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, as is contained more at large in the Apostolic Letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument; whereunto and to the contents thereof we refer ourselves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the premises, and yet these things notwithstanding, after thy abjuration made (as is aforesaid), thou hast brought in, divers and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and complices, and of other heretics, the names, titles and authors of which books here follow, and are these, Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the private Mass; the Declarations of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vowers; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; Johannes Ecolampadius, upon the

See
Addenda.

A catalogue of the books brought in by Richard Bayfield.

exposition of these words, 'Hoc est corpus meum;' the Annotations of Ecolampadius upon the Epistle of St. Paul unto the Romans; Ecolampadius's Commentary upon the three last Prophets, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi; the Sermons of Ecolampadius upon the Catholic Epistles of John; a Book of Annotations upon Genesis, gathered by Huldricus Zuinglius; the Commentaries of Pomeran, upon four Chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; Annotations of Pomeran upon Deuteronomy and Samuel; Pomeran upon the Psalms; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert of Avignon, upon the Gospel of St. Luke; a Congest of all matters of Divinity, by Francis Lambert; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophet Joel; also the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophets Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Hosea; a new Gloss of Philip Melancthon upon the Proverbs of Solomon; the Commentaries of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians; the Annotations of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians; Solomon's Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew, by Philip Melancthon; Most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of St. Mark, by Christopher Hegendorphinus; the Commentaries of John Brentius upon Job; the Commentary of John Brentius upon the Ecclesiastes of Solomon; Homilies of Brentius upon the Gospel of St. John; the Annotations of Andrew Althomarus and Brentius upon the Epistle of St. James; the Commentaries of Bucer upon Zephaniah; Bucer upon the four Evangelists; the Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Huss; a Brief Commendatory of Martin Luther, unto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the Life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of John Huss; Felinus upon the Psalter; his Exposition upon Isaiah; his Expositions upon Jeremiah; Capito upon Hosea; Capito upon Habakkuk; Unio dissidentium; the Pandect of Otho; the Catalogue of famous Men; an Answer of Tyndale unto Sir Thomas More; a Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith in English; a Prologue to the fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy; the first Book of Moses, called Genesis; a Prologue to the third Book of Moses, called Leviticus; a Prologue to the fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers; a Prologue to the second Book of Moses, called Exodus; the Practice of Prelates; the New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans; the Parable of the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; A. B. C. of Thorpe's; the Sum of Scripture; the Primer in English; the Psalter in English; a Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Ploughman.

Of all which kind of books, both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other heretics condemned, forasmuch as thou hast brought over from the parties beyond the sea a great number into this realm of England, and especially to our city and diocese of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over; also hast kept by thee, and studied those books, and hast published and read them unto divers men, and many of those books also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther and other heretics his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true faith; saying thus, 'That they are good, and of the true faith;' and by this means and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions: Therefore we John, the bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes;¹ by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee, the aforesaid Richard Bayfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving and dispersing the books and writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as of other heretics before named: and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be and have been a heretic; and that thou, by the pretence of the premises, art fallen again most

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The
Primer
and Psal-
ter in
English
forbid-
den.

(1) If Christ were before your eyes, ye would not condemn this good man for these good books.

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damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a relapsed heretic, and hast incurred, and oughtest to incur, the pain and punishment of a relapse: and we so decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto; and that by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even by the law incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication: and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive thee of all ecclesiastical office and benefice: also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth:

The Sentence of Degradation against blessed Bayfield, with the proceedings thereon.

'In the name of God, Amen. We John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege, out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment, to be done upon thee and against thee, in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness; but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics, unto the unity of the catholic faith. This our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid.'

'And they shall cast you out of their synagogue for my name's sake.'

A. D. 1531.

On Monday the 20th of November, 1531, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, before the said John, bishop of London, judicially sitting, being assisted by John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; and Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church, in London; these honourable lords being also present: Henry, earl of Essex; Richard Gray, brother to the marquis of Somerset; John Lambert, mayor of London; Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam, sheriffs (which mayor and sheriffs were required to be there present by the bishop of London's letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a statute of king Henry IV.,¹ king of England); also in the presence of divers canons, the chancellor, official, and the archdeacon of London, with the bishops' chaplains, and a great number both of the clergy and laity; Matthew Grefton, the registrar, being also there present: Master Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the apparitor, his keeper, in whose presence the transcript of the apostolic bull of pope Leo X., upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his adherents, was brought forth and showed, sealed with the seal of Thomas Wolsey, late legate de Latere, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master Robert Tunnes, public notary; and also the decree upon the condemnation of certain books brought in by him, sealed with the seals of the archbishop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three notaries.

See Appendix.

Bayfield again brought before the bishop.

Then the bishop of London repeated in effect before him his abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done, beside his abjuration: and the said Bayfield said, that he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him; and desired that the heresies contained in the books which he brought over, might be declared in open audience. Then the bishop, after certain talk had with the said Bayfield, as touching the desert of his cause, asked him whether he could show any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those books for lack of money, and not to sow any heresies. And incontinent the said Bayfield, with a vehement spirit (as it appeared) said unto the bishop of London, 'The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be heretics; and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is, may not be known;' and said, that their living is against Christ's gospel, and that their belief was never taken from Christ's church. Then the said bishop, after long

The saying of Bayfield to the bishop of London.

(1) Of this statute read before.

deliberation had, forasmuch as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could show no cause why he should not be declared a relapse, read the decree and sentence against him; by which, amongst other things, he condemned him as a heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into heresy; and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

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The aforesaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the ecclesiastical court: whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the bishop's letters, by the statute of king Henry IV., in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the bishop's seal. The tenor of which letters hereafter follow.

The Letters of Requiry, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, that they should be present that day, when the sentence should be given, to receive the Heretic (as they called him) that was condemned.

John, by the permission of God bishop of London, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable lord mayor of the city of London, and the sheriffs of the same, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we have already, by our vicar general, proceeded in a certain cause of heresy, and relapse into the same, against one Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and intend upon Monday next, being the 20th day of this present month of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power: we require you, the lord mayor and sheriffs aforesaid, the king's majesty's vicegerents, even in the bowels of Jesu Christ, that according to the form and effect of the statute of our most noble and famous prince in Christ our Lord the lord Henry IV., by the grace of God late king of England, you will be personally present in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, with your favourable aid and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our officers; and to do further, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute, as far as shall be required of you, according to the canonical sanctions, and the laudable custom of the famous kingdom of England, in this behalf accustomed. In witness whereof we have set our seal unto this present.

Dated the 19th day of November, anno 1531, and in the first year of our consecration.

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On Monday the 20th day of November in the year aforesaid, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, the bishop of London calling unto him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church of the city of London; Master John Cox, auditor and vicar general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Baghe, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Incent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of both laws, in the presence of us Matthew Grefton, registrar; Anthony Hussie, Richard Martine, and Thomas Shadwell, public notaries and scribes appointed in this behalf; briefly rehearsed the answers of the same Bayfield in effect, and his abjuration, and other his demerits by him done besides his abjuration: which religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men abovesaid, thought it good, and agreed, that the said bishop should proceed against him in this case of relapse, and should pronounce, and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid.

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Bayfield given to the secular power. Degraded and thrown down with the bishop's staff.

See Appendix

And so he was delivered to the sheriffs to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into Paul's upper choir, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London with the residue, till they had done with him; and by and by the sheriffs were commanded to have him into the vestry, and then to bring him forth again in Antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When the bishop had degraded him, kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier-staff, and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he swooned; and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ, militant here in earth. "And I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever." And so was he led forth through the choir to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was iii quarters of an hour alive. And when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not after his death to rave in his ashes, to pry and spy out what sparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to rase out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof he hath found out two things to lay against him: the one is, that this Bayfield went about to assure himself of two wives at once, one in Brabant, another in England: the second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his pardon, he was content to forswear his doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof, although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Master More thus said of him; a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair roses and sweet virtue; in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his fantasy, but all is as black as pitch, vice, abomination, heresy, and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as also of other moe, I will defer the defence of them to a several apology by itself, hereafter (God willing) to be adjoined.

Master More a partial Judge in matters of heresy.

John Tewkesbury, Leatherseller, of London, Martyr.¹

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tyndale's Testament, and the 'Wicked Mammon.' He had the Bible written. In all points of religion he openly did dispute in the bishop's chapel in his palace. In the doctrine of justification and all other articles

(1) In Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. pt. i. p. 116, Oxford, 1822, mention is made of 'John Tewkesbury, haberdasher, dwelling nigh to St. Martin's gate.' The name occurs in an account of a 'Persecution in the diocese of London for religion.' It is remarkable as proving this; that however these melancholy histories have accumulated under the hands of Foxe the martyrologis, more lengthened details might have been given out of his own MSS.: as appears by the following observation of Strype:—"Some of which visitation I shall now give, having the original papers thereof [MSS. Foxiana] before me; and the rather, because John Foxe, in his Martyrology, hath omitted it, and hath recorded little more than the names of them that were persecuted; and these extant in the first edition only." The table of the names of these persons will be found in page 585. — Ed.

of his faith he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort that Tonstal, and all his learned men, were ashamed that a leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him.

This¹ disputation continued a sevendnight; and then he was sent from the Lollards' tower to my lord chancellor's, called sir Thomas More, to Chelsea, with all his articles; to see whether he could turn him, and that he might accuse other; and there he lay in the porter's lodge, hand, foot, and head in the stocks, six days without release: then was he carried to Jesu's tree, in his privy garden, where he was whipped, and also twisted in his brows with small ropes, that the blood started out of his eyes; and yet would not accuse no man. Then was he let loose in the house for a day, and his friends thought to have him at liberty the next day. After this, he was sent to be racked in the Tower, till he was almost lame, and there promised to recant at Paul's Cross, and thither was brought with a faggot on his shoulder, and after that let go home to his house, and was bound in recognizance with his sureties for his forthcoming; and he had scarce a month been at home but he bewailed his fact and his abjuration, and was never quiet in mind and conscience, as is hereafter expressed.²

The process of his examinations, articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the bishop's register extracted.

The Examination of John Tewkesbury, before Tonstal, bishop of London.

On Wednesday, the 21st day of April, A. D. 1529, John Tewkesbury was brought into the consistory at London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, and his assistances, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster; unto whom the bishop of London declared, that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church: who made answer that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And at last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said book called the 'Wicked Mammon,' he answered thus: 'Take ye the book and read it over, and I think in my conscience, ye shall find no fault in it.' And being asked by the said bishop, whether he did rather give credit to his book, or to the gospel, he answered that the gospel is, and ever hath been, true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this article, 'That the Jews of good intent and zeal slew Christ,' he answered, 'Look ye the book through, before and after, as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it, than ye make of it;' and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the book, meaning The Wicked Mammon, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

Also being further asked by the said bishop of London, whether he would stand to the contents of his book, he answered, 'Look ye the book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it.' Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing, he answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher or lower in heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven, he answered and said, that it was plain enough. These things being done, the bishop said further to John Tewkesbury thus: 'I tell thee, before God and those who are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the articles

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See Appendix.

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Merits by working.

(1) See edition 1563, page 456.—Ed.

(2) See the Appendix.

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The
bishop's
judgment
and the
judg-
ment of
Tewkes-
bury of
the book
of The
Wicked
Mam-
mon.

above named, and many others contained in the same book, are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church: how thinkest thou? And further, the said bishop of London said unto him again, 'I tell thee, before God and those who are here present,' &c.; and so asked him again, what he thought of those articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law. These things so done, the bishop asked John Tewkesbury again, whether the said book, called The Wicked Mammon, were good?

To this interrogatory he answereth, that he thinketh in his conscience there is nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article objected, that is, that faith only justifieth without works, he answereth, that it is well said. Whereunto the bishop inferred again, that the articles before objected, with divers others contained in the book called The Wicked Mammon, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reprov'd and condemned by the church: and, before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often, and very gently, exhorted the said John Tewkesbury, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him a heretic; which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should choose what spiritual or temporal man he would, to be his counsellor; and gave him time, as before, to deliberate with himself until the next sitting.

Another
examina-
tion of
Tewkes-
bury.

Also in the same month of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tonsal, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas of Ely, John of Lincoln, and John of Bath and Wells, &c., this John Tewkesbury was brought before them. After certain articles being repeated unto him, the bishop of London brought before him a certain book, called The Wicked Mammon, asking him whether the book was of the same impression and making as were his books that he had sold to others? who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the bishop of London asked him again, whether the book contained the same error or no? who answered again saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the others is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament he knoweth the faults of his soul. Furthermore, he was examined upon certain points and articles, extracted out of the said book of The Wicked Mammon, as followeth:

Articles extracted out of the Book of 'The Wicked Mammon.'

Anti-
christ no
outward
thing, but
a spiritual
thing.

First, That Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him; but Antichrist is a spiritual thing.—Whereunto he answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it.

Again, it was demanded of him touching the article, whether faith only justifieth a man?—To this he said, that if he should look to deserve heaven by works, he should do wickedly; for works follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all, with the merits of his passion.

That the devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law.—To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

No man
justified
by merits

That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God.—To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

The law
requireth
things
impos-
sible.

That the law of God requireth of us things impossible.—To that he answered, that the law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.

No law to
the just
man.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law put to him, that believeth and is justified through faith.—To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

'All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof.'—To that he answered, 'It is truth.'

'Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven.'—To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.

'Peter and Paul and saints that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive.'—To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

'Ains deserve no reward of God.'—To that he answered, that the text of the book is true.

'The devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer.'—To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

'We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation and the wrath of God upon us, yea where we were damned before we were born, we cannot love God, and cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and unjust; and flee from him, as did Cain.'—To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

'We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, and a serpent is a serpent by nature.'—To that he answered, that it is true, as it is in the book.

Item, As concerning the article of fasting.—To that he answered and said, 'The book declareth itself.'

'Every one man is a lord of whatsoever another man hath.'¹—To that he answered; 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.'

'Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another.'—To that he answered and said, 'It is plain enough of itself.'

'As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God.'—To that he answered, saying, 'It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God, it is all one.'

That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death.² To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plain enough.

'The sects of St. Francis, and St. Dominic, and others, be damnable.'—To that he answered and said, 'St. Paul repugneth against them.'

These articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them?³ who answered thus: 'I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the book is good enough.'

Further, the bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To this the said John Tewkesbury answered as is above written; to wit, 'I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough.' This thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Galfride Warton, Rowland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of divinity.

On the 13th day of April, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the chapel within the palace of London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, with his assistances, Nicholas, bishop of Ely, &c., Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the articles drawn out of the book called 'The Wicked Mammon,' as followeth:

Another Examination of John Tewkesbury, on Articles drawn out of 'The Wicked Mammon.'

First, 'Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, that neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved, except Christ be saved with thee.'—To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, 'We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our

(1) He meaneth, by communication, not by vindication: and yet this point seemeth to be falsely gathered.

(2) For if they had known the Lord of glory, they would not have crucified him.

(3) Lo, here is no Scripture brought to repel these opinions, but only authority to repress them.

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neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that he trust not in his holiness.'—To this he answered, 'Take ye it as ye will; I will take it well enough.'

Item, 'Now seest thou what alms meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother what he owed him; the same is blind, and seeth not Christ's blood.' Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the book, but that all the book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his conscience.

Item, 'That ye do nothing to please God, but what he commanded.'—To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his troth.

Item, 'So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances: and to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry.'—To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to recant his errors abovesaid; and after some other communication had by the bishop with him, the said bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next session what he would do.

Tewkes-
bury sub-
mitteth
himself.

In the next session he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as followeth: which was the eighth of May.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in Paul's church, in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at Paul's cross with the same.

That the Wednesday following, he should carry the same faggot about Newgate Market and Cheapside.

That on Friday after, he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter's church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.

That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered, one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

That on Whitsunday-eve he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and there abide; and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special license of the bishop or his successors.

This penance he entered into the eighth day of May, A. D. 1529. And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same John Tewkesbury, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield aforesaid, who was burned in Smithfield, did return, and constantly abide in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same; who, recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected against him, the chief whereof we intend briefly to recite; for the matter is prolix.

Tewkes-
bury re-
turned
again to
the truth.

Additional Articles objected against John Tewkesbury.

Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration oath and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

Thirdly, That he had the books of the Obedience of a Christian Man, and of The Wicked Mammon, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he suffered the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

Fifthly, He saith, *that* faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem: 'Salve regina advocata nostra,' &c.; to which he answered, that he knew none other advocate but Christ alone.

Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

Eighthly, He affirmeth, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, He affirmeth, that a priest, by receiving of orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased; or else not.

Tenthly, and last of all, he believeth that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Hereupon the bishop's chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could show any cause why he should not be taken for a heretic, falling into his heresy again, and receive the punishment of a heretic. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again.

Then the chaneellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; which the said Tewkesbury confessed; and thereupon the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him unto the sheriffs of London for the time being, who were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's-eve, being the 20th of December, in the year aforesaid; the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

The Sentence against John Tewkesbury.

In the name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee John Tewkesbury, of the parish of St. Michael's in the Quern, of the city of London, and of our jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard seen and understand, and fully discussed by us John, by the sufferance of God bishop of London; because we do find by inquisitions, manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, thy ordinary, divers and sundry heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the aforesaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable heresies, opinions, and errors (which is greatly to be lamented), and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore, John the bishop aforesaid, the name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes; and with the counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final decree, in this behalf to be done), do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the aforesaid John Tewkesbury of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration; and moreover, before and after the aforesaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be a heretic fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen heretics: we do pronounce, determine, declare, and condemn thee, of the premises, to have incurred the danger of the great excommunication; and do pronounce thee to be excommunicated; and also do declare thee, the said

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our pur-
gatory

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Tewkesbury, so damnably fallen again into heresy, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy canons have decreed): and here we do leave thee to the aforesaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution as in this behalf is to be done against thee may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigour¹ be used, but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror, fear, and rooting out of heretics, and their conversion to the catholic faith and unity, by this our final decree which we declare in these our writings.

Death
and martyrdom
of J.
Tewkes-
bury.
See
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This aforesaid sentence definitive against John Tewkesbury was read and pronounced by the bishop of London, the 16th day of the month of December, in the year aforesaid, in the house of sir Thomas More, high chancellor of England, in the parish of Chelsea. After this sentence, the sheriffs received the aforesaid Tewkesbury into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterwards burned him in Smithfield, as is aforesaid; having no writ of the king for their warrant.

John Randall.

*Now² also it cometh unto my remembrance to speak of another, one John Randall my kinsman, who, through the privy malice of divers, had not a far unlike tragedical end and death as Richard Hun, before mentioned, had.

This John Randall being a young scholar in Christ's college, in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1531, had one Wyer to his tutor, unto whom, for the love of the Scriptures and sincere religion, he began not only to be suspect but also to be hated. And as this was unknown unto any man, so is it also uncertain, whether he were afterward hanged up by him or no; because as yet it is not come to light. But the matter happened in this sort: the young man being studious and scarcely twenty-one years old, was long lacking among his companions; at the last, after four days, through the stench of the corpse, his study door being broken open, he was found hanged with his own girdle within the study, in such sort and manner that he had his face looking upon the Bible, and his finger pointing to a place of Scripture, whereas predestination was intreated of. Surely this matter lacked no singular and exquisite policy and craft of some old naughty and wicked man, whatsoever he was that did the deed, that it should seem the poor young man through fear of predestination to be driven to despair; and that other young men being feared through that example should be kept back from the study of the Scriptures as a thing most perilous. And albeit this brief history do not pertain to these times, yet I thought it by no means to be omitted, both for the profitable memory of the thing, as also for the similitude of the story that it seemeth not to be so fit in another place.*

The Story of the Apprehension of one Edward Freese, a Painter.

Edward Freese was born in York, and was apprentice to a painter in the same city; and by the reason of working for his master in Bearsy abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the abbot of the

(1) In words they pretend moderation, but their doings be clean contrary.
(2) See Edition 1563, page 420. See also note in the Appendix.—ED.

same house; for he was a boy of a pregnant wit, and the abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his master, and would have made him a monk. And the lad not liking that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out, because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to Colchester, in Essex, and remaining there according to his former vocation was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn, in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market-place; and in the upper border of the cloths, he wrote certain sentences of the Scripture; and by that he was plainly known to be one of them that they call heretics.

And on a time, he being at his work in the same inn, they of the town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he, having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the yard of the same inn; and after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife; Wylie, and his wife and son; and father Bate, of Rowshedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of sawdust, or at least a great part thereof; and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come at them. After the painter had been there a long space, by much suit he was removed to Lollard's Tower. His wife, in the time of the suit, while he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then great with child, the porter lifted up his foot and struck her on the body, that at length she died of the same; but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let loose in their prisons again. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some had other irons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, "Doctor Dodipall would make me believe the moon were made of green-cheese." And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists so long that the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By the means of his manacles he could not kemb his head, and he remained so long manacled, that his hair was felted together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after a long suit he was brought out into the consistory at Paul's, and (as his brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man; and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing but "My Lord is a good man." And thus, when they had spilte his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to Bearsy abbey; but he came away from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

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The cause of the taking Freese.

A cruel fact of bishop's porter.

Cruelty showed to the painter.

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God's
good pro-
vidence

A crafty
letter of a
wicked
officer.

Roy
burned in
Portugal.
See
Appendix.

The
bishops
com-
manded
by the
king to
set forth
a new
transla-
tion of
the New
Testa-
ment.

The
transla-
tion in-
hibited
by the
bishops.

Also the wife of the said father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress, and at the last she delivered one into his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go to Chancery-lane, to one whose name (as is thought) was Master Selyard: and at last she gat a letter of the said Selyard to the bishop; and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked officers in those days were very crafty and desirous of blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed; for it was after this manner:—After commendations had, &c., “Look, what you can gather against father Bate, send me word by your trusty friend, sir William Saxie, that I may certify the king’s majesty,” &c. Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband’s life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him; for he gat out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old registers and otherwise, friar Roy was burned in Portugal, but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies which he left here in England.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the clergy made to the king, the Translation of the New Testament with a great number of other books were forbidden. For the bishops coming into the Star Chamber the 25th day of May, and communing with the king’s council, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the translations of Tyndale and Joye were not truly translated; and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops: wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tyndale’s translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tyndale’s translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul’s Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

* Upon this or some such like occasion, as it appeareth, Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, granted license unto sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of England, to read and retain by him all such books as contained Luther’s heresy (as they called it), the tenor of which license here ensueth.¹

¹) This observation, with the letter of bishop Tonstal, alluded to at page 679, is from the Edition of 1563, pp. 491, 492.—Ed.

A Letter of Bishop Tonal, sent to Sir Thomas More.

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Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto the noble and singular man sir Thomas More, his dear beloved brother and friend, health in the Lord, and benediction.

Forsomuch as now of late, since the church of God through Germany hath been infected with heretics, there have been found many children of iniquity which have gone about to bring in the old and damnable heresy of Wickliff and Luther, translating them into our English tongue, and causing the books to be imprinted [and] brought in great number into this realm, which they have with all their endeavour gone about to infect with their pestilent doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith; wherefore it is greatly to be feared, lest the catholic truth be wholly brought in danger, except that good and learned men do stoutly withstand the malice of these wicked persons, which can by no other means be more aptly or better brought about than if the truth, being set out in the universal tongue, impugning these wicked doctrines, be also imprinted and put forth; whereby it shall come to pass, that such as are ignorant of the Scriptures, and have read these new heretical books, and now also shall read these catholic books confuting the same, shall either by themselves be able to discern the truth by themselves, or else the better to be admonished or taught by other who have quicker judgment.

And forasmuch as you, dearly beloved brother! can play the Demosthenes both in this our English tongue, and also in the Latin, and have always accustomed to be an earnest defender of the truth in all assaults, you can never bestow your spare hours better (if ye can steal any from your weighty affairs), than to set forth something in our tongue, to declare unto the rude and simple people the crafty malice of the heretics, and to make us the more prompt against these wicked suppliants of the church. You have herein before you a worthy example to follow of our most noble king Henry VIII.; which with all his power hath defended the sacraments of the church against Luther, which went about to subvert the same, and therefore hath eternally deserved the immortal name of the Defender of the Church.

And lest ye should strive and contend after the manner of the Andabatae,¹ you cannot tell against what, I send unto you here their fond tryffles in our own tongue, and therewithal also certain books of Luther out of the which these monstrous opinions have come forth. Which being diligently read over by you, ye shall the easier understand in what starting holes these winding serpents do hide themselves, and through what straits they will seek to slip away, when they are taken. For it is greatly available unto victory to know the counsels of the enemies, and to understand certainly what they mean, or whereunto they tend; for if you shall go about to root out that which these men shall say they never thought, it were but labour lost. Therefore boldly go through, and set upon this holy work, whereby ye shall profit the church of God, and get yourself an immortal name and eternal glory in heaven. Which thing that you will do, and help the church with your defence, we earnestly desire you in the Lord; and to this end we grant you license to have and read the same books.*

*See
Appendix.***James Bainham, Lawyer, and Martyr.**

James Bainham, gentleman, son to one Master Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, being virtuously brought up by his parents in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the law, being a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless and afflicted, without money or reward; briefly, a singular example to all lawyers.

(1) These 'Andabatae' are certain men that fought blindfold.

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This Master Bainham, as is above noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid, for which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and arrested with a serjeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued gently in free prison awhile, till the time that sir Thomas More saw he could not prevail in perverting of him to his sect. Then he cast him in prison in his own house, and whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of Troth, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked: and so he was, sir Thomas More being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would not show where his books lay: and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscate.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the 15th day of December, A. D. 1531, in the said town of Chelsea, and there examined upon these articles and interrogatories ensuing.

Interrogatories ministered to James Bainham.

I. Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed?—Whereunto he made answer as followeth: 'If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.'

II. Whether that the saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us?—To this he answered on this wise: 'My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but also for the sins of the whole world.' And further, upon occasion of these words, 'Let all the saints of God pray for us;' being demanded what he meant by these words, 'All the saints,' he answered, that he meant by them, those that were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, and not those that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole church is gathered together, they used to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: 'and I pray,' said he, 'as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour: Father, take this cup from me if it be possible; yet thy will be fulfilled.'

Souls departed.

III. He was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or no?—To this he answered and said, that he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and that herein he would commit himself to the church.

Confession and remission of sin.

IV. It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest?—Hereunto his answer was this: that it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another: as for any other confession he knew none. And further he said, that if he came to a sermon, or anywhere else, where the word of God is preached, and there took repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.

V. That he should say and affirm, that the truth of holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not these eight hundred years, neither was known before now.—To this he said, that he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these six years.

VI. He was demanded further, for what cause holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before?—Hereunto he answered, To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer. And he said, moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the church did believe; and then if the church erred, men should err too. Howbeit the church of Christ, said he, cannot err: and that there were two churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of Antichrist; and that this church of Antichrist may and doth err; but the church of Christ doth not.

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The truth of the Scripture long hid.

VII. Whether he knew any person that lived in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time?—He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

VIII. He was asked what he thought of purgatory and of vows?—He answered, if any such thing had been moved to St. Paul of purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Crome lied, and spoke against his conscience; and that there were a hundred more who thought the same as he did: saying moreover, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, God wot, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

Purgatory.

Crome be-like was now slipt from that he had before taught.

And as concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed,¹ for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, is given of God by his abundant grace, which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore, a monk, friar, or nun, that hath vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise that they made at baptism. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of baptism.

Vows.

IX. He was demanded, whether Luther, being a friar, and taking a nun out of religion, and afterwards marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein?—He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no? he made answer he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of anointing, being willed to say his mind, he answered and said, 'It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better, for such anointing and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers, he saw, were said thereat.'

Extreme unction.

Likewise touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these: 'That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved; that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: that is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by grace and faith, saith St. Paul, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God.'

The Sacrament of baptism.

He was asked moreover of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace; being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away?—His answer was, that matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by which men may take to them women, and not sin.

Matrimony.

Lastly, for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church, at Paul's Cross; but, for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbid it. Confessing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books; the Wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Christian Man, the Practice of Prelates, the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue,

Books forbidden.

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the Book of Frith against Purgatory; the Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk: adding furthermore, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it utterly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tyndale was a naughty fellow.

Also to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination, as is said, was the 15th of December. The next day following, namely the 16th of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the bishop of London, in the aforesaid place of sir Thomas More at Chelsea; where, after the guise and form of their proceedings, first his former articles with his answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. This done, they asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the catholic church, from whence he was fallen, and to which he might be yet received, as they said: adding, moreover, many fair, enticing, and alluring words, that he should reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his mother was open for him: otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy. Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was there ready to be read, &c.

Bainham submit-
teth him-
self.

To conclude long matter in few words, Bainham wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the adversaries, gave answer unto them, that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance.

Then the bishop, requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no.¹ To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the bishop, whether there was any purgatory, he answered and said, he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life. Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth:

That he could not judge whether Bayfield died in the true faith of Christ or no: that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin: that a priest, promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife: that he thinketh the apostles to be in heaven: that Luther did naught, in marrying a nun: that a child is the better for confirmation: that it is an offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king: and he said, that he pondered those points more now than he did before, &c.

Upon these answers, the bishop, thinking to keep him in safe custody to further trial, committed him to one of the compters.

Bainham again brought before the bishop's chancellor.

Time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, A. D. 1532, the aforesaid James Bainham was called for again to the bishop's consistory, before his vicar-general and other his assistants; to whom Foxford, the bishop's chancellor, recited again his articles and answers above mentioned; protesting, that he intended not to receive him to the

unity of the holy mother church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the catholic faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the church. To whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, that he hath and doth believe the holy church, and holdeth the faith of the holy mother, the catholic church.

Hereunto the chancellor, offering to him a bill of his abjuration, conceived after the form of the pope's church, required him to read it; who was contented, and read to the clause of the abjuration, containing these words: "I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my heresies, utterly abjure," &c. And there he stayed and would read no further, saying, that he knew not the articles contained in his abjuration to be heresy, therefore he could not see why he should refuse them. This done, the chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence, "the doctrine and determination of the church," &c. and there paused, saying, he would reserve the rest till he saw his time: whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a purgatory; that the souls of the apostles were in heaven, &c. Then began he again to read the sentence, but Bainham again desired him to be good unto him; whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said that he would accept this his confession for that time, as sufficient.

So Bainham, for that present, was returned to his prison again; who then, the fifth day after, which was the 8th of February, appeared, as before, in the consistory; whom the aforesaid chancellor, repeating again his articles and answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself. He answered, that he would submit himself, and as a good christian man should. Again, the chancellor the second time asked if he would abjure. "I will," said he, "forsake all my articles, and will meddle no more with them;" and so being commanded to lay his hands upon the book, he read his abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burst out into these words, saying, that because there were many words in the said abjuration, which he thought obscure and difficile, he protested that by his oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath. This done, the chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, for fear, lest any man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Then the chancellor, taking the definitive sentence in his hand, disposing himself (as appeared) to read the same, "Well, Master Bainham," said he, "take your oath, and kiss the book; or else I will do mine office against you:" and so immediately he took the book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

This done, the chancellor, receiving the abjuration at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, the next Sunday; and so to return with the sumner to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination: and so, the seventeenth day of February, he was released and dismissed home; where he had scarce continued a

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Bainham again brought to the consistory, is loth to abjure.

Bainham enjoined penance, and dismissed from prison.

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Repentance of Bainham after his fall.

Again apprehended.

month, but he bewailed his fact and abjuration ; and was never quiet in mind and conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before the congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow-lane. And immediately, the next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian Man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God ; and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did : " for," said he, " if I should not return again unto the truth (having the New Testament in his hand), this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did : for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel, for all the world's good. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others ; so that shortly after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

THE PROCESS AGAINST JAMES BAINHAM IN CASE OF RELAPSE.¹

The 19th day of April, 1532, Master Richard Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and Matthew Grefton the registrar, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the Tower ; before whom the vicar-general rehearsed the articles contained in his abjuration before made, and showed him a bound book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, that it was good. Then he showed him more of a certain letter sent unto the bishop of London, which also he acknowledged to be his ; objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the abjuration which he had before recited : showing him moreover certain letters which he had written unto his brother, which he confessed to be his own writing ; saying moreover, that though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naught, if it be as my lord chancellor saith. Then the vicar-general asked of Bainham, how he understood this which followeth, which was in his letters : " Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man ; yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And Bainham said it was naught. These things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words : that he had as lief pray to Joan his wife, as to our lady. The which article Bainham denied. The said Bainham, amongst other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, said, " Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, but received by faith." Further it was objected against him, that notwithstanding his abjuration, he had said, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical or memorial body. This article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief, and a murderer, and a devil in hell : whereunto thus he answered ; that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a murderer ; and if he did not repent him of his murder, he was rather a devil in hell, than a saint in heaven.

Articles falsely depraved by the adversaries.

(1) Ex Regist. Lond.

The 22nd day of April, in the year aforesaid, the said James Bainham was brought before the vicar-general, in the church of All Saints, of Barking, where he ministered these interrogatories unto him.

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First, That since the feast of Easter last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical body of Christ; and afterwards he said, it was but a memorial. This article Bainham denied. Then the vicar-general declared unto him, that our holy mother the catholic church determineth and teacheth in this manner: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth no bread. The official asked Bainham, whether he did so believe or not? To this Bainham answered, saying, that St. Paul calleth it bread, rehearsing these words, 'As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death:' and in that point he saith as St. Paul saith, and believeth as the church believeth. And being demanded twice afterwards, what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

Another appearance.
See Appendix.

St. Paul calleth the sacrament bread.

Item, That since the feast of Easter aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every man that would take upon him to preach the gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the pope. To this article he answered thus: 'He that preacheth the word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heaven and earth; which key is the same Scripture that is preached: and the pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the key of the Scripture.'

True preachers have as much power of the keys as the pope.

Item, That he affirmed that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and a murderer, and in hell.—To this he answered as before.

Articles fully depraved.

Item, That he said, that he had as lief to pray to Joan his wife, as to our lady.—The which he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a man.—This article he also denied.

The premises thus passed, the vicar-general received Francis Realms, John Edwards, Ralph Hilton, John Ridley, Francis Driland, and Ralph Noble, as witnesses to be sworn upon the articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said James Bainham, in the presence of Master John Nayler, vicar of Barking; Master John Rode, bachelor of divinity; William Smith, Richard Grivel, Thomas Wimple, and Richard Gill.

Witness against Master Bainham.

The 26th day of April, in the year aforesaid, before Master John Foxford, vicar-general of the bishop of London, in the presence of Matthew Greston, registrar; and Nicholas Wilson and William Philley, professors of divinity; John Oliver, William Middleton, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of the law; Master Richard Gresham, sheriff of London, and a great company of others: James Bainham was brought forth by the lieutenant of the Tower, in whose presence the vicar-general rehearsed the merits of the cause of inquisition of heresy against him, and proceeded to the reading of the abjuration. And when the judge read this article following, contained in the abjuration: 'Item, That I have said, that I will not determine whether any souls departed be yet in heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and I wot not whether the souls of the apostles or any others be in heaven or no:' to this James answered, 'That I did abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have abjured at all.'

His last appearance.

Souls departed.

After all the articles were read contained in the abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the sacrament of baptism, the said James Bainham spake these words: 'If a Turk, a Jew, or a Saracen, do trust in God, and keep his law, he is a good christian man.' Then the official showed unto him the letters which he sent unto his brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this clause following: 'Yet could they not see and know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man, yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' To this Bainham said that it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not oversee his letters. Then Master Nicholas Wilson among other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, declared unto him that the church did believe the very body of Christ

The sacrament of baptism.

(1) 'Quotiescunque comederitis panem hunc, et de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis.'

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The sacrament of altar.

Sentence read against Bainham.

His words to Master Wilson.

to be in the sacrament of the altar. Bainham answered, 'The bread is not Jesus Christ, for Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread.' Being further demanded whether in the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, God and man in flesh and blood; after divers doubtful answers, Bainham answered thus: 'He is there very God and man, in form of bread.'

This done, the official declared unto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in against him; and objected unto him, that a little before Easter, he had abjured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing; whereby, amongst other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of this sentence, Master Nicholas Wilson counselled and admonished the said James, that he would conform himself unto the church; to whom he answered that he trusted that he is the very child of God: 'which ye blind asses,' said he, 'do not perceive.' And last of all, departing from his judgment, he spake these words: 'Master Wilson, nor you, my lord chancellor, shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any purgatory.'

Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of Bayfield, alias Somersam. Here also should ensue the letter of the bishop of London, directed unto the mayor and sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before written in the story of Bayfield. After this sentence given, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried unto Newgate, and the said James Bainham was burned in Smithfield the last day of April, in the year aforesaid, at three of the clock at afternoon.

The cruel handling of Bainham.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled; for almost the space of a fortnight, he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights: then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a week; then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking; then to Chelsea, and there condemned; and so to Newgate to be burned, *when¹ the bishop did send the writ.

See Appendix.

And when he came out of the dungeon, the bishop of London had sent one Dr. Simons to pervert him, and to wait upon him to the stake. And after much communication in the upper house of the prison had between Simons and him, he prayed the sheriffs to deliver him from Satan, for he was content to confirm his faith with the shedding of his blood; and asked Master Sheriff and he were ready, and bade him to set forwards. And then the sheriffs commanded that Dr. Simons should go to the stake before, and tarry his coming. He said he would: but fearing the people, he went his way. Then Master Bainham prayed Rainold West to go with him to the stake, and to be at hand

(1) This passage in asterisks is from the first edition, p. 492.—Ed.

with him till he were dead. And so forward he went to the stake, on May-day at afternoon, and there were many horsemen about the stake. When the said Master Bainham had prayed lying flat upon the ground, then rising up and embracing the stake stood upright on the pitch-barrel, and closed the chain about his middle, the sergeants making it fast behind him, these words he spake :

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Appendix.*

‘ I am come hither, good people! accused and condemned for an heretic, sir Thomas More being both my accuser and my judge: and these be the articles that I die for, which be a very truth, and grounded on God’s word, and no heresy. Which be these: First, I say it is lawful for every man and woman, to have God’s book in their mother tongue. The second, that the bishop of Rome is Antichrist; and that he knoweth none other keys of heaven-gates, but only the preaching of the law and the gospel; and that there is none other purgatory, than the purgatory of Christ’s blood, and the purgatory of the cross of Christ, which is all persecutions and afflictions, and no such purgatory as they feign of their own imagination: for their souls immediately go to heaven and rest with Jesus Christ for ever. They lay to my charge, that I should say, that Thomas Becket is no saint but damned in hell; for this I reade on him, that he was a wicked man, a traitor to the crown and realm of England, and enemy to all Christ’s religion, and a shedder of innocent blood; for even for murdering, and shedding of blood, was he made a saint.’

Then answered Master Pave, “Thou liest, thou heretic! thou deniest the blessed sacrament of the altar.” “I do not deny” [said Bainham] “the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, as it was instituted of Christ, and used of the holy apostles; but I deny your transubstantiation, and your idolatry to the bread, and that Christ, God and man, should dwell in a piece of bread; but that he is in heaven, sitting on the right hand of God the Father. But it is an idol, as you use it in your abominable mass, making it a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, and robbing the church of one kind.” “Thou heretic!” said Pave; “Set fire to him, and burn him.”

And as the train of gunpowder came toward him, he lifted up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and said to Pave: “God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou showest to me; the Lord forgive sir Thomas More! and pray for me, all good people;” and so praying, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.*

At his burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the stake, in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words: “O ye papists! behold, ye look for miracles, and here now ye may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a bed of down: but it is to me as sweet as a bed of roses.” These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms, as I said, were half consumed.

*A miracle
and a
wondrous
work of
God to
behold.*

* The¹ next year after, Master Pave, the town-clerk of this city, went and bought ropes, and used to pray in his house, in a high garret, where he had a Rood, before whom he bitterly wept; and as his own maid, coming up, found him so doing, he had her take the rusty sword, and go make it clean, and trouble him no more. And immediately he tied up the rope, and hung himself. The maid’s heart robbed and she came up, and then he was but newly hanged;

(1) This passage in asterisks is from the first edition 1563, page 493.—Ed

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and she, having no power to help him, ran crying to church to her mistress to fetch her home. His servants and clerks, he had sent them out to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, serjeant to my lord-mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry him at Finsbury-court till he came. And thus much for the life and conversation of James Bainham.*

John Bent, Martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one John Bent, who about this present time, or not long before, being a tailor, and dwelling in a village called Urchevant, was burned in the town of Devises, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, Martyr.

Also much about the same time, was one Trapnel burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marsh, Martyrs.

THE HISTORY OF THREE MEN HANGED FOR THE BURNING OF THE ROOD OF DOVER-COURT; COLLECTED OUT OF A LETTER OF ROBERT GARDNER, WHO WAS ONE OF THE DOERS OF THE SAME.¹

The Rood
of Dover-
Court.

In the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was much and great resort of people: for at that time there was great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great, that no man had power to shut the church-door where he stood; and therefore they let the church-door, both night and day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumour. This once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvel unto many men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, especially unto these, whose names here follow: as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honour and power of the Almighty living God so to be blasphemed by such an idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God to travel out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before and the night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the town of Dedham to the place where the filthy Rood stood ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprise, that they went that ten miles without pain, and found the church-door open, according to the blind talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. This happened well for their purpose, for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut, as to keep it open; and for proof thereof, they took the idol from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they strake fire with a flint-stone,

See
Appendix.

Blind opinions
of the people.
Experience of
false idolatry.
The idol set on
light fire.

(1) This Letter of Robert Gardner was written to Chapman, a Londoner, who is yet alive.

and suddenly set him on fire, who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good mile of the ten.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterwards confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and the tapers. The tapers did help to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat one sir Thomas Rose did burn; but they had neither penny, halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel.

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False surmise always ready.

See Append x

Notwithstanding, three of them were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half a year after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burehet; Robert Debnam was hanged at Cataway-Cawsey; Nicholas Marsh was hanged at Dover-Court: which three persons, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

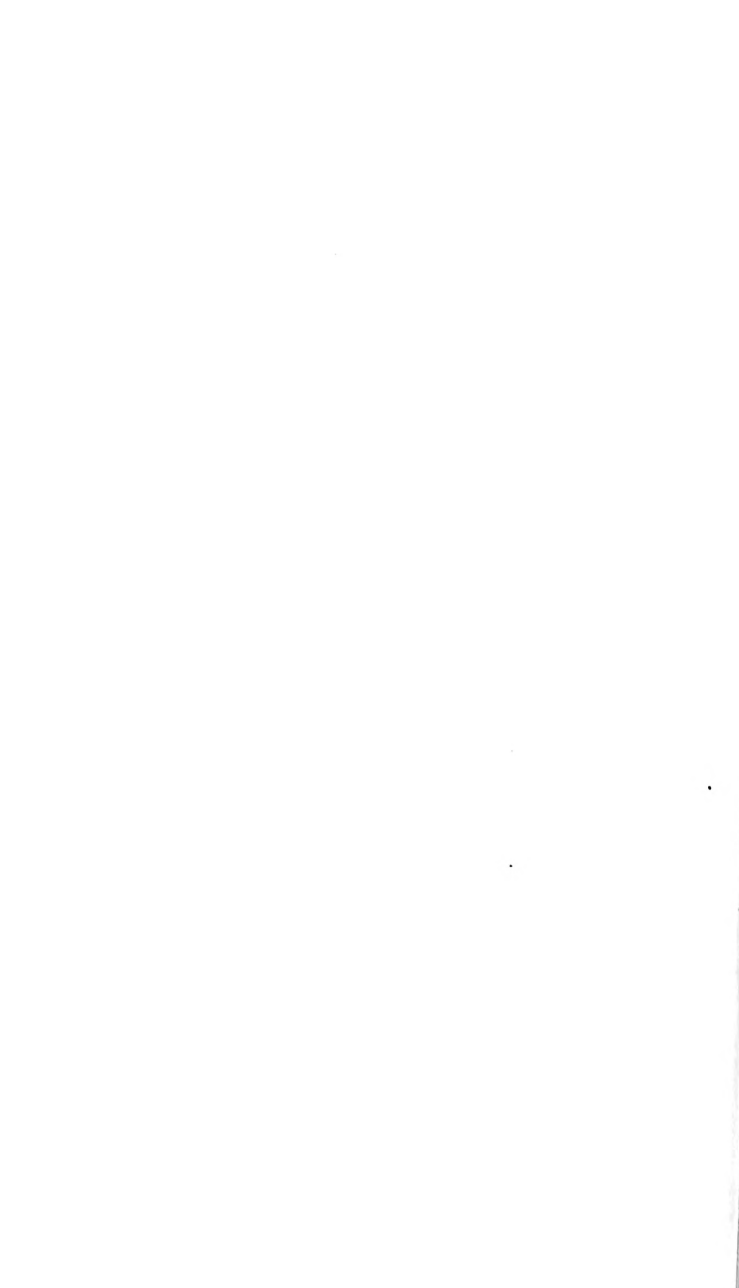
The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardner, escaped their hands and fled; albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end!

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the image of the crucifix in the highway by Coggeshall, the image of St. Petronil in the church of Great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronil in a chapel by Ipswich.

Images destroyed.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew a cross in Stoke park, and took two images out of a chapel in the same park, and cast them into the water.¹

(1) Ex testimonio ipsius Gardneri.



APPENDIX TO VOL. IV.

PAGE 3, line 9.]—Henry VII. was proclaimed after the battle of Bosworth, August 22d, A.D. 1485, and crowned October 13th. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., January 18th, A.D. 1486. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.) Foxe dates the marriage "A.D. 1485," which would be correct according to the old style.

Page 3, last line.]—Frederic III., emperor, died at Lintz, August 19th, A.D. 1493, 78 years old. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.) Foxe misdates his death, "A.D. 1494." Maximilian had been elected king of the Romans, Feb. 16th, A.D. 1486. (Ibid.)

Page 4, line 10.]—"A.D. 1477" refers to Maximilian's marriage, which took place August 20th, 1477. The Empress died at Bruges, March 27th, 1482. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.) Foxe says erroneously "1481."

Page 4, line 6 from the bottom.]—Weselus was born at Groningen, about 1419; he was called "Basilius" by the Greeks, in compliment, as he spent much time among them, perfecting himself in Greek. Foxe misdates his death, "A.D. 1490." (See Melch. Adami "Vitæ Eruditorum.") The ensuing account of him is translated from the "Catalogus Testium" of Illyricus Flacius. (See edition 1608, col. 1908.) Several corrections and improvements of Foxe's text are introduced from the Latin.

Page 5, line 2.]—"Ut lux mundi vulgò vocaretur." Illyricus. Foxe's text awkwardly renders "vulgò"—"of the people."

Page 5, line 5. "*Repentance . . . three parts.*"—"*Tres actus pœnitentis sunt, contritio, confessio, et satisfactio, quæ communiter vocantur partes materiales Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, per respectum ad partem formalem, quæ est absolutio Sacerdotis.*" (Dens, tom. vi. p. 13.)

Page 5, line 9. "*The pope's indulgences.*"—See above, vol. iii. p. 738, line 34.

Page 5, line 20. "*So as every true Christian may prevail over another.*"—Foxe's text says "christian bishop;" but Illyricus's words are, "Quâ ratione et quivis Christianus alteri imperare potest."

Page 5, line 32. "*Witnesseth.*"—"Testatur," Illyricus; "confesseth," Foxe.

Page 5, line 34. "*Thomas de Curselis.*"—The same person as "Thomas de Corsellis," mentioned before in vol. iii.; he is called by Æneas Sylvius ("De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis") canon of Amiens: see vol. iii. p. 662. His speech here referred to might be the same as that alluded to vol. iii. p. 611.

Page 5, line 40. "*As who should say.*"—"Qui hoc nimirum dicere voluit." Illyricus.

Page 5, last line.]—"Redditus Ecclesiæ, . . . et ecclesias." Illyricus.

Page 6, line 14.]—"Pluris faciendam esse sententiam, quin et excommunicationem, hominis pii ac docti quàm papæ." Illyricus.

Page 6, line 17.]—"Sicut Constantiense concilium magis Johannem Gersonem quàm Johannem xxiii.; item olim pii magis Bernardum quàm Eugenium audiverunt." Illyricus.

John Gerson was chancellor of Paris, and one of the first men of his age in erudition and knowledge: he was the soul of the council of Constance: he maintained, in an elaborate discourse, the power of the council to depose the

pope, on which opinion the council acted. St. Bernard wrote several books "de Consideratione," addressed to Eugenius III., who was pope A. D. 1145—1153. Eugenius III. was previously Bernard, abbot of St. Anastasius at Rome; and there is, perhaps, an intended antithesis between the two Bernards, as between the two Johns. Huss, in his answer before the council, quotes Bernard ad Eugenium. (Suprà, vol. iii. p. 461.)

Page 6, line 21. "*Writing, moreover, of two Popes, Pius II. and Sixtus IV.*"—"*Valde periclitaretur vita iusti, si penderet ex vita Papæ. Summorum enim Pontificum plerique pestilenter erraverunt, ut novissimis diebus nostris, in Constantia, celebri concilio claruit Benedictus, Bonifacius, et Johannes XXIII., qui graviter fidem lacerarunt. Et nostris postremis diebus, Pius secundus, et Sixtus quartus. Quorum alter patentibus bullis regna terrarum sibi vindicavit: Alter turpissimas dispensationes non solum de prestito in causa civili juramento, sed etiam de prestando, de plenitudine potestatis plumbatas bullas emisit, in abusu potestatis Apostolicæ.*" (Weselus de potestate ecclesiastica, fol. xxix. verso.) An amusing account of an interview between Weselus and Sixtus IV. is given in Milner's Church History, Century XV.

Page 6, line 28. "*Being a Frisian born.*"—This clause comes in awkwardly; and is unnecessary, because Foxe had already (p. 4) mentioned Weselus's birth-place; but Noviomagus's narrative, as cited by Illyricus, ran thus, viz. that "Ostendorpius, adolescens admodum, Weselum Frisium senem adiit." There are very large quotations from the works of this forerunner of Luther in Seckendorf's Commentarius de Lutheranismo, lib. i. § cxxxiii.

Page 6, line 35. "*Who wrote the story,*" &c.]—This passage stands thus in Foxe: "Who wrote the story A. D. 1520, and heard it at the mouth of the said Weselus A. D. 1490, March 18th;" whereas Weselus died on St. Francis's day (July 16th), 1489. Noviomagus (as quoted by Illyricus) says, "Id ego a jam canescente Ostendorpio in templo D. Lewini audivi anno 1520, x Calend. Mart." Whence the text has been corrected.

Page 6, note (1).]—Noviomagus says that Ostendorpius was "canonicus Daventriæ ad S. Lebuinum." Foxe, or his assistant, erroneously supposed "Lebuinum" to be a place instead of a saint, and calls Ostendorpius "a canon of the minster of Lubeck." Foxe himself afterwards gives this matter correctly at p. 256. Deventer was the capital city of Overysseel. The minster there was dedicated to St. Lewin, formerly martyr and bishop of Ghent, who converted the Hollanders to the faith. (Moreri.)

Page 7, line 15.]—Fabian calls this martyr "mother Yongue:" "In this yere [9 Hen. VII.] at in the ende of Aprill was brent in Smithfildes an old woman for heresie, which was called mother Yongue."

Page 7, line 30. "A. D. 1496, and the 17th of January, being Sunday."—Foxe says "A. D. 1497," which does not agree with the other note of the time; but by Nicolas's Tables the 17th of January did fall on a Sunday in the year 1496; which year also suits better with the words "shortly after the martyrdom of" Joan Boughton. Fabian also states in his Chronicle, at the end of A. D. 1495-6, 11 Hen. VII., "And this yere many Lollers stode with faggottes at Powles Crosse." It is worth remark, however, that January the 7th would fall on a Sunday in the year 1497-8: if, therefore, we read "7th" for "17th," Foxe's year might stand.

Page 7, line 8 from the bottom. "Furthermore, the next year but one, which was A. D. 1498."—Foxe's "next year following" is rendered incorrect, in consequence of his "1497" in the last paragraph having been altered into "1496."

Page 7, last line. "In the next year (A. D. 1499.)"—Foxe's text reads, "In the same year above mentioned, which was the year of our Lord 1499:" in the Edition of 1597 (p. 671) "1499" was changed into "1498," evidently to suit the "1498" of the preceding paragraph; the concluding words, however, of this paragraph, "the next year following, which is A. D. 1500," were left unaltered. But in the present edition a preferable alteration is here made: Foxe's original year, "1499," is left to stand, and "same year above mentioned" is altered into "next year;" for the earl of Warwick, in fact, was not beheaded

till Nov. 28th, A. D. 1499; and the probability is, that Babram was martyred about May or June, 1500. See the note next following this.

Page 8, line 4. "*In the month of July, as is in Fabian recorded.*"—In the printed Fabian July is not mentioned; but under the year A. D. 1499—1500, Ann. Regis. xv. [which regnal year commenced August 22d, A. D. 1499], Fabian mentions, 1st, the arraignment of Perkin, Nov. 15th; 2dly, "Some after was the Erle of Warwick put to death" [Nov. 28th]; 3dly, "And this yere in Maie the Kyng and the Queene sailed to Calais. And this yere was Brabram in Northfolke brent." 4thly, "And in July was an olde heretike brent in Smithfielde." It is most probable that Babram was burnt about May or June, 1500, though it *may* have been so late as July; but the printed Fabian does not state that.

Page 8, line 10.]—On the date of Savonarola's martyrdom, see the note next following this.

Page 10, line 8.]—The martyrdom of Savonarola is dated May 23d in all the editions previous to 1596, and this is the *day* given by Hoffinan and Moreri; but they assign 1498 as the *year*; and this is the year given by Pantaleon; also by Foxe himself, at p. 131 of this volume.

Page 11, line 2. "*Oppressions.*"—Foxe's text reads here "suppressions;" but as we have "oppressions and exactions" at p. 13, line 27 from the bottom, "oppressions" is put in here.

Page 11, line 14. "*The ten principal grievances,*" &c.]—What Foxe says on this subject is derived from a tract published in the "*Fasciculus*" of Orthuinus Gratius, fol. 166, under the title of "*Gravamina Germanicæ Nationis cum Remediis et Avisamentis ad Cæsaream Majestatem, in duos libellos distinctim divisa, eoque ordine et modo quo prius impressa fuere.*" The documents translated in this and the next three pages constitute the chief part of the "*libellus primus,*" which Gratius (fol. 170) states had been printed some years before at Selestadt near Strasburg "*in Schureriana officina.*" These documents may be found entire in Illyricus, Cat. Test. Verit. p. 469, edit. 1672; Wolfius, Lect. Memor.; Goldastus, Polit. Imperial. p. xxiii. &c.; in Georgi's "*Imperatorum totiusque Nationis Germanicæ Gravamina*" (Francof. 1725), p. 279, and at p. 284 the proposed Remedy (from which Foxe has quoted); also in Freheri Germ. Scripp. tom. ii. p. 674, with an historical account of these "*Gravamina,*" prefixed by Struve. Foxe has also translated the "*Libellus Secundus;*" see pp. 295—314 of the present volume. His translations have been collated with the Latin, and corrected in some places.

Page 12, line 4. "*For the archbishop's see of Mentz,*" &c.]—See the note in the Appendix on vol. ii. p. 260, last line.

Page 12, line 14. "*At last the sum drew,*" &c.]—The Latin of this sentence is as follows: "*Tandem excrevit summa usque ad viginti septem millia; quæ Archiepiscopus Jacobus cogebatur nuper persolvere, ut retulit Vicarius in spiritualibus Moguntinus; sique in vita unius hominis septies viginti quinque millia a solo Archiepiscopatu Moguntinensi, pro confirmatione Archiepiscopi, Romam pervenerunt.*"

Page 12, line 16. "*In one man's lifetime.*"—Foxe says "in a little time;" but see the Latin in the preceding note. From Diether II. (elected in 1459) to Uriel (elected in 1508) are seven elections in less than fifty years. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.)

Page 12, line 18.]—From the account of the archbishops of Mentz, given in "*L'Art de Vér. des Dates,*" it appears, that Jacque de Liebenstein was elected December 30th, 1504, and crowned July 30th, 1505; attended the diet of Constance, 1507; died September 17th, 1508: he was succeeded by Uriel de Gemmingen, elected September 27th, 1508.

Page 13, line 3. "*An advertisement,*" &c.]—In the original this document is headed, "*Avisamenta ad Cæsaream Majestatem.*"

Page 13, line 33. "*Curtisani.*"—See this term explained and illustrated *suprà* vol. ii. p. 709, note (1), and p. 767, line 2.

Page 14. "*A letter of Jacobus Selestadiensis,*" &c.]—This is not included

among the documents printed in the "Fasciculus," but is printed in "Freheri Script. Germ." tom. ii. p. 685. Jacobus Wimphelingus Selestadiensis was a presbyter in the church of Spire, and a professor at Heidelberg. Maximilian made much use of him, on account of his great learning.

Page 15, line 25.]—The clause "the fines of sinners" is put in from the original, which reads "pretia peccatorum:" see the note on vol. i. p. 17, note (5). This whole passage is cited by Selestadiensis from the "Reformatio abusuum cleri," attributed to Ludovicus Pius. The following is the original Latin:—"Res ecclesie (sicut a Patribus traditur et in superioribus capitulis continetur) vota sunt fidelium, precia peccatorum, et patrimonia pauperum. Fideles namque fidei ardore et Christi amore successi ob animarum suarum remedium et cœlestis patrie desiderium suis propriis facultatibus sanctam locupletem fecerunt ecclesiam, ut iis et milites ecclesie alerentur, ecclesie exornarentur, pauperes recrearentur, et captivi pro temporum opportunitate redimerentur. Quapropter vigilanti et solerti curâ providendum est his, qui ejus facultates administrant, ne eas in suos solummodo usus convertant; sed magis, juxta possibilitatem rerum, Christo famulantium, imo eorum in quibus Christus pascitur et vestitur, curam gerere penitus non negligent."

Page 15, line 33.]—This passage will be found in "Prosperi de Vita Contemplativa," lib. ii. cap. 9; which chapter also cites the saying, "Res ecclesie vota sunt fidelium, precia peccatorum, et patrimonia pauperum."

Page 15, line 35. "But as entrusted to their charge," &c.]—"Sed ut commendatas pauperibus dividerunt:" badly translated in Foxe, "but as things commended unto the poor to be divided amongst them."

Page 15, line 46. "When Gemes,"]—See p. 44 of this volume.

Page 16, middle.]—The work of Wicelius referred to is intitled "Epitome Roman. Pontificum a Petro usque ad Paulum tertium, Colon. 1549," p. 77.

Page 17, line 11.—"As he were wood."]—i. e. as though he were mad: see p. 450, line 3 from the bottom, "as he were mad."

Page 17, line 33. "Bernardine cardinal de la Croix," &c.]—These names are thus given in Foxe's text: "Bernardus Cruccius, Gulielmus Prænestinus, Franciscus Constantinus." The last word is an error for "Consentinus." The individuals meant are, 1. "Bernardin de Carvajal, Espagnol, évêque de Cartagène, prêtre-cardinal de St. Marcellin et de St. Pierre, puis de Sainte Croix de Jerusalem, et évêque d'Ostie, et doyen du sacré college." He was made cardinal by Alexander VI. in 1490, and died in 1522. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.) 2. William Briconet, bishop of St. Malo, then of Nismes, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, and of Narbonne; made cardinal by Alexander VI. in 1495, and bishop of Frascati. He was deprived of the cardinalship and the bishopric of Frascati by Julius, but restored to the former and made bishop of Palæstrine by Leo X. April 7th, 1512, whence he is called "Prænestinus." He is also called cardinal of St. Malo. (Moreri, and Gallia Christiana, v. Narbonne.) 3. Francisco Borgia, archbishop of Cosenza in Calabria, made cardinal of St. Lucie by Alexander VI. in 1500, afterward of St. Nereus and Achilles, died in 1511. (Moreri.) The names are given in the last edition of Sleidan, lib. xi. p. 97, "Bernardin Carvajal, Guil. Briconet, Francis de Borgia." Guicciardini states ("Istoria de Italia," vol. ii. p. 405, edit. 1775), that they were deprived of their ecclesiastical rank for having assembled this council. "Ma il pontifice . . . convocato con solennità grande il consistorio publico, sedendo nell' abito Pontificale nella Sala detta dei Rê, dichiarò i Cardinali di Santa Croce, e di San Malo, di Cosenza, e quel di Baiosa, esser caduti della dignità del cardinalato, e incorsi in tutte le pene, alle quali sono sottoposti gli eretici, e gli scismatici." See also "Onuphrius de vita Pont;" Jul. II. in Platina, edit. Colon. 1626, p. 345; and the "Segunda parte de la Historia Pontifical" of Illescas, edit. Madrid, 1652, p. 278.

Page 22, line 14.]—Mahomet died June 8th, A. D. 632. Foxe now gives a brief review of the Caliphs, his successors. Foxe's account has been compared with that in L'Art de Vér. des Dates, and in some instances corrected.

Page 22, line 22. "The third king,"]—Foxe says, "the fourth," which he was, including Mahomet, but not "after Mahomet."

Page 22, line 23.]—Hasan succeeded Hali for six months. (L'Art. de Vér. des Dates.) "Muhavia," or "Muhania" as Foxe reads, is called Moavie I. in L'Art de Vér. des Dates.

Page 22, line 34. "*Nephew.*"—Constans was *grandson*; but *nephew* is often so used, from the Latin "*nepos.*" (See note on vol. i. p. 89.)

Page 22, line 36.]—At this period Muhavia or Moavie was one of the generals of Caliph Othman.

Page 22, line 40. "*New sects.*"—Constans favoured the Monothelites.

Page 22, line 6 from the bottom. "*Sultans*"—rather, "Caliphs;" their viceroys, indeed, were called sultans. Kaiem-Bamrillah, the forty-fifth Caliph, having been conquered by Togrul Begh, grand-son of *Seldgiouk* the Mogul A.D. 1058, the Caliphs thenceforth reigned in subordination to the *Seljuicidæ*, till the death of Mostazem-Billah, the fifty-sixth and last Caliph, Feb. 20th, A.D. 1258.

Page 23, line 10. "*Four of the principal families.*"—The four branches of the *Seljuicidæ* were those of Kerman, Iran or Persia, Syria, and Iconium.

Page 23, line 18. "*Soldiers who have been Christians, and now are turned to Mahomet's religion.*"—This alludes to the Janissaries, for the institution of which body see p. 36.

Page 23, line 22. "*These four families above mentioned,*" &c.]—This is an inaccurate allusion to the victories and ravages of the *Tartars* in Asia and Europe, about A.D. 1230. See them described at p. 119 of this volume, and at vol. ii. pp. 491, 575. The result of which was, that the dynasty of the *Seljuicidæ* fell to pieces, and made way for that of the *Ottomans*, as stated at p. 25. Foxe, *infra*, p. 120, confesses himself puzzled with the intricacies of these different dynasties.

Page 25, line 7.]—The ensuing account of the *Ottoman Emperors* has been collated with that in L'Art de Vér. des Dates, and corrected in some instances. Ottoman, son of Ortogrul, was one of the Emirs of Masoud, Sultan of Iconium, on whose death (1294) the *Seljuicidæ* of Iconium ceased. Ottoman established himself finally by the capture of Prusa or Bursa, the capital of Bithynia, A.D. 1326; in the August of which year he died. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.)

Page 27, line 1. "*The Christian ships of the Ligurians.*"—"Usus Genuensium navibus." (Cuspinian de Turcorum Origine, fol. ii.)

Page 27, line 14.]—The modern names of Persons, Offices, and Places, are substituted in Foxe's text, from hence to p. 120, for the middle-age Latin names, which would be unintelligible to most readers.

Page 27, line 2 from the bottom.]—There seem to have been two battles at Nicopolis in Bulgaria; the first A.D. 1393, and that here described 28th Sept. 1395. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.) See *suprà*, vol. iii. p. 761. The flower of the French nobility were there, commanded by Philip d'Artois, constable of France, and John, earl of Nevers.

Page 28, line 2.]—This allusion to the council of Constance is a gross anachronism.

Page 28, line 25.]—This battle was fought near Ancyra, June 30th, A.D. 1402 (L'Art de Vér. des Dates); consequently, the date in the text is substituted for Foxe's "A.D. 1397, and the Second year," &c.

Page 28, line 15 from the bottom.]—See *suprà*, vol. i. p. 215.

Page 29, line 2.]—The different editions of Foxe vary as to the number of Tamerlane's army, and the number of Turks slain by them. (See last page.) But Sebastian Munster, whom Foxe cites as his authority, says that Tamerlane's army consisted of "*duodecies centena millia,*" *i. e.* 1,200,000; and that the Turks slain were "*bis centena millia,*" *i. e.* 200,000 (I iv. p. 957. Basl. 1559.)

Page 29, line 9 from the bottom. "*At Columbetz, a town in Servia.*"]—Cuspinian (*De Turcorum Origine*) words it—"rursus cum Turcis congressus sub castro Galambog in rupe Danubii sito." See p. 93, note (4), and *suprà*, vol. iii. p. 761.

Page 31, line 25. "*One Johannes Castriotus.*"]—A.D. 1423. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 32, line 23.]—"Sinderovia" is Semendria, a strong town of Servia, twenty miles below Belgrade, on the Danube. It is called Spenderobis by Chalcondylas: Leumelavius says, that it is termed *Semender* by the Turks, and *Sendrew* by the Hungarians, being a corruption of Saint Andrew. (*Martinière's Geography.*)

Page 33, line 25. "*A truce was concluded,*" &c.]—A.D. 1443 or 1444. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 33, line 30. "*Sendeth Julian Cæsarini.*"]—"Ea pax molestissima fuit Juliano Cardinali, cui prosequenda victoria videbatur. Et Eugenius Pontifex certior factus, Regis nullum valere fœdus, quod se inconsulto cum Christianæ religionis hostibus percussum esset, rescripsit." (*Cuspinian de Turcorum Origine*, fol. 23, edit. 1541; see also *Æneas Sylvius, De Europa*, cap. 5.)

Page 33, line 5 from the bottom. "*Seledinus.*"]—"Segedin, ou Segedi, ville de la Haute Hongrie au conté de Czongrad, sur la Teisse, vis-à-vis de l'endroit où cette rivière reçoit celle de Marisch, en latin *Segedunum.*" (*Martinière's Geography.*)

Page 34, line 33.]—Bistritz, Bestertze, Nosenstadt, a district in Transylvania, with a capital of the same name. (*Busching's Geog.* vol. ii. p. 85.)

Page 34, line 5 from the bottom.]—The date of this battle was Nov. 10th, A.D. 1411. See *Gibbon*, chap. lxxvii., and *L'Art de Vér. des Dates.* Foxe mis-dates it, 1401.

Page 36, line 10.]—Amurath II. died Feb. 9th, A.D. 1451. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 40, line 21.]—This siege of Belgrade took place A.D. 1456: it has been referred to, vol. iii. p. 761.

Page 41, line 20.]—Huniades died Sept. 10th, A.D. 1556. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 41, line 7 from the bottom.]—Foxe is here mistaken: it is the *European* country which was called *Mæsia*. See his own note (21), at p. 92.

Page 42, line 4 from the bottom. "*Nicholas Catalusius.*"]—More properly, Lucio Catilusa.

Page 42, line 3 from the bottom. "*Capha.*"]—"La ville de Cuffah (l'ancienne Theodosie), capitale de la Tartarie Crimée (l'ancienne Chersonesus Taurique)." (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*: also see p. 80.)

Page 43, line 15.]—George Scanderbeg died at Lisse, in Dalmatia, Feb. 17th, A.D. 1467. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 43, line 28. "*Stephcu, the king of Bosnia.*"]—called also "Vaivode of Moldavia;" this happened A.D. 1575. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 44, line 13.]—Foxe reads "A.D. 1481," and 8 lines lower, "the year above-mentioned, A.D. 1481:" the alterations in the text are made on the authority of *L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 44, line 21. "*He died in the year following, A.D. 1481.*"]—July 2d. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 44, line 4 from the bottom.]—Foxe's text here incorrectly reads "Innocent II." and "Ludovic II.;" but correctly at p. 15 "Innocent VIII." and "Charles VIII."

Page 51, line 5 from the bottom. "*By Mahomet II.*"]—Foxe's text here reads "Amurath II." It is true that Amurath II. did besiege Belgrade (see p. 32); but the siege here alluded to is evidently that by Mahomet II., related at pp. 40, 41, and vol. iii. p. 764.

Page 53, line 13. "*Philippus Villadamus.*"]—His proper name was "Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam;" he was a native of Beauvais, and was grand prior of France, when he was elected grand-master of the knights of Malta, Jan. 22d, A.D. 1521; he died August 22d, A.D. 1534. (See *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*, art. *Des Grands-Mâîtres de Malte.*) A pompous message addressed to him by Solyman is given at p. 350, note.

Page 53, line 16 from the bottom.]—Rhodes was taken Dec. 22d, A.D. 1522. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 59, lines 17 and 25 from the bottom.]—"Bicker" means "to fight," Beckeryng, scrimysshe, méslée. Bicker, fyghtyng, *escarmouche*. Palsgrave in *Mr. Way's Prompt. Parv.* p. 35.

Page 68, line 19. "*As is above mentioned.*"]—See pp. 54, 76, where Foxe mentions "Quinque Ecclesiæ" under its German appellation, "Fünfkirchen."

Page 72, line 4. "*Alba Regalis.*"]—Stuhl-Weissenburg. See the notes in the Appendix on vol. iii. pp. 688, 764.

Page 78, line 9.]—See note in this Appendix on p. 53, line 16 from the bottom.

Page 79, note.]—Most of the writers mentioned in this note are included in the Edition of Chalcondylas, folio, Basil. 1556.

Page 81, note.]—See Seemiller's *Bibliothecæ Ingoldstadiensis Incunabula*, 1789, Fasciculus iii. 66; Freytag's *Apparatus Litterarius*, i. 48.

Page 85, line 15.]—Foxe says "fifty;" but the author whom he cites says, "Adeo ut sæpe *quingentos* homines concatenatos habeant, vim metuunt tantæ multitudinis."

Page 85, note.]—See Freytag's *Apparatus Litterarius*, iii. 257.

Page 86, line 26. "*Any one of the Turks' religion.*"]—Foxe's text reads, "a Turkish priest;" but the author says, "id est, Turcarum religione initiatum." (Barth. Georgievitz *Peregrinus*, *De Turcarum Moribus Epitome*. Lug. 1567.)

Page 87, line 10. "*In principio erat verbum,*" &c.]—See the note in the Appendix on vol. ii. p. 359, respecting the use made of the "In principio" as a charm.

Page 88, note (1).]—It may seem strange that Foxe should omit the mention of America as the fourth quarter of the world, 68 years after its first discovery. But in fact, America was considered, for much more than a century after its first discovery, to be a part of Cathay, or of Asia. See Mercedes of Castile.

Page 112, line 12 from the bottom. "*Godfrey of Bouillon:*"] the words "of Bouillon" are put in. See p. 118.

Page 113, line 20. "*A certain bishop of Florence.*"]—See vol. ii. p. 172, iii. p. 105. All the historical allusions in this page and the next, may be explained by reference to the past volumes. See the General Index.

Page 113, line 10 from the bottom.]—This humiliation of king John took place May 15th, A.D. 1213, in the house of the Templars at Dover. (See *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 332, and *L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*) Foxe misdates it "1217."

Page 113, line 8 from the bottom.]—The true date of Childeric's deposition and Pepin's accession is A.D. 752 (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*), not "747" as Foxe here states. See *suprà*, vol. i. p. 369.

Page 113, line 6 from the bottom.]—For Foxe's account of the submission of the emperor Henry IV. January 28th, A.D. 1077, see *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 128.

Page 113, line 3 from the bottom.]—For Foxe's account of Frederic Barbarossa's submission, August 1st, A.D. 1177, see *suprà*, vol. ii. pp. 195, 256.

The truth of this story many modern writers, in Germany particularly, have called in question; one of their main arguments being, the improbability that so great an emperor could have submitted to so great an indignity. Daru, however, whose singular diligence no evidence connected with the object of his search was likely to escape, pronounces strongly in favour of the celebrated interview between Alexander III. and Frederic. *Encyclop. Metropol.* vol. xi. (History) p. 642. Bishop Burnet mentions in his "Letters" having seen with his own eyes a record of this fact: "Here," says Burnet, "I saw that story of Pope Alexander III. treading on the neck of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa" (p. 117.) And Misson in his "New Voyage to Italy" (vol. i. p. 242) writes: "They made us take notice of a piece of *porphyry*, enchased in the pavement, in the middle of the portico of the church over against the great door; it is to mark the place where they say Pope Alexander III. set his foot on the neck of the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*:" and at p. 247 he says, "the same story is represented in the church of St. James de Rialto." At p. 651 of the "*Annales Mundi*" of the Jesuit Brietius also (edit. Aug. Vind. 1696) it is recorded:—"Quæ magnifice adhuc depicta cernuntur, et Venetis certam rei hujus gestæ facere creduntur fidem, colorato saltem argumento." So that *Protestants* are not the only recorders of this occurrence or of its memorials.

Blondus relates no more than that the Emperor "in terram cernuus, ac plane prostratus, pontificis pedes exosculatus est; et pontifex illum manu sublevatum ad oris osculum admisit." (Blondi Dec. 11. lib. iii. p. 256, "Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum," Basil. 1531.) Hence some writers of modern times have argued that the remaining pictures must be merely symbolical; but even in this light they were so much valued for their moral, that they formed part of the tapestry work in the Vatican, till Urban VIII. had them removed. See Pansa's "Della Libreria Vaticana" (in Roma 1590), p. 174; Gerhardi "Confessio Catholica," p. 337, edit. Francof. 1679; and p. 136 of "J. B. Maii de Pontif. Rom. elect. edidit Mullius;" Kilix, 1729.

The picture on the walls of the Vatican was seen with his own eyes about the middle of the 17th century by the writer of the following—a lawyer: "Porro et Romæ in palatio Vaticano, in atrio sacelli pontificis ubi ordinariæ Cardinalium collegio cum suo Papa congregato vespertinæ audiri ac celebrari solent; in eodem, inquam, non procul a janua ad scalas versa, etiam *similis pictura* eundem superbiæ Papalis actum representans cernitur hoc modo:—Quam tabulam cum et ipse inspicerem," &c. L. Bœnk de tyrannide Papæ Diascepsis (Francker, 1649), p. 468.

Page 114, line 1.]—For Foxe's account of Dandolo's humiliation, see *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 645; in confirmation of which may be added the following:—

"Francisco Dandolo, ciudadano de Venecia, que se puso a los pies del Papa, en habito de penitente co una cadena de hierro al cuello, a pedir misericordia para su ciudad." (Segunda parte de la Historia Pontifical y Catolica; por Gonzalo de Illescas (Madrid, 1652), p. 7.

"Anno Domini MCCCIX. in cœna Domini in Avinione Clemens Papa magnum processum fecit contra Venetos, eosque anathematizavit et privavit consortio aliarum civitatum, et personas ac res ipsorum exposuit volentibus et valentibus occupare, omnesque religiosos mandavit exire de Venetiis et de quibuscunque locis aliis eorum ditioni subjectis, quia Veneti Ferrariam civitatem contra Ecclesiam indebite occupabant" (Baluze's "Vitæ Papparum Avenionensium," tom. i. col. 69): see "Raynaldi Annales ad an. 1310," § 31, for the terms of submission.

Page 114, line 4.] "*Henry III.*"—Foxe here says "Henry the Third," which is the more surprising, as he had just before mentioned Henry IV. See the same fact stated at p. 143 of this volume, and vol. ii. pp. 304, 305.

Page 116, line 8 from the bottom.]—"Hiltenus," mentioned at p. 255 as "John Hilton, a monk of Thuringia."

Page 117, line 1.]—This Turkish prophecy with its Latin interpretation is in “Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles,” Francof. 1674, tom. ii. p. 45.

Page 123, line 15 from the bottom.]—“Thomas Homes” is no doubt the same person as “Thomas Holmes,” mentioned at p. 226: “John Fip,” at the end of this list, is spelt “Phip” at pp. 225, 226.

Page 130, note (1).]—De Comines’s History of France was abridged and translated into Latin by Sleidan, under the following title: “De rebus gestis Ludovici XI. et Caroli Burgundiæ Ducis commentarii, ex Gallico facti Latini a Jo. Sleidano;” 4to, Argentinæ, 1545; 8vo, Paris, 1545. Afterwards the work quoted by Foxe was also translated, “De Bello Neapolitano libri V.,” Argentinæ, 1548; and then the whole, both as relates to France and Naples, were published together, Paris, 1560, and Francofurti, 1578. This we learn from “Biblioth. Historica a J. G. Meuselio,” vol. vii. pt. ii. p. 152.

Page 132, line 9 from the bottom.]—Henry VII. died April 21st, A.D. 1509.

Page 136, line 14. “The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury,” &c.]—The reader will find a Table of previous Archbishops at foot of p. 579, vol. iii. Foxe miscalls Stafford “Stratford,” confounding him with a former archbishop.

Page 136. “A brief Recapitulation of Ancient Ecclesiastical Laws,” &c.]—See authority for the following epitome in “The Antient Laws and Customs of England,” published by the Record Commissioners in 1840.

Page 137, line 7 from the bottom. “Saturday at noon.”]—The “Antient Laws and Customs” at p. 524 says “ab hora nona.”

Page 137, note.]—The passage in Athelstan’s laws corresponding to “corody” exactly bears out Carpentier’s definition given in the note. See “Antient Laws and Customs,” p. 512.

Page 138, line 16. “Saturday at noon.”]—Here, as in the case of Athelstan’s laws, the original says “ab hora nona Sabbati.” (“Antient Laws and Customs,” p. 534.)

Page 139, line 6. “Parliament notes.”]—See vol. ii. p. 783, vol. iii. pp. 213, 316.

Page 142, line 20. “A.D. 600.”]—The earlier editions read “DC.,” which that of 1583 and the subsequent ones corrupt into “500.”

Page 142, line 11 from the bottom. “It followeth then in process of time,” &c.]—This paragraph is very incorrect in the original. It stands thus:—“It followeth then in process of time, after the days of Pipinus, Carolus, and Ludovicus (who had indued these bishops of Rome, called now popes, with large possessions), when the kings of France were not so applicable to their beck to aid and maintain them against the princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said bishops for their wrongfull usurped goods, they practised with the Germans to reduce the empire to Otho, first of that name, duke of Spain, referring the election thereof to seven princes electors of Germany, which was about A.D. 1002; notwithstanding reserving still in his hands the negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietness and security, and so did for a good space.”

Louis IV. was the last French Emperor; on his death, Charles the Simple had not strength to assert his claims to the empire, and Conrad, earl of Franconia, was elected A.D. 911: he was followed by Henry I., Otho I., Otho II., and Otho III.: the last died A.D. 1002, after having (very much at the instigation of pope Gregory V., see Foxe’s margin) passed the edict mentioned in the text. Gregory V. was pope A.D. 996—999. See L’Art de Vér. des Dates, and Hénault’s Abregé Chronol. de l’Hist. de France.

Page 143, line 29.]—After “beside the cushion” Foxe adds, “The like also fell upon Otho IV. that followed after Philip;” whereas this is the same Otho with that just mentioned. See the facts referred to in this paragraph fully narrated, with the proper dates, at p. 457, &c. of vol. ii. and the notes.

Page 144, line 25. “Philip II.”]—This is substituted for Foxe’s “Ludovicus.” See *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 329. The *barons* at a subsequent period offered England to his son Prince Louis, who came over, see vol. ii. p. 336; when the pope in

fact cursed Louis and his adherents; nor was his father Philip friendly to his enterprise.

Page 145. "*The image of Antichrist*."—This curious piece is composed of extracts from the pope's canon law. Each reference has been looked out and corrected where necessary. As the canon law consists of many parts, referred to in the notes, it may be well to state, that the first division of it is the "Decretum" of Gratian, in three parts; the first divided into *Distinctions*; the second into *Causæ*, &c.; the third into 4 libri *de Consecratione*. The second division of the canon law is the "Decretals of Gregory IX." in 5 libri, each *liber* subdivided into *titles*.

The following extract, describing the way in which the later portions of the canon law were drawn up, and the sanctions under which they were promulgated, may perhaps be acceptable to the inquiring reader:—

"Hic neglectus sine dubio ansam dedit compilationi novæ sub Bonifacio VIII. conflandæ. Hic enim anno pontificatus III., i.e. anno 1297, tribus viris doctissimis Guil. de Mandagoto archiep. Ebredunensi, Berengario Fredello, episc. Biterrensi, et Richardo de Senis S. R. E. vice-cancellario commisit, ut novam molirentur compilationem; præsertim quod a temporibus Gregorii IX. plures decretales essent editæ, ac in foro passim laudatæ, de quarum fide non semper constaret. Præter decretales pontificum prædecessorum et ipsius Bonifacii VIII. huic compilationi insertæ duæ precedententes decretalium Innocentii IV. et Gregorii compilationes; quo facto, partes Corporis Decretalium separatas constituere desierunt, adeo ut Bonifacius VIII. suum librum "*Sextum*" appellari jussisset, ut in posterum, neglectis duabus præcedentibus, immediate Gregorii IX. compilationi, in libros V. divisæ, successerit, ejusque librum *sextum* constituerit, licet hæc structura rursus in libros quinque ad methodum compilationum antiquarum esset adornata. Hunc librum in pleno consistorio sedulo perlectum, examinatum, atque approbatum anno 1298, quinto nonas Martii, anno pontificatus IV. promulgavit, qui *alteram partem* decretalium post hæc tempora constituit. Tertia pars deinceps eidem accessit ex Clementis V. Constitutionibus, in Concilio Viennensi anno 1311 celebrato editis, quoad maximam partem composita, decretalibus ante et post concilium publicatis aucta, et an. 1303 xii. Kal. April. publicata in consistorio; quæ vulgo "*Clementinarum*" nomine designatur, quamvis Clemens V. hanc syllogen appellatione *libri septimi* Decretalium venire voluisse dicatur. Ad studia generalia tamen eam haud transmisisse legitur, quod etiam observat successor ejus, Joannes XXII., in Bulla ad academiam Bononiensem data anno pontificatus secundo, Clementinis præmissa, qua eam ad academiam laudatam demum transmisit. Quod quidem quoad academiam Bononiensem aliasque admitti potest; nam ad studium generale Aurelianense illam Clementem V. transmisisse compertum habeo, ad alia forsitan etiam transmissurus, nisi, ut quidam probabiliter referunt, pœnitentia ductus de ea abelenda, antequam animam ageret, cogitasset. His postea accessit collectio Constitutionum viginti Joannis XXII. sub appellatione "*Extravagantium*" Jo. XXII., quæ tamen haud est authentica, sed privata auctoritate confecta circa annum 1310. Denique sæculo XV. rursus nova compilatio Decretalium diversorum pontificum privato ausu composita, quæ finit in Sixto IV., qui vivere desiit anno 1484, ut post hujus obitum demum comparuisse videatur. Utraque collectio *Extravagantium* tamen præcedentibus tribus partibus *Corporis Decretalium* adjecta est, adeo ut etiam, facta reformatione et correctione corporis Juris Canonici virtute bullæ Gregorii XIII., de anno 1580 stabilem et perpetuam sedem in prædicto Corpore, et inde quandam auctoritatem in foro acceperit." (Boehmeri Dissert. *de Decret. P. M.* prefixed to tom. ii. *Corp. Juris Canonici*, edit. Halæ Magd. 1747.)

Page 117, note (23).]—The right of appeal is limited, in this supposed Epistle of Marcellus, to bishops. See Blondel's "*Examen. Epist. Decretal.*" pp. 391, 397.

Page 147, note (30).]—The Roman Correctors observe on this decree:—"Caput hoc, quod citatur in plerisque exemplaribus ex B. Hieronymo, et in aliquot ex B. Augustino, in neutrius libris inventum est: sed in Glossa Ordinaria ad ea verba ipsius Epistolæ ad Galatas (2) 'in faciem ejus restiti' additur hæc interlinearis explanatio, '*quod non audeat nisi se non impari sentiret.*'"

Page 148, line 24. "*In the general council at Milevis . . . yet my gloss cometh in.*"—See Decretum Gratiani, Pars II. Causa ii. quest. 6, cap. 35.

Page 148, note (35).]—A fabricated Epistle: see Blondel's Prolegomena, p. 63; and remarks on the Epistle itself, p. 143.

Page 148, note (44).]—This Epistle should be assigned to Pope Vigilius: "*restitutum est caput hoc (xii.) Vigilio antiquorum exemplarium auctoritate.*" (Corr. Rom. in locum.)

Page 148, note (48).]—"The Donation of Constantine in the Canon Law is not only noted of sundry foul errors, absurdities, and contrarieties by Dr. Rainolds, Sutcliff, Hospinian, and others of our side; but by Valla, Erasmus, Cusanus, Dantes, Marsilius Patavinus, Paulus Cathalanus, and Æneas Sylvius, who was afterwards pope Pius, the second of that name." (James's "Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers," p. 163, Cambr. 1843.)

Page 148, note (55). "*P. Bonif. IV.*"—query Innocent IV. apud Sext. Decretal. lib. v. tit. 10, cap. 1.

Page 149, line 34. "*And again in Bulla Clementis, do I not command in my bull the angels of paradise.*"—The Jubilee-bull of 1350 by Clem. VI. asserting his sovereignty over the angels is extant in the collection of Baluze, "*Vitæ Pap. Aven.*" i. 310, &c., who, in his Notes, 915, &c. has endeavoured to throw discredit upon it. True, it was in his MS. in a Dict. of Albericus a Rosate, in John Wessel, Corn. Agrippa, and a MS. of the Colbert Library. But Albericus did not see it in Rome; Wessel and Agrippa were late witnesses; Antoninus of Florence thought the bull not genuine; and there was a duplicate bull of more decent expression, which is adopted in the Canon Law, *Eccl. Comm.* Bower was good-natured enough to acquiesce in this almost self-confuted sophistry. But in addition to the above testimonies in favour of his holiness's assumption we have that of Muratori. (Rer. Ital. Script. iii. part ii. p. 585, ed. Milan, 1734.) The bull is given entire and without observation by Euseb. Amort, de Indulg. 69, &c. In the very volume which contains Wessel's statement, is an answer by Antonio de Castro (who seconded the exertions of his deceased friend Hoeck), in which, coming regularly up to the part in Wessel, and without any question of its correctness, he satisfies himself with observing, that a particular exorbitancy of the pope ought not to be construed into a general rule; and that it ought to be charitably (*piè*) interpreted. The passage is too long for insertion, but very curious. In a document issued a little more than a century later by authority of a kindred pontiff, Sixtus IV., a Summary of Indulgences for the repair of the cathedral of Saintes in Saintogne, and republished at length in "*Venal Indulgences and Pardons of the Church of Rome,*" by the Rev. J. Mendham, 1839 (from which with additions the arguments here produced are generally drawn), the concluding Clausula has precisely the same claim: "*mandamus angelis paradisi, &c.*" Henry de Knyghton, in his "*De Event. Angliæ,*" lib. v. A.D. 1382, records certain indulgences granted by Urban VI. against the anti-pope Clement VII. to the military bishop of Norwich, which he truly calls *mirabiles*, for they not only absolved a *pœna et culpa*, but some of the commissaries asserted, "*quod ad eorum præceptum Angeli de cœlo descenderent, et animas in purgatoriis locis positas de pœnis eriperent, et ad cœlos absque mora deducerent.*" (Twysden, Hist. Ang. Scriptores X. col. 2671.) See also Freytag's "*Apparatus Litterarius,*" Lips. 1753, tom. ii. p. 1097. Nor need these statements be set aside on account of their absurdity. Romish writers have maintained that Angels might possibly come within the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, thus: "*Immo Romani pontificis excellentia et potestas nedum est circa cœlestia, terrestria et infernalialia, sed etiam super Angelos, quorum ipse major est.*" (*Cit. Annot. 1 ad Decis. 2. part. 3. Rotæ Romanæ recent. § 5, num. 24.*) "*Ita ut si foret possibile quod Angeli errarent in fide, vel contra Fidem sentirent, per Papam judicari et excommunicari possent.*" (Ferraris Bibliotheca prompta; in voc. Papa, art. ii. § 14, 15.) Luther in his "*De Captivitate Bab.*" under the head "*Sac. Penitent.*" asserts, that some of the Roman Church went so far as to command (*mandare*) the angels in heaven, without contradiction by Fisher in a *professed* answer. Erasmus, in his "*Annotations on 1 Tim. i.*" p. 663, ed. 1535, referring to certain idle questions in his time, places among those on the prerogatives of the pope, *An possit præcipere angelis.*

Page 119, note (69).]—"Eusebius captivus, sive modus procedendi in curia Romana contra Lutheranos." Basil, 1553, p. 179.

Page 150, line 1. "*Wysard*"—commonly called "Guiscard."

Page 150, line 3.]—For this fact see vol. ii. pp. 128—131.

Page 150, line 11. "*After*"—i. e. in imitation of Gregory VII. See vol. ii. pp. 155, 172.

Page 150, line 26. "*Did not I, Calixtus II., quail.*"—Calixtus II. is tandem fuit, qui penitus annullando legem regiam Caroli Ottonisque M. in gratiam promulgatam, Heinricum V. ejusque successores comitiis pontificalibus penitus exclusit, investituramque per baculum et annulum penitus prohibuit, atque Cæsarem illo jure excidere fecit, qui in comitiis Wormatiensibus A. D. 1122 mense Sept. in præsentia legatorum Pontificis procerumque imperii illi renunciavit ecclesiæque dein per legatum restituitur. Chronog. Saxo. ad an. 1122; Harduinus, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1107." (Imperatorum et Nationis Germanicæ Gravamina; a J. G. Georgi, Francof. 1725, p. 81.)

Page 150, line 37. "*Did not I, the said Alexander,*" &c.]—See on this subject the note in this Appendix on p. 113, line 3 from the bottom.

Page 150, note (90).]—See Chron. Alberti. abb. Stadensis, p. 287, edit. Argent. 1685.

Page 151, line 15. "*And raised up the Venetians against him.*"—See *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 480.

Page 151, note (92).]—Papal writers affirm, that this account is taken from an heretical source (see Labbe, tom. x. col. 1142); yet Conrad of Ursperg, one of the narrators, is spoken of by Bellarmine (de Translatione Imp. Rom. lib. i. cap. 2, § 15) as "vetustus et diligens auctor, in rebus Germaniæ præcipuè describendis."

Page 151, note (95).]—The authors referred to in Georgi's Gravamina Imperat. et nationis Germanicæ, p. 115, are better.

Page 151, note (96).]—Labbe, tom. xi. pt. i. col. 309.

Page 151, note (108).]—Other collectors assign it to Sylvester I. in Conc. Rom. II. c. 20, A. D. 324.

Page 152, note (113).]—The Roman Correctors observe:—"Apud Gregorium non est inventum, sed apud Isidorum (de summo bono, lib. iii. c. 58)."

Page 152, notes (122), (123.) "*Pope Symmachus.*"—"Vel potius Ennodius Ticinensis in libello pro synodo IV. Romana; A. D. 503." Boehmer. *in loc.*

Page 154, line 12. "*And therefore he had his name given him Cephas, that is, head.*"—That period in Optatus, which Baronius cites with great applause (if it be not added by some ignorant zealot of the Roman side), is a scandal to the learning of that Father, for he derives the Syriac word *Cephas* from the Greek κεφαλή, and by that ridiculous etymology would draw as contemptible a consequence, viz. that Peter was head of the Apostles; and again he seems wilfully to pervert the precept of St. Paul (Rom. xii. 13), 'distributing to the necessities of the saints,' which in Optatus's reading is, 'communicating with the memories of the saints,' that is (as he applies it) 'with Rome, where there are the memorials of two of the Apostles.' I could wish for Optatus's credit that these weak passages were spurious, or buried in silence, and the learned Baldwin is ashamed of this gross error (Opt. Milev. lib. ii. p. 48. Baldwin, notes, p. 184). But Baronius cites them (Annal. ad an. 321, § 5) in great pomp, and puts them in a whole line to make them look more plausible—the head of the Apostles, whence he was called *Cephas*, (so Optatus; but Binus adds,) 'deducing the interpretation from the Greek word, for in Syriac it signifies a hard stone;' and then glories extremely, as if Optatus had made communion with Rome the sole note of a Catholic. Whereas in the next page but one Optatus goes on, 'You cannot prove you have any communion with the seven churches of Asia; and yet if you be out of the communion of those churches, you are to be accounted aliens.' (Lib. ii. p. 50.) Which passage Baronius fraudulently leaves out, because it shows a true Catholic must be in communion not only with Rome, but also with all other orthodox churches." (Comber's "Roman Forgeries in the Councils, and the Annals of Baronius," part ii. p. 158.)

Page 155, note (174).]—Decret. Gregorii IX. lib. i. tit. 6, c. 20.

Page 156, line 20. "*As Gregory by his prayer delivered the soul of Trajan.*"—See Archbishop Ussher's "Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge," p. 213, edit. Cambr. 1835.

Page 160, line 19. "*Authority of the superior.*"—"Auctoritas papæ" is the reading in the edition with the gloss of John Andrews, 4to. Venet. 1486.

Page 160, line 22. "*Council of Tours.*"—Foxe says "Thuron." See Labbe's Conc. tom. xi. col. 1184, cap. 6.

Page 162.]—The references at the bottom of this page may be more fully exhibited thus:—

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|--|---|--------------------------------|
| (a) 24. q. 1. c. 12. 'Quoties.' | (b) Extr. de transl. [lib. 1. tit. 7. c. 2.] 'Inter.' | |
| (c) 3. q. 6. c. 7. 'Quamvis.' | (d) 6. q. 3. c. 3. 'Denique.' | (e) 16. q. 1. c. 52. 'Frater.' |
| (f) 2. q. 6. c. 17. 'Ideo.' | | |
| (g) Extr. de in integrum rest. [lib. 1. tit. 41. c. 2.] 'cum venissent.' 7. q. 1. c. 44. 'temporis.' | | |
| (h) 16. q. 1. c. 50. 'Felix.' | (i) 16. q. 1. c. 48. 'Et temporis.' | |
| (k) Extr. de voto. [lib. 3. tit. 34.] 'Ex multa.' | | |
| (l) Extr. de statu Monachi [lib. 3. tit. 35. c. 6.] 'Cum ad.' | | |
| (m) Extr. de juramento [lib. 2. tit. 24. c. 19.] 'Venientes.' | | |
| (n) Extr. de iudicio [lib. 2. tit. 1. c. 4.] 'Et si clerici.' | | |
| (o) Extr. de Bigamis, [lib. 1. tit. 21. c. 47.] 'nuper.' | | |
| (p) Extr. de clerico non ord. ministrante [lib. 5. tit. 28. c. 2.] | | |
| (q) Extr. de corpore vitiatii [lib. 1. tit. 20. c. 1, 2.] et di. 55. | (r) Dist. 50. 'Miror.' | |
| (s) Extr. de sententia excom. [lib. 5. tit. 39. c. 32.] 'cum illorum.' | (t) Ibid. | |
| (u) Extr. de filiis Presbyt. [lib. 1. tit. 17. c. 18.] 'Nimis.' | | |
| (x) Extr. de Prebend. [lib. 3. tit. 5.] 'de multa.' | | |
| (y) Extr. de elect. [lib. 1. tit. 6. c. 19.] 'Cum nobis.' | | |
| (z) Extr. de atate et qualitat. [Clementin. lib. 1. tit. 7. c. 3.] 'generalem.' | | |
| (aa) Dist. 17. 'Per tot.' | (bb) 9. q. 3. 'Per principale.' | |
| (cc) De elect. [lib. 1. tit. 6. c. 34.] 'Venerabilem.' | | |
| (dd) Extr. de officio delegati [lib. 1. tit. 30. c. 26.] 'querenti.' | (ee) 9. q. 3. c. 14. 'Allorum.' | |
| (ff) Extr. de Tempor. ordinand. [lib. 1. tit. 11. c. 12.] 'Cum in distrib.' | | |
| (gg) Extr. de usu Pallii. [lib. 1. tit. 8. c. 4.] 'ad honorem.' | | |
| (hh) Extr. de elect. [lib. 1. tit. 6. c. 54.] 'Dudum.' | (ii) Extr. de elect. c. 'Venerabilem.' | |
| (kk) Tractatu de censuris. | (ll) Extr. de elect. [lib. 1. tit. 6. c. 20.] 'Innocuit.' | |

N. B. In the foregoing notes, when a reference occurs, such as 24. q. 1, the former numeral denotes the 'Causa' in the Pars II. of the 'Decretum Gratiani;' and 'Extr.' refers to the 'Decretals of Gregory IX.'

Page 162, note (l).]—The close of this chapter of the Decretals seems to deny any such liberty of dispensing, even to the supreme pontiff.

Note (o).]—There appears from the note on this chapter in Edit. 1687 of the Canon Law—"Ioannes tamen Scotus, lib. 4, dist. 33, quæst. 2, autor est Lucium dispensare,"—to be some doubt about the power of dispensing in this case.

Note (r). "*Mirror.*"—This seems an incorrect reference: the previous reference might suit.

Note (bb).]—The reference here does not support the text.

Note (dd).]—This reference does not sufficiently support the text.

Page 163, note (ccc).]—The reference here does not suit the text.

Page 164, line 26.]—The words "not long before Basil council" have been expunged after "Jacobus the archbishop:" for the reason, see note in Appendix to vol. ii. p. 260, last line.

Page 170, note (1). "*Roberto de Licio.*"—Robert Carazoli, a Neapolitan, and in such repute for eloquence, that his pronunciation and gestures were quite an object of imitation: "Tanta erat eloquentia et dicendi gravitate præditus, ut omnes in eadem arte et pronunciationem et gestus ejus imitari conarentur," &c. See "Scriptores ordinis Minorum a Waddingo," Romæ, 1650, p. 306. He became bishop of Lecce, his native place, and wrote "Sermones de Christo, de B. Virgine," Venetiis, 1489 and 1490, &c. "He died in 1495, after he had been preacher for fifty years." (Dupin's Eccles. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 100.) See also "Fabricii Biblioth. mediæ Latinitat." vol. vi. p. 102, edit. Patavii, 1754; and Sbaralea Supplement. ad Wadding (Romæ, 1806), pp. 636—638.

Page 171, line 8 from the bottom. "*Certain Dominic friars.*"—It may be well perhaps to give the names from a contemporary pamphlet:—

"Cujus temeritatis quatuor hæresiarchæ nequissimi fuere operadores: primus conventus Bernensis Prior, Joannes dictus Vetter; secundus Stephanus Bols-horst sacre theologiæ doctor, ejusdem conventus prædicans; tertius Franciscus Ulschi, supprior; et quartus Heinricus Steinecker, procurator Conventus.

Ili ergo quatuor partes assumptum onus negociumque pretensum pergrave sentientes, et de suis viribus diffidentes, dæmonis implorarunt auxilium, qui arte necromantiæ et per Franciscum Ulschi adjuratus tam sibi placito negotio abesse non voluit, sed in ipsorum quatuor facie præsentem et coram in forma Æthiopsis comparuit: adjurationis et implorationis virtute ac vigore, operam et auxilium se fideliter præstiturum spondidit, invictaque fide pollicitus est," &c. (De quatuor hæresiarchis ord. Prædicatorum de Observantia nuncupatorum apud Switenses in civitate Bernensi combustis, A. C. M. D. IX." See Gieseler's "Text-Book of Eccles. Hist." vol. iii. p. 318.

Page 173.]—Foxe has given from the register of Archbishop Warham an account also of the persecution at this period in Kent, which will be found infra, vol. v. p. 647.

Page 181, line 26. "*About this fourth year of king Henry VIII.*"—"October A.D. 1511" (see last page) was in the *third* year of Henry VIII.; the fourth ranged from 22d April 1512 to 21st April 1513. The same inaccuracy is repeated in the margin of next page; the mention, however, there of the 4 Henry VIII. as the year of Browne's martyrdom, would render it probable that "1517" in the text is only a misprint for "1511." See note infra, on p. 182, line 8.

Page 181. "*John Browne, Martyr.*"—The case of this John Browne occurs no less than three times in some of the editions of Foxe: First, in all four editions 1570, 1576, 1583, 1597, his Articles are given in an extract from archbishop Warham's Register, dated A. D. 1511. (See vol. v. p. 647.) Secondly, at a subsequent place, corresponding to vol. v. p. 694, an account of his Martyrdom is given; he is there spoken of as "before overpast." Thirdly, in preparing the edition of 1583 for press, Foxe forgetting that he had given an account of his martyrdom at a later place, inserts here this somewhat abridged copy of the original one, which he had met with in the meantime, dated 1517. The account therefore here given in the text was first printed by Foxe in the edition of 1583, p. 805; the other is the original and more complete of the two, and is as follows:—

"JOHN BROWNE, A BLESSED MARTYR OF CHRIST JESUS, BURNED AT ASHFORD BY ARCHBISHOP WARRHAM, AND DOCTOR FYSHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, ABOUT THE SECOND YEAR OF KING HENRY VIII. A.D. 1511.

"*Persecutors.*—William Warrham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

A chantry Priest.

Walter More, Gentleman.

William More, hys brother.

Chilten of Wyc, Baily arrant.

Beare of Wilsborough.

Two servants of William Warrham.

"*Martyr.*—John Browne of Ashford, at Ashford, An. 1511.

"*Cause.*—The first occasion of the trouble of this John Browne the blessed servaunt of God, was by a certain priest: who passyng downe to Graves end in the common Barge (where the said John Browne was amongst divers other passingers mo) and disdayning that he so saucely shold sit so nere unto hym in the barge (who belike semed not much to passe upon the priest) began to swell in stomach against him. At length burstyng forth in hys priestlye voyce and disdainfull countenance, he asked him in this maner: Doest thou knowe (sayd he) who I am? thou sittest to nere me, and sittest on my clothes. No Sir (sayd the other), I know not what you are. I tell thee (quoth he) I am a Priest. What Sir, are you a person, or vicar, or some ladies chaplayne? No (quoth he agayne): I am a soule priest: I sing for a soule. Do you so, Sir? (quoth the other): that is wel done. I pray you Sir (said he) where finde you the soule when you go to masse? I cannot tell thee (said the priest). I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the masse is done? I cannot tel thee, sayd the priest. Neither can you tel where you¹ finde it when you go to masse, nor where you leave it when the masse is done: how can you then save the soule? sayd he. Goe thy wayes, sayd the priest, I perceive thou art an here-tike, and I wyll be even with thee.

(1) It is observable that the editions of 1570, 1576, read, "where you find it;" but that of 1583 (p. 1292) and those subsequent read "where to find it."

“So at the landyng, the priest takyng with hym Walter More and W. More, two Gentlemen and brethren, rode straightwayes to the archbishop, who then was William Warrham. Whereupon the sayd John Brown, within three dayes after, was sent for by the archbishop. His bringers up were Chilten of Wye, baily arrant, and one Beare of Wilsborough, with two of the bishop’s servauntes, who with certayne other being appointed for the same, came sodenly into hys house upon hym, the same day when his wife was churched, as he was bringyng in a messe of porrige to the bourd servyng hys gastes: and so laying handes upon hym, set hym upon hys owne horse, and bindyng his feete under the horses belly, caried hym away to Canterbury, neyther he, nor his wyfe, nor any of his friendes knowyng whether he went, nor whether he should, and there continuyng the space of xl dayes, from Lowsonday til Friday before Whitsonday, through the cruel handling of the sayd archbishop, and the bishop of Rochester, Doctor Fisher, he was so piteously entreated, that hys bare feet were set upon the hote burning coales, to make hym renye his fayth, which notwithstanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the payne, continued in the Lordes quarell unremoveable. At length after all this cruelty susteined, his wyfe yet not knowyng where he was become, on Friday before Whitsonday he was sent to Ashford where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

“In the meane tyme, as he was brought to the towne over night, there to be set in the stocks, it happened as God would, that a yong mayd of hys house comyng by and seyng her maister, ran home and told her mistres.

“Then she comyng to him, and findyng him in the stocks appointed to be burned the next morow, sate by hym all the night long. To whom then he declared the whole stoyre or rather tragedy how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the bones, that he could not set them upon the ground, by the two bishops aforesayd (he thanked God therfore) and all to make me (sayd he) to deny my lord, which I wil never do, for if I should deny him (said he) in this world, he would deny me hereafter. And therefore I pray thee (said he) good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begon, and bring up thy children virtuously in the feare of God.

“And so the next day, which was on Whitson even, this godly Martyr was burned, where he standing at the stake sayd this prayer holding up hys handes, as followeth.

“*The prayer of Browne at his Death.*

“O Lord, I yelde me to thy grace,
Graunt me mercy for my trespase,
Let never the fiend my soule chace.
Lord I wyll bow and thou shalt beat:
Let never my soul come in hell heat.

“*“Into thy handes I commend my spirite: thou hast redeemed me, O Lorde of truth.”*

“And so this blessed Martir ended his lyfe in peace, anno 1511.

“This story the sayde Elizabeth Browne his wyfe dyd oft tymes repeat to Alice her daughter, who dwellyng yet in the parish of S. Pulchers, testified the narration hereof unto me and certayne other, upon whose credible information I have recorded the same.

“Furthermore, here is to be noted that the sayde John Browne bare a fagot seven yeares before this in the dayes of King Henry the seventh: whose sonne also named Richard Browne for the lyke cause of religion, was imprisoned at Canterbury lykewyse in the latter tyme of Quene Mary, and shoulde have bene burned with two moe besides hymselfe, the nexte day after the death of Quene Mary, but that by the proclaimyng of Quene Elizabeth they escaped.” (Foxe, edit. A.D. 1570, p. 1480, and 1576, p. 1255.)

Page 181, line 7 from the bottom.]—The other copy in some Editions reads here “Where to find:” and in the next line “save the soul” is restored from the other copy for “have the soul:” see note (1) in last page.

Page 182, line 5. “*Low Sunday*” was the Sunday next after Easter, and fell in 1511 on April 27th; in 1512 on April 18th; in 1517 on April 19th. (See Nicolas’s Tables.)

Page 182, line 8. “*A.D. 1517.*”]—It has been already (in the note on p. 181, line 26) suggested as probable, that “1517” is a misprint for “1511:” we may

add here, that this is the more probable, because lower down Foxe ends the account by saying, that J. Browne had borne a faggot seven years before in the time of Henry VII., who died April 21st, 1509.

Page 182, note (2). "*St. Pulcri.*"]—A very ancient curtailment of "*St. Sepulcri*" (see vol. ii. p. 47), which is retained to this day among the populace of London, who will generally want an explanation if you talk of "*St. Sepulcre's* church," but will at once know what you mean by "*St. Pulcre's.*"

Page 183, line 7.]—*St. Mary Matfellow*, or *de Matfellow*, is a very ancient name of *Whitechapel*, found in the London Registers before Richard II. See Newcourt's "*History of the Diocese of London,*" vol. i. p. 698.

Page 184, line 26.]—Hun's disclaimer (supposing that which Foxe here refers to, to be really his) would be in some respects rather creditable to him than otherwise: see Article I., and Appendix to vol. iii. note on p. 22, Art. xviii.

Page 188, line 24. "*And his own suffragan Dr. John Young, titular bishop of Callipolis.*"]—This is put in from the Latin; see p. 190, note. This third bishop puzzled all the historians, and they have omitted all mention of him. (See Burnet, Henry, &c.) Among the early archbishops and bishops in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* appears one John Young, educated at Winchester school and New college, Oxford. He left Oxford A.D. 1502 and became known to Wolsey, who made him dean of Winchester. He obtained several pieces of preferment from Warham and Fitz-james. In Bliss's edition of the "*Athenæ,*" vol. ii. p. 727, several extracts are given from the Registers of Richard Fitz-james, bishop of London (to be found also in Bishop Kennett's Collections, Lansdowne MSS. No. 979, Brit. Museum), from which it appears that on July 3d, 1513, he was consecrated by Fitz-james to be his "*suffragan*" with the title of *Gallipoli*, and swore canonical obedience as such to the archbishop of Heraclea (in whose province Gallipoli was) at the chapel of St. Thomas at Acres [Mercer's chapel], London: also that on March 28th, 1514, he was made archdeacon of London in room of Dr. Horsey, resigned. Newcourt, in his "*Diocese of London,*" says that "*Johannes Episcop. Callipolensis*" was prebend of Holborn in St. Paul's at this time. He is said to have been also judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. He became Warden of New college in 1521, and died March 20th, 1526.

Wood states that there was also a John Yonge, LL.D., at the same period, not to be confounded with the bishop of Gallipoli, who was rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, made Master of the Rolls in 1508; died April 28th, 1516, and was buried in the Rolls chapel. In Beatson's "*Political Index*" he appears as Master of the Rolls A.D. 1507—1516. It is a curious fact that this other Dr. Young appears in this affair of Hun (p. 195) as Master of the Rolls, as well as Dr. Young, bishop of Gallipoli.

This is a suitable place for observing, that before the Reformation it was very common for European bishops to appoint suffragans with the titles of foreign, especially Oriental, sees. Strype, in his *Life of Cranmer*, and Wharton, in his *Observations* on the same, give sundry specimens of these titular bishops: Sidonensis, or Sidoniensis (Strype, edit. 1691, pp. 36, 37, 50), Roannensis, or Reonensis (ib. pp. 36, 37), Negropont (ib. p. 37), Syrinensis (ib. 37, Appendix, p. 258), Universalis Ecclesiæ (ib. p. 37), Chalcedonensis (ib. p. 36, and p. 652 of this volume of Foxe, compared with Blomefield's *Norwich*, 388), Hipponensis, or Ypolotanensis, or Hippolitanensis (Strype, Appendix, p. 256). Wharton says that there were seven of them in England, and that he could furnish a list of them all for two hundred years previous to the Reformation.

Many specimens of these titular bishops occur in Wood's *Athenæ* among the early archbishops and bishops: Sarepta, Nazareth, Argensis, and Ebrunnensis, vol. iii. pp. 454, 427, 607, 608, were foreign titulars; and Nicopolis, p. 363 of this volume.

In the 26 Henry VIII. an act of parliament was passed, appointing by name twenty-six towns in England and Wales to be the titles of such suffragans as might in future be wanted: a specimen of these we have in Richard Thornton, or Thornden, bishop of Dover, and suffragan to Cranmer, *infra*, vol. vii. p. 297.

Page 193, line 19. "*John Enderby, barber.*"]—In the edition of 1583, and all subsequent, "*barber*" is corrupted into "*baker*," while all Editions call him "*barber*" at p. 195.

Page 193, line 40. "*The rode of northern*"—probably means the rood, or large crucifix, at the north door of St. Paul's. See vol. iii. p. 266, line 43, and vol. v. p. 418, lines 24, 39.

Page 194, line 24. "*Gave the said deponent a piece of salmon for his wife,*"—probably we should read "*prisoner*" and "*from.*" Salmon is mentioned also at the bottom of the last page.

Page 194, line 9 from the bottom.]—Foxe's text has "4th;" but see the last witness's evidence and Nicolas's Tables. In the original (Edit. 1563, p. 394) it stands "the iiiii day of December."

Page 195, line 34. "*Sering of Hun's coffin.*"—This is the reading in the Edition of 1563: the passage was not reprinted till the Edition of 1583, when it was altered into "serving;" but "sering" seems the true reading, *i. e.* waxing, *sere* and *cere* being used indiscriminately in the old writers.

Page 197, line 11 from the bottom. "*The tenor of the King's Letter in behalf of Richard Hun.*"—Among the Records at the Rolls Office, Chancery Lane, Chapter House Papers, 1st series. No. 1439, there is a petition of Margaret Whaplod to the Lord Privy Seal [undoubtedly Cromwell, who held that office 1536—1542], praying for relief; she calls herself "wife of Roger Whaplod," and speaks of her father as "maliciously murdered:" she states that they had then seven young children, and that they were in great distress, owing to the long denial of justice, and therefore prays redress. This petition no doubt occasioned the royal mandate in the text to be issued. There is an allusion to Roger Whaplod *infra*, vol. v. p. 27.

Page 198, line 12 from the bottom.]—The title of Sir T. More's book, copied from the original, is, "A dyalogue of Syr Thomas More, wheryn be treated dyvers matters, as of the veneracyon and worship of ymages and relyques," &c. folio, 1530. Foxe is quoting the 3d book, chap. 15, fol. cx. (See Dibdin's *Typograph. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 97.)

Page 199, line 27. "*Fretted and faced away.*"—The folio of 1684 reads "forced:" the expression at p. 190 is "fret and failed away," but in the Edition of 1576 that passage has "freat and faled away," while the first Edition (1563) has "fret and fased away." See "*Promptuarium Parvulorum*" under "Face-lyn," with Mr. Way's note.

Page 214, line 4.]—William Smith was consecrated bishop of Lincoln A. D. 1495; he died January 2d, A. D. 1514. (Richardson's note on Godwin.)

Page 214, line 12.]—See *suprà*, p. 123. The Edition of 1570 calls him there "Tylesley;" but the next Edition (1576) alters it into "Tilsworth," or "Tylsworth."

Page 224, line 12 from the bottom. "*Any of these nine.*"—Only seven things are mentioned: perhaps 7 in the MS. was mistaken for 9.

Page 226, line 34.]—John Heron, Horne (p. 229), and Herne, are evidently the same person.

Page 231, line 36. "*A weele*" is a 'twiggen snare or trap for fish.' (Todd's *Johnson*.)

Page 232, line 14, margin.]—At p. 580 of this volume the vicar of Wycombe appears to have been Rowland, the bishop's chaplain, and a persecutor.

Page 232, line 18. "*St. John Shorne.*"—See the note *infra*, on p. 580.

Page 248, line 24. "*The book of Dionysius Areopagita.*"—If any additional discussion is desired as to the genuineness of this treatise, it may be found defended by Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccles. sæc. i. Dissert. xxii.*), and impugned by Sam. Basnage. (*Annales Politico-Eccles. ad an. 51, § 61, &c.*) A Roman Catholic writer very recently observes:—"Ille *pseudo-Dionysii* liber absque dubio in *quintum seculum* relegandus est." (*Mich. Permanederi Biblioth. Patr. p. 351, Landishuti, 1841.*)

Page 253, line 2. "*The science of printing . . . where was touched the inventing of printing.*"—In the portion of the preceding volume here referred to, there

are a few misconceptions, which it may be as well perhaps briefly to rectify. The lines of Bishop Campanus proceed on the notion that *Ulric Han* was a *Gaul*, whereas he appears to have been a native of Ingelstat, and a citizen of Vienna. It is not quite correct to say, that he was the first who introduced the art of printing into Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz having that honour now assigned to them, from more careful investigation.

The first line in the verses given in vol. iii. p. 719 differs from every example we can find, the ordinary reading being:—

“Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis unde quod alis;”

from which “Jovis unde” has been removed by Foxe or others, and “vigilando” substituted, possibly in order to get rid of the heathen reference in the original: see Schelhorn’s reprint of Cardinal Quirini’s “*Liber de Scriptorum edit. quæ Romæ primum prodierunt*,” Lindangia, 1761, pp. 55, 90; Maittaire’s “*Annales Typogr.*” Edit. Amstel. 1733, vol. i. pp. 15, 16; Dibdin’s *Bibliograph. Decameron*, vol. i. p. 382; and Schœpflin’s “*Vindiciæ Typographicæ*,” Argent. 1760, pp. 95, 100, 103.

The tract of M. Judex to which Foxe has referred (vol. iii. p. 718) will be found reprinted in a collection of similar pieces by Wolfius, “*Monumenta Typographica*,” Hamb. 1740, vol. i. p. 173.

Page 256, line 11. “*Savonarola*.”]—See *suprà*, pp. 8, 130.

Page 256, line 23. “*Norionagus testifieth*,” &c.]—See this before, p. 6.

Page 260.]—Foxe states at the bottom of the last page, that he derived the ensuing account of Luther from Melancthon. Foxe’s text has been collated with Melancthon’s Latin, prefixed to tom. ii. of “*Lutheri Opera*,” Wittemb. 1558; and considerably improved in some instances.

Page 260, line 18.]—“*Thy*” is emphatic, and therefore printed in italics: “*Sed adde ut credas et hoc, quòd per ipsum peccata TIBI donantur.*” (Melancthon.)

Page 260, line 26.]—“*Discourse*” is better than Foxe’s “*purpose*.” “*Et ex hujus sermonibus et suæ mentis consolatione*” are the words of the Latin.

Page 260, line 9 from the bottom.]—“*Qui exordia academiæ Witteburgensis adjuverat, studium theologicum in recenti academia excitare cupiebat*,” &c.

Page 261, line 1.]—“*Tantum esse vim ingenii in hoc viro, ut planè præ sagiret mutaturum esse vulgare doctrinæ genus, quod tunc in scholis unicum tradebatur.*”

Page 261, line 11. “*Solemn manner of the schools.*”]—“*Usitato more.*”

Page 261, line 18.]—“*Ut multa præcedunt mutationes præ sagia.*”

Page 261, line 29.]—“*Post longam et obscuram noctem.*”

Page 261, line 15 from the bottom.]—“*Quare postea, cum quosdam receptos ritus mutare vellet, honesti viri qui eum norunt minus vehementer adversati sunt, eique propter autoritatem, quam et rerum bonarum illustratione et sanctitate morum antea pepererat, in iis sententiis adsenserunt, quibus magno cum dolore videbant orbem terrarum distrahi.*”

Page 261, line 4 from the bottom.]—“*De veris consolationibus in cruce.*”

Page 262, line 2.]—“*Promissionum Legis, et promissionis Evangelicæ.*”

Page 262, line 8.]—“*Monstrato jam dulciori genere doctrinæ.*”

Page 262, line 12.—“*Ut cognitâ sermonis proprietate et phrasi, dexterius judicare posset.*”

Page 262, line 7 from the bottom.]—“*Hunc hæreticum igni perdendum (query, prodendum) esse.*”

Page 262, line 4 from the bottom.]—“*De rebus iisdem et tuendæ veritatis.*”

Page 263, line 16. “*Discovered outwardly.*”]—“*Significavit.*”

Page 261, line 15. “*Once it was counted heresy*,” &c.]—“*Olim hæreticus habebatur, qui dissentiebat ab Evangeliiis, ab articulis fidei, aut his quæ cum his parem obtinerent auctoritatem. Nunc si quis usquam dissentiat a Thoma, vocatur hæreticus: imò si quis a commenticia ratione quam heri sophista*

quispiam in scholis commentus est. Quicquid non placet, quicquid non intelligunt, hæresis est: Græcè scire, hæresis est: expolitè loqui, hæresis est: quicquid ipsi non faciunt, hæresis est." (Erasmii Opera, Lug. Bat. 1703, tom. iii. cols. 514, 515, 517.) It fared much the same or worse with Hebrew: Claude D'Espense observes of his younger days, that he was driven to read Aristotle and Plato in Latin translations instead of the originals, and then adds:—"Nam Græce tum nosse suspectum, Hebraice prope hæreticum." In Post. ad Timoth. Epist. cap. iii. p. 400, edit. Oper. Paris, 1616.

With regard to "speaking more finely," Erasmus may allude to the reception which his "Colloquies" met with from the priesthood in general, or to the "Epistolæ obscurorum virorum," of which he had the credit given him. See Maittaire's *Annales Typograph.* vol. ii. pp. 365—369.

Page 264, line 6 from the bottom. "*The symbol,*"—*i. e.* the Creed.

Page 267, line 7 from the bottom.]—Melancthon gives us the words of Euripides, *πᾶν σύντροφον γλυκύ.*

Page 268.]—The extract from the Edition of 1563 should not have been terminated at the words "quake for fear:" the following continuation of the passage should have been given, being still a translation of Melancthon:—

"Let us render thanks unto God, the eternall Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath pleased by the ministry of this godlye Luther, to purify the evangelical fountaines from papistical infection, and restore sincere doctrine to the church: whiche thinge we remembring ought to joyne our lamentable petitions, with zelous affection beseeching God to confirme that he hath begon in us, for his holy names sake.

"This is thy voyce and promise (O living and just God, eternall Father of oure Lorde Jesus Christ, Creator of all things, and of the church), I wil have compassion on you, for my names sake: I will it doo it for myself, yea even for my selfe, that I be not blasphemed. I beseeche thee with ardent affection, that for thy glorye, and the glory of thy Sonne Jesus Christ, thou wilt collect unto thy self in the voyce of thy gospel, among us one perpetuall church, and that for the dear love of thy Sonne our Lorde Jesus Christ our mediator and intercessor thou wilt governe us by thy Holy Ghost, that we unfainedly maye call upon thee, and serve thee justly. Rule also the studies of thy doctrine, governe and conserve the policie and disciplin of the same, which be the nurces of thy church and scholes. And sith thou haste created mankinde to acknowledge and to invoke thee, and that for this respect thou hast revealed thy selfe by many cleare testimonies, permit not this smal number and selected flocke (that professe thy sacred worde) to be defaced and overcome. And the rather, for that thy Sonne Jesus Christ, ready to fight against death, hath prayed in thys manner for us: Father, sanctify them in verity, thy word is verity. Our prayers we joyne with the praier of this our holy priest, making our petition with him, that thy doctryne maye shine among men, and that we mai be directed by the same. We heard Luther evermore pray in this wise, and so praying, his innocent ghost peaceably was separated from the earthly corps, when he had lived almost sixty three yeares.

"Such as succeeded, have divers monuments of his doctrine and godlines. He wrote certain learned workes, wherein he comprised a wholesome and necessary doctrine for menne, informing the sincere mindes to repentance and to declare the frutes of the same, the use of the Sacraments, the difference betwixt the Gospel and Philosophy, the dignity of politike order, finally the principall articles of doctryne profitable to the church. He composed certaine workes to reprove, wherein he refuteth divers pernicious errors. He also devised bookes of interpretation, in which he wrote many enarracions and expositions of the Prophets and Apostles, and in this kinde his very enemies confesse, he excelleth all other, whose workes are imprinted and published abroad.

"Then all Christians and godly mindes conceive what praise he deserved, but certainly hys exposition of the olde and newe Testament, in utilitye and laboure, is equivalent to all hys workes. For in the same is so much perspicuity, that it may serve in steade of a commentary, though it be red in the Germaine tonge. And yet this is not a naked exposition, but it containeth very learned annotacions and arguments of every part. The whiche bothe set

forth the summe of heavenly doctrine, and instructeth the reader in the sacred phrase, and manner of speaking in the Scriptures, that the godly mindes may receive firm testimonies of the doctrine, out of the very fountaynes. Hys minde was not to keepe us occupied in his woorkes; but to guid our spirites to the verye springes. His wil was, we should heare God speake, and that by his word true saythe and invocation might be kiudled in oure myndes, that God might be sincerely honored and adored, and that many might be made inherytors of the everlasting life.

"It behoveth us thanckfullye to accepte hys good wil and greate laboures, and to imitate the same as our patrone, and by him to learne to adorne the church, according to our power. For we must referre all our life, enterprises, and deliberations, to ii principal ends. First, to illustrate the glory of God, Secondly, to profite the church. As touching the fyrst, S. Paul sayeth: Doo all thinges to the glorye of God. And of the second, it is said in the cxxii psalm, Pray that Jerusalem maye prosper, and there followeth a singular promise added in this versicle: that such as love the church, shall prosper and have good successe. Let these heavenly commaundements, and devine instructions, allure all men to learne the true doctryne of the church, to love the faithfull minystrers of the gospell, and the true teachers, and to employe their whole studye and diligence to augment the true doctrine, and maintain concord and unity in the true church." (Foxe, Edit. A. D. 1563, p. 407, cols. 1, 2.)

Page 269, line 9 from the bottom.]—"Maneat inter nos," i.e. between ourselves.

Page 269, line 2 from the bottom.]—"Asculanus episcopus" Foxe improperly renders "bishop of Ascalon." "Interea Romæ ab adversariis procurabatur citatio, qua per fiscalem papæ vocabatur in jus Lutherus, designatis ad eam causam iudicibus Hieronymo de Genutiis, Episcopo Asculano, Auditore Cameræ, et Sylvestro Prierate, Theologo, Mag. Palatii." (Cochlæi Hist. de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri, Colon. 1568, p. 15.)

Page 274, last line.]—The reader will find a copy of the Appeal, at vol. v. p. 688.

Page 275, line 18.]—The Disputation at Leipsic began June 27th, A. D. 1519. The ensuing account of it is almost entirely a translation of Melancthon's "Epistola de Lipsica disputatione," given, with ample notes of a literary kind, in the new "Corpus Reformatorum," Halis Sax. 1834, vol. i. col. 87. It is also printed in the "Paralipomena Abbatis Urspergensis," whence Foxe took it: see p. 277, note.

Page 275, line 4 from the bottom. "*Into other by-matters and ambages.*"]—This word, though previously used by Melancthon in this letter, has here mistakingly taken the place of "symplegadas," and of course given a wrong turn to the sentence:—"In has Symplegadas coegerunt causam, non ita multum necessarias et plane alienas ab instituto Carolostadii," col. 92.

Page 276, line 8. "*Exscripts,*"]—"quæ transcripserat."

Page 276, line 12. "*Luther (as was said),*" &c.]—From hence to the paragraph ending "ministered the first occasion," strictly speaking should precede the disputation at Leipsic. The titles of some of the publications of Luther and Eckius are given in the notes to Bretschneider's edition of Melancthon.

Page 277, note (1). "*Ex Paraleipom. Abbat. Ursperg.*" pp. 473—476, (being a copy of Melancthon's *Epistola*, before mentioned) Edit. Argent. 1537.

Page 279, line 1. "*Which was in the month of July, A.D. 1519.*"]—The Annotator of Melancthon's Letters, in the Edition of Bretschneider, thus carefully states the time that was occupied in this memorable discussion:—

"Die xvi. m. Julii disputatio solemniter finita est. Equidem puto Vitebergenses d. xvii. Julii Lipsia abiisse. Quæ omnino a die xxvii. Junii usque ad d. xvi. Julii 1519 Carolostadius et Lutherus cum Johanne Meyer Van Eck Lipsiæ disputarunt."

Page 279, line 18.]—Both Leo's bull against Luther, and Luther's answer to it, are given infra, vol. v. p. 659.

Page 280, line 19.]—Charles V. was elected at Frankfort June 28th, A.D. 1519, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle October 23d, A.D. 1520. (L'Art. de Vér. des Dates.)

Page 281. "*The acts and doings of Martin Luther at Worms.*"]—See Luther Opera, Witeb. 1558, tom. ii. p. 163. The account there opens, "Anno Salutis nostræ 1521, post Dominicam Misericordia Domini, feriâ tertiâ;" i. e. Tuesday following the 2d Sunday after Easter, or April 16th; for Easter fell on March 31st in 1521. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 282, line 28.]—"Altero die post adventum ejus, feriâ quartâ," i. e. Wednesday. Foxe calls it erroneously "the fourth day after his repair." See above, vol. iii., note in Appendix on p. 27.

Page 284, line 3.]—"Sequenti feriâ quintâ," i. e. Thursday.

Page 284, line 16 from the bottom.]—"Vel quocunque modo in mores gestusque aulicos peccavero;" and presently after, "non in aulis sed angulis monasteriorum versatus."

Page 284, note (1).]—"Germanicè" is the Latin.

Page 286, line 6.]—For "rebound" the Edition of 1563 (p. 411) reads "turn."

Page 287, line 22.]—The day is called in the Latin "Feria Sexta, post Dominicam misericordia Domini:" i. e. Friday, or the next day.

Page 288, line 1.]—"Feria secunda post Jubilate." The 3d Sunday after Easter was called "Jubilate," from the introit, "Jubilate omnis terra."

Page 288, line 3. "*At six o'clock.*"]—"Hora sexta ante prandium, loco iterum designando," are the Latin words. The Edition of 1563 accordingly reads, "sixe of the clock:" the subsequent ones read "nine of the clock."

Page 288, line 6.]—"Hora nuper designatâ . . . ad domini diversorium." Foxe blunders this sentence:—"On St. George's day, a certain chaplain of the archbishop of Treves, about supper-time, came to Luther by the commandment of the bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must, the morrow after, have access to his master." St. George's day was April 23d.

Page 290, line 32. "*The morrow after.*"]—Foxe says "the Friday after." But this was Thursday, "the next day." (See 3 lines above.) See also Nicolas's Tables, which make St. Mark's day (April 25th) fall in 1521 on a Thursday. The Latin expression for the date is correct—"Feria quintâ, ipsâ die S. Marci," i. e. Thursday.

Page 291, line 12.]—"Affirmavit non magno redempturum, nisi audivisset eum: alioqui enim se statim Cæsarem aditulum fuisse, dicturumque quæ retulissent doctores."

Page 292, line 14. "*Prest.*"]—See note on p. 372, line 20.

Page 293, line 10.]—"A writ of outlawry," dated May 8th. (Sleidan.)

Page 294, line 3.]—Pope Leo X. died December 1st, A.D. 1521. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.)

Page 295, line 13. "*Pope Adrian the Sixth,*" &c.]—This is one of the Documents in the "Libellus Secundus" of the "Gravamina Germanorum." See the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius, fol. 171; and the note in this Appendix on p. 11, line 14.

Page 298. "*Instructions . . . to Cheregatus.*"]—This is another Document in the "Gravamina." See the "Fasciculus," fol. 172. Cheregatus was bishop of Teramo, near Naples.

Page 308. "*The grievances of the Germans.*"]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 11, line 14.

Page 314, line 9 from the bottom.]—Adrian VI. died September 24th, A.D. 1523, and Clement VII. was crowned November 25th. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates.)

Page 320, note (1.) "*Ex Phil. Melanct. in Orat. funebri.*"]—The Life, to which the Address quoted by Foxe was appended, appeared rather frequently in the 16th and 17th centuries, one of the last reprints being that edited by

Chr. A. Heumann, Gottingæ, 1746, who mentions seven or eight previous editions.

Page 320. "*An intimation given by Philip Melancthon.*"—Extracted from a small volume entitled, "*Historia de Vita et Actis Reverendiss. V. D. Martini Lutheri, bona fide conscripta a Phil. Melancthone,*" Witebergæ, ex officina Johannis Luft, 1546;" reprinted in the new collection of Melancthon's Works, Halis, 1839, vol. vi. col. 58. Foxe's translation is rather free.

Page 321, line 10. "*Devout prayer.*"—"Hac precatone" in the original.

Page 321, line 19. "*He was called unto God.*"—The words given in note (1) from the Edition of 1563 represent the original more accurately.

Page 321, line 22. "*Elias, the conductor.*"—This should be "Alas, the conductor," &c. "All, obiit auriga et currus, qui rexit," &c.

Page 321, line 24. "*Hath not been comprehended,*" and "*faith of God*"—should be, "hath not been discovered," and "faith of the Son of God:" the Latin is "deprehensa est," and "de fiducia filii Dei."

Page 321, line 28. "*Which shall follow*"—better, "which may follow."

Page 322, line 9 from the bottom.]—Frederick the Wise died May 5th, A. D. 1525. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 322, line 4 from the bottom.]—These ministers were cited January 20th, A. D. 1524. (*Sleidan.*)

Page 329.]—In the margin John Faber is called by Foxe "*Stapulensis,*" but Jacques le Fevre of Etaples was quite a different person from John Faber, the vicar to the bishop of Constance, who was of Suabia. (See Scott's Continuation of Milner, vol. iii. p. 342.) Hence "*Suabiensis*" is substituted for "*Stapulensis.*"

Page 335, line 6.]—John Oxlinc, or Echslin, was the minister of Burg, a town in the jurisdiction of Zurich. He was apprehended by Joseph Amberg, bailiff of *Thurgau* (not "*Zurich,*" as Foxe says), who had the criminal jurisdiction over Burg, Stamheim, &c. He had once been a favourer of the Reformation, but took this step to gain favour with the papists and secure his re-election as bailiff of *Thurgau*. (See Scott's Contin. of Milner, vol. ii. p. 496.)

Page 335, line 34.]—The manifesto of the Zurichers was published January 1th, 1525, about six months after the apprehension of John Oxlinc.

Page 344, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe calls these "the abbot of Capella, and the commendator of Kunacensis." The battle was fought at Cappel, at the foot of mount Albis, about three leagues from Zurich: the abbot of Cappel was Wolfgang Joner, of whom an account is given by Scott (*Contin. of Milner*, vol. ii. p. 569), as well as of the monastery over which he presided. The commendator or commander of Kunsnacht was Conrad Fabricius or Schmidt, of whom Scott also gives an account (see Index to the same volume). The title was connected with the Teutonic knights, whence he is called "*Teutonici ordinis commendator.*" (*Zuing. Op. ii. p. 228.*) Kunsnacht was situated on the lake of Zurich.

Page 350, note (2).]—Foxe no doubt derived the document of which he here gives a translation, from the *Paralipomena Abbatis Urspergensis*, Argon. 1609, p. 351. The following is the Latin as there given:—

"Solymannus Tsaccus, Dei gratia rex regum, dominus dominantium, Maximus imperator Byzantii et Trapezuntis, &c. Reverendo patri Philippo Vilerio Liladamo, magno magistro Rhodi, equitibusque suis et universo populo.

"Commoventur me afflictissimæ gentis meæ commiseratio, et summa injuria vestra. Impero igitur vobis percelerem insulæ et arcis Rhodiæ deditionem, piè ultròque concessa gratia securè abeundi cum omni pretiosa suppellectile, aut si libet manendi sub imperio meo in nullo nec tributo quidem minuta libertate et religione vestra. Si sapitis, præferte amicitiam et pacem bello crudelissimo. Nam victos vi manent acerbissima omnia quæ victi a victoribus pati solent, a quibus non defendent vos arma domestica externave auxilia, nec ingentes muri, quos radicibus evertant. Valete bene. Quod tum demum fiet, si potius quam vim amicitiam malueritis, quæ neque fraudi neque dolo vobis erit. Juro Deum, cœli terræque auctorem, juro quatuor Evangelicæ historiæ chronogra-

phos, vicijs quater mille prophetas lapsos à cœlo, summumque inter hos nostrum Mahumetem, adorandos item manes avi patrisque, tum hoc sacrum augustumque meum imperiale caput.

“Ex regia nostra Constantinopoli.”

There is an account of this same matter in the Universal History, with authorities cited: instead of “quatuor Evangelicæ historiæ Chronographos” we there read, “the four Musaphi, which came down from heaven:” in illustration of which the following quotation may be useful: the 27th rule of the Religious Code of the Turks was—“Que les livres célestes sont réellement descendus du ciel, et mis entre les mains des prophètes; qu’ils contiennent les commandemens et les défenses de l’Eternel, ses promesses et ses menaces.” On this rule it is observed, “Que le plus éminent et le plus excellent de tous est le *Cour’ann*; le Pentateuque, *Teurath*, tient le second rang; l’Evangile, *Inndjil*, le troisième; et le Pseautier, *Zebbour*, le quatrième.” (Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman, par M. D’Olsson, tom. i. p. 67, Paris, 1787.) Foxe’s translation has been revised.

Page 350. “*Henry of Zutphen.*”]—Foxe has derived the ensuing account of him from Luther, whom he cites p. 360, note (1). See Luth. Op. vol. vii. fol. 495, Witeb. 1558. The text has been collated with the Latin, and several inaccuracies corrected. The case of this martyr has been fully discussed by Muhlius in his “*Dissertationes Historico-theologicæ*,” pp. 369—472, 4to, Kilizæ, 1715; and his “*De Henrici Zutphaniensis Propositionibus*,” 4to, Kilizæ, 1717, to which is appended a corrected version of Luther’s narrative. Muhlius’s publications are valuable, inasmuch as he consulted the original Dithmarsh records, whence he has furnished more correct names of persons and places. Foxe, after Luther, Crispin, and Pantaleon, calls him “of Sutphen:” but Muhlius calls him “Zutphaniensis,” and Sleidan (an. 1524, vol. i. p. 244, edit. 1785) calls him “Henry Möller of Zutphen.”

Page 352, line 5.]—Muhlius names this suffragan of the archbishop “Christopher.”

Page 352, last line.]—These Articles, as given by Muhlius, were 34 on “Natura,” and 33 on “Evangelium, Fides, Charitas;” and they are discussed and defended by Muhlius.

Page 353, line 21. “*Insomuch that they,*” &c.]—“Quamobrem relictâ impietate, Verbum Dei non insectandum esse suadebant, sed credendum ut salvi fierent.” (Luther.)

Page 353, line 26. “*With his blood.*”]—“Sanguine suo” (Luther) is not noticed by Foxe.

Page 353, line 30. “*Ad evangelizandum eis Christum.*” (Luther.)

Page 353, line 33.]—“In feriis D. Katharinæ prædicaneis,” *i. e.* the day preceding, or the eve of, St. Katharine’s day. (Ducange.) As St. Catharine’s day fell on November 25th, these letters of invitation were received by Zutphen on Thursday, November 24th. (Nicolas’s Tables.)

Page 354, line 1.]—“Se ab illis vocatum esse;” and three lines lower, “In perdiscendo evangelio.”

Page 354, line 26. “*Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, on the 28th of November,*” &c.]—Foxe’s text reads, “the 22d of October,” which is a mistranslation of Luther’s “*duodevigesimo Octobris*,” *i. e.* 18th of October. Other specimens of such mistranslation occur in Foxe. It is clear, however, that this date is erroneous, because it was stated only a little before, that Zutphen received his invitation from Dithmarsh November 24th. Muhlius, instead of “October 18th or 22d,” assigns the “29th of November” as the day of departure: “*proximo post primam adventus die, vigesimo nono Novembris, alacris Brema Meldorfiam discedebat*” (p. 435). Advent Sunday, however, by Nicolas’s Tables, in 1524 fell on November 27th; “November 28th” is therefore entered in the text.

Page 354, line 31. “*Above all other, one Augustine Tornbock . . . unto Master John Schnick.*”]—“Schnick” is here substituted for Foxe’s “Swicken,” on the authority of Muhlius, and of Luther and Foxe themselves elsewhere; see

p. 357, line 3. Muhlus says: "Tornborgus, Jacobitarum sive Prædicantium ibidem Prior—ut eum Jo. Schnecko (forte eodem, quem deinceps mutatum ex Melancthonis quadam ad ipsum data Epistola conjicere liceat.)" Foxe, however, agrees with Luther, whose account he follows, vol. vii. fol. 496 verso, Witebergæ, 1558.

Page 354, line 8 from the bottom.]—Heyde is a small town in the north of Dithmarsh. (Martinière's Geography, v. Dithmarsh.)

Page 354, line 3 from the bottom. "*Peter Nanne.*"—This is Muhlus's reading all through the narrative, and usually Luther's: Foxe reads "Hanne." Gunter is sometimes called "a scribe."

Page 355, line 2. "*If they would put this heretic monk to death.*"—The account given by Muhlus from MSS. rather differs from this:—"Injuerent gravissime, ne Bõius publice docendi sportam ecclesiæ exitio talem hæreticum ingredi pateretur," p. 436.

Page 355, line 12. "*Plainly perceiving,*" &c.]—"Plane perspicuens quantum suæ partis interesset, ut prædicaret." Foxe's text has, "diligently watching whether he did preach or not."

Page 355, line 18. "*In the hands of the parishioners.*"—"*Penes totam Parochiæ communionem.*" Foxe's text has, "in the hands of the parish priest."

Page 355, line 20. "*That every church,*" &c.]—"Simulque regionis receptam consuetudinem indicat, liberam esse singulis ecclesiis relictam potestatem Parochi aut prædicatoris deponendi aut suscipiendi." Foxe says, "that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher."

Page 355, line 31. "*The next day Henry went up into the pulpit.*"—Muhlus says (p. 437), that Zutphen began preaching the second Sunday in Advent [December 4th], on the Gospel for the day and Rom. i. 9.

Page 355, line 37. "*A thousand guilders.*"—"*Millenorum aureorum.*" (Crispin.)

Page 355, line 40.]—"Iracundiâ commovebantur." Next line, for "every parish" ("unicuique Parochiæ") Foxe reads, "every parish priest."

Page 355, line 45.]—"Erant enim Prioris audito sermone penitus incensî." Foxe says, "for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior."

Page 356, line 20. "*Master chancellor.*"—*i. e.* Gunter. (Luther.)

Page 356, line 16 from the bottom. "*End well.*"—"*Cessuram feliciter:*" Foxe, "come to pass."

Page 356, line 15 from the bottom.]—St. Nicolas's day was December 6th, which in 1524 fell on a Tuesday. And the Conception of the Virgin Mary, mentioned a few lines lower, was December 8th.

Page 357, line 3.]—"Schniekus," Luther and Muhlus: "Schink," Foxe.

Page 357, line 6.]—"Jacobitæ vel Prædicatores," (Luther): Foxe always calls them "Jacobins." See Appendix to vol. iii. note on p. 436. Lunden ("Landana," Luther) is a small town in the north of Dithmarsh, three miles from Meldorf. (Martinière, vv. Dithmarsh and Meldorf.)—Next line, "Franciscan or Minors:" "and Minors" (Foxe): "ad Monachos Franciscanos Minores" (Luther).

Page 357, line 35. "*The names of the presidents were these, Peter Nanne.*" &c.]—This list of names is thus given by Luther: "Petrus Nannus, Petri Suini filius, Hennik Lundaanus, Joannes Holmius, Lorentius Hannemanus, Nicolaus Veslingburgus, Ambrosius, Joannes Breckhusius, Marquardus Kremnerus Henstedanus, Ludekus Johannes Vessingus, Petrus Grossus Præfectus Hennstedinus." Muhlus gives them, as he considers, more accurately, ex Dithmarsicis chartis" (pp. 411, 412): "Peter Nanne tho [of] Lunden | Peter Schwins Solne darsûlvest [of the same] | Henning tho Lunden | John Holm tho Nienkarchen | Laurentz Henneman tho Wennenwisch | Lodewig Henneman darsûlvest | Bastel John Breen im Tiebensee | Clauss von Wesslingbuhren | Grote Johan tho Wackenhusen | Marquart Kramer tho Henstede | Ludeeke Johan tho Wessling | Peter Grote Baget tho Hemmingstede."

Page 357, line 41. "*Of counsel to this their pretence.*"]—"Quos habebant consilii conscios."

Page 357, line 7 from the bottom. "*Henning, which is half-a-mile from Meldorf.*"]—Luther says, "500 passibus:" Foxe, "five miles:" Crispin, "*Histoire des Martyrs,*" says, "une demi-lieue près de Meldorf."

Page 358, line 7.]—"Jacobitæ vel monachi Prædicatores," Crispin: "The Jacobins and monks," Foxe: see note on p. 357, line 6.

Page 358, line 10.]—Luther's and Foxe's "*Hennegus*" is altered into "*Henning*," on the authority of Muhlius.

Page 358, line 8 from the bottom.]—For Luther's and Foxe's "*Altennan*," Muhlius reads "*in Altenuorda*:" and Muhlius reads "*Neuenkirchen*" for "*the new church.*"

Page 359, line 23. "*One of the presidents named May.*"]—"A profligato quodam et ad id conducto homine Schötero Maas." (Muhlius, p. 445.) Luther calls him "*Maes.*"

Page 359, line 35. "*The wife of one Junger, sister of Peter Nanne.*"]—It is rather fuller in Muhlius (p. 445), "*egregia ista fœmina Wiba, defuncti Nicolai Jungii vidua.*" He also adds that she was "*Joannis Petri Nanni filia, forsau et Petri Nanni soror.*" He had described her in the opening of his narrative as a distinguished patroness of the Gospel in Dithmarsch, and as having joined with Boyes in persuading Zutphen to come to Meldorf.

Page 360, line 5.]—"For two hours" is put in from Luther.

Page 360, line 22. "*A mace*:"]—"Clava." (Luther.)

Page 361, line 2. "*Meaux . . . ten leagues distant from Paris.*"]—The Gazetteers make Meaux twenty-five miles N. W. of Paris, which is *about* ten leagues. Foxe here says "miles," literally translating the Latin "*milliare*," which, however, must be understood with some latitude: see the note *infra*, on p. 402, line 13. Neither Pantaleon, nor "*Histoire des Martyrs*," here mentions the distance of Meaux from Paris.

Page 361, line 15.]—"Rosoiium in Briam profectus est." (Crispin.)

Page 362, line 2. "*The same year, which was A.D. 1524.*"]—Foxe's text has, "the year next ensuing, which was 1525." He clearly referred in his own mind to the date of Castellane's martyrdom, which was January 5th, A.D. 1525 (see p. 365, and "*Gallia Christiana*"): but what he first narrates occurred at the beginning of 1524.

Page 362, line 10.]—The cardinal of Lorraine was the bishop of Metz. Jean de Lorraine, son of René II., duke of Lorraine, was at different times archbishop of Rheims, Lyons, and Narbonne; bishop of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Terouenne, Albi, Valence, and Luçon; abbot of Gorze, Cluni, Fecamp, Marmoutier, &c.: made in 1501, at four years old, coadjutor to his great uncle, the bishop of Metz; and cardinal of St. Onuphrius in 1518; died in 1550. (Moreri.)—"Gorsæ captus." (Pantaleon.) Gorze was a famous abbey, four leagues from Metz. (Martinière's Geography.)

Page 362, line 15. "*The abbot of St. Anthony in Viennois.*"]—Beaunier (*Recueil général des Abbayes de France*, Par. 1726, vol. ii, p. 980) states that the Frères Hospitaliers were instituted in La Motte, at Viennois, about 1095, to cure the St. Anthony's fire, which was very prevalent: but were erected into a separate society under the Augustine Rule by Boniface VIII. in 1295. The Dauphin Humbert in 1306 gave the abbot of St. Anthony in Viennois the right of presiding in the states of Dauphiny, in the absence of the bishop of Grenoble. Beaunier adds, that the superior of this abbey was alone called "*Abbot*," while the superiors of the other numerous houses, dependent on it as cells, were called "*Commanders.*" This man, however, is called "*Commander*" at p. 373.

Page 362, line 17.]—"Per jurisdictionem episcoporum Metensis, Tullensis, et Verdunensis." (Pantaleon.)

Page 363, line 6 from the bottom.]—"Also" ["*præterea*"] is improperly omitted by Foxe.

Page 363, note (3).]—The suffragan of the bishop of Metz, here mentioned by the title of Nicopolis, is the person mentioned at p. 373 as abbot of Clairlieu. The present bishop of Metz was not of age to take the bishopric when it fell vacant (October 20th, 1505): he was not consecrated till December 15th, 1519, not having been born till April 9th, 1497. (See the note above on p. 362, line 10.) Gallia Christiana mentions that the bishop of Nicopolis held it for him during the interregnum, as his suffragan; also mentions the martyrdom of John Châtelain, January 12th, 1525. See the note in this Appendix on p. 188, line 24.

Page 364, note (1). "*Benet and Collet.*"—This phrase corresponds to the "acolyteship" in "*Histoire des Martyrs*" (1564, p. 100): it is similarly used by Lambert, *infra*, vol. v. p. 191; and by Foxe in the margin, vol. viii. p. 78. The phrase occurs again at p. 579 of this volume, where we read, "degrade him of his small orders of Benet and Colet:" in which sense the phrase has been used at vol. iii. p. 634. William de Pykenbam, who was chancellor of Norwich and archdeacon of Suffolk, writes to Margaret Paston: "One (cause) is, for your son Walter is not tonsured, in mother tongue called Bennett." (Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 129, Edit. 1841.) Foxe, at vol. iii. p. 584, uses "benet" for the "first tonsure." "Collet" seems an abbreviation of "Acolyte," and "Benet" of "Benedict," alluding to the *Benedictio* given to persons on entering holy orders; see Martene "*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*," tom. ii. p. 382, edit. Rotomagi, 1700.

Page 369, note (2).]—"Sex horis continuis in aere volitavit suspensus, lapide magni ponderis appenso." (Pantaleon, p. 51.)

Page 372, line 6.]—This Epistle is given in Pantaleon, dated January 2d, A.D. 1525.

Page 372, line 20. "*Prest and most ready.*"—"Prest" (*Prest* or *Prêt*, Fr.) is a favourite word with Foxe, usually in conjunction with its synonyme "ready:" see p. 292, line 14, and vol. i. p. 33, line 18, vol. v. p. 626, line 10 from the bottom.

Page 372, line 11 from the bottom. "*Bonaventure, provincial.*"—See the note on p. 463.

Page 373, line 11 from the bottom.]—This "commendator" is the same person as the "abbot" of St. Anthony mentioned at p. 362: see the note thereon.

Page 373, note (1).]—Gallia Christiana, tom. xiii. col. 1375, states that the abbey of St. Mary at Clarus-locus, or Clair-lieu, was in the diocese of Nancy, and gives for the 27th abbot (A.D. 1509—1541) "*Cuni Forville de Rosieres suffraganeus Metensis, Antonio duci e consiliis.*" See the note above on p. 363, note (3).

Page 376.]—On the history of L. Keyer, see Evangelical Christendom, 1851, p. 131.

Page 378, line 28.]—Pantaleon (p. 66) states the martyrdom of these two to have happened in September 1529.

Page 379, line 7 from the bottom. "*Metz.*"—"Qui locus ab Antwerpia duo prope milliaria abest." (Pantaleon, p. 45.) "Qui est environ une bonne lieue d'Anvers." (*Histoire des Martyrs*.)

Page 380, line 12.]—"Vestis flava et auritus pileus (stultorum instar)" (Pantaleon); *i.e.* a yellow coat and a fool's cap.

Page 380, line 16.]—This martyrdom is dated by Pantaleon (p. 59), "*pridie Nat. Mariæ, quæ fuit 8 Septembris.*" Foxe has not translated the Latin "*Campidonum*;" *i.e.* Kempten. Pantaleon's Latin and Busching's Geography have furnished some improvements of Foxe's text.

Page 380, line 11 from the bottom. "*Right foot over the left.*"—Pantaleon adds, "*et dextram manum super sinistram crucis instar collocavit.*"

Page 380, line 4 from the bottom.]—Pantaleon (p. 66) gives an account of this martyr as "*Henry Flander*:" he preached at Courtraye in Flanders: his persecutor was "*Baltazar à Cordis, officialis episcopi Tornacensis.*"

Page 382, line 12.]—"Persevaldus Cæcus, de Briga natus." (Pantaleon, p. 97.) See the Addenda at the end of this Appendix.

Page 382, line 24.]—Foxe says, “Dorsardus, a Potestate in that country :” Pantaleon (p. 101) says “Drosardus, qui in ea regione habebat vitæ et necis potestatem.”

Page 382, note (2).]—Pantaleon states that Imsberg was beheaded January 8th, 1544.

Page 383, note (3).]—The Latin in Pantaleon, (p. 102,) is “Hannonia,” *i.e.* Hainault.

Page 384, line 34. “*In Verle-place.*”]—“Ad forum quod vocatur Pharaelidis; Flandricè, de verle place.” (Pantaleon, p. 110.)

Page 384, line 41.]—Pantaleon says that Buck was “professione sartor,” *s.e.* “a tailor.”

Page 385, line 2 from the bottom.]—As “Bruley and his company” are mentioned, this martyrdom had better have been placed *after* the next two, in p. 387.

Page 386, line 5. “*Formed in shape of a pasty.*”]—“Cistam in modum sepulcri concavam, trajectis utrinque clathris ferreis: allocuta est, Huncine mihi parastis pastillum, alludens ad formam cistæ in qua trucidanda erat, et artocreatis confectionem.” (Pantaleon, p. 100.)

Page 388, line 4. “*The communication of Ratisbon.*”]—“Colloquium quod in fine penè superioris anni de religione a Cæsareâ majestate indicebatur Ratisbonæ celebrandum.” (Pantaleon, p. 159.)

Page 388, line 5. “*Came to the duchy of Neuberg, within the dominion of Otto Henry, Palatine.*”]—Pantaleon (p. 162) says, “Civitas vicina, quæ vulgo dicitur Neoburgum, duodecim milliaribus supra Ratisbonam.” L’Art de Vér. des Dates, art. “Palatins du Rhin,” states that Otto Henry inherited the duchy of Neuburgh by his mother, and that having embraced Lutheranism in A.D. 1542, he joined the league of Smalcald; and that he became Palatine of the Lower Rhine and Elector on the death of his uncle Frederic, February 26th, A.D. 1556. He is called “Palatine” in the text and in the next note, because in virtue of his dukedom he was already Count of the Bavarian or Upper Palatinate.

Page 388, line 6. “*About the expedition of Bucer’s book there to be printed.*”]—And probably a small tract of his own also, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian library, Oxford, “*Christianæ religionis summa ad Illustriss. D. D. Ottonem Henricum Palatin. Rheni. &c. per Jo. Diazium Hisp. Svo. impressum Neuburgi Danubiî, apud JOANNEM KILIANUM, Principalem Quæsturæ Scribam, anno MDXLVI.*,” and which Seckendorf has transferred into his “*Historia Lutheranismi*,” lib. iii. p. 657.

Page 388, line 25.]—The death of John Diazius took place on the morning of March 27th, A.D. 1546. (Pantaleon, p. 168.)

Page 388, line 43.]—Pantaleon states (p. 172) that Alphonsus Diazius, being at Trent to attend the council there, A.D. 1552, was found one day hanged from the neck of his mule.

Page 394, line 21. “*The emperor’s placard.*”]—“Alioqui fore ut in mulctam Imperatoris (quam illi placardum appellant) incurreret.” (Pantaleon.)

Page 396. “*The French martyrs.*”]—The French names of persons and places have been introduced from the French “*Histoire des Martyrs*” of John Crispin, and “*Histoire des Vrais Tesmoins*,” &c.

Page 396, line 12 from the bottom.]—Couberon is a small village near Meaux. (“*Histoire des Martyrs.*”)

Page 400, line 13 from the bottom.]—“Mené à Sainte Liège.”

Page 402, line 13. “*Meaux, a city in France, ten leagues from Paris.*”]—“Oppidum Meldense, quod in Bria positum ad Matronam fluvium milliaria decem Lutetia abest.” (Pantaleon.) “Meaux, ville en pays de Brie, a dix lieues de Paris,” &c. (“*Histoire des Martyrs*,” Edit. 1564, p. 273: and Edit. 1619, p. 182, verso.) Foxe says “ten miles.” See the note on p. 361, line 2.

Page 405, line 27. “*Nine days.*”]—“Neuf jours,” Crispin: “novem die- rum,” Pantaleon: Foxe, “nine hours.”

Page 405, line 40.]—Pantaleon (p. 185) dates the martyrdom of Audebert, Saturday, September 28th, 1549.

Page 406, line 23. "*Peter Castellane, bishop of Maçon (a man fit for such inquisitions).*"—Peter Castellanus, or Du Chatel, was born at Arc in Burgundy, and became famous for his learning. Having travelled to Rome in his younger days, he conceived a great disgust at the moral degradation of the clergy there, which he never concealed. He was of a very liberal cast of mind, and endeavoured to appease the king's wrath against the Waldenses before the destruction of Cabriers and Merindol, and interceded for some alleged heretics who were to be burnt: he also sheltered the learned printer, Robert Stephens (see Rivet. *Isagoge ad Scripturam Sac.* cap. 12, § 11), and carried him through many a persecution raised by the bigots of the Sorbonne. What Foxe means by the expression, "a man fit for such inquisitions," is not quite clear; but the original French here says: "Pierre Castellanus evesque de Macon, apostat de la vérité par luy connue, avant qu'il fust parvenu aux grands honneurs de la Cour:" and the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," published at Geneva in 1619, says of him: "Auquel la vérité n'estoit inconnue, mais suffoquée dans les grands honneurs de la Cour." In like manner, "remarquable apostat" says the "*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises réformées au Royaume de France*" (à Anvers, 1580), tom. i. p. 79. He became ultimately bishop of Orleans, and upon his going to preach there a vast crowd assembled, "à cause de la nouveauté de veoir un evesque prescher: ainsi qu'il menaçoit très asprement ceaux qu'on appelloit hérétiques, il fut frappé d'un mal de colique si grand, et si soudain, qu'estant emporté il finit miserablement ses jours la nuit suivante, pour faire son entrée ailleurs qu'à Orleans" (*Ibid.* p. 81). See also Laval's "*History of the Reformation in France*," book i. § 55. He died February 3d, A.D. 1552.

Page 407, line 39.]—Maurice Secenate was martyred at Nismes in Languedoc, August 16th, 1551: see Pantaleon, p. 215, from whom Foxe's account is taken.

Page 407, line 43.]—"Tanto dolore dissimulatæ veritatis affectus est" (Pantaleon): Foxe incorrectly says, "for dissembling with the truth."

Page 409, line 35.]—"Monsieur de Clepi, qui est procureur official." (*Hist. des Mart.*) "Monsieur Clepier, procureur fiscal." (*Ibid.*) "Clepiarius procurator." (Pantaleon.) "Procurator fiscalis, homo doctus (ut ego intellexi), Clepiarius nominatus." (*Id.* p. 229.)

Page 409, line 36. "*Dr. Coombes, a grey friar.*"—"Un cordelier, qu'on appellé De-combis." (*Hist. des Mart.*) "Franciscanus, doctor Cumbanus appellatus." (Pantaleon.)

Page 409, line 37. "*The Primacial Official.*"—The "Official Metropolitan" was an ecclesiastical officer, who heard appeals against the judgments of the officials of any of the suffragan bishops of a province: the "Official Primatial," or "de la Primace," was a person who heard appeals against the judgments of the Metropolitan official. (*Dict. des Sciences, v. Primatial.*) See p. 414.

Page 409, note (1).]—This note, as Dr. Maitland has observed, is nonsense. The original Latin of the text runs thus:—"Ventum est ad oleum illud sacrum, salem, aliasque ejus generis nugas, quas aiebam merum esse 'marranismum.' Hic cum viderem officialem hæsitare in voce 'marranismi,' declaravi illi quid ea sibi vellet, dicens, istiusmodi unguenta et salsamenta prorsus redolere legem *Marranorum* ac superstitionem Judaicam." The Moors in Spain, who were Mahometans, were called *Marrani* (see p. 593 of this volume): hence the term "*Marranismus*," which may be considered as synonymous with the word "*Maumetrie*," i.e. "*Mahometrie*," used by Swinburn and Lord Cobham, vol. iii. pp. 119, 327.

Dr. Maitland observes that Nicolas de Lyra is not responsible for the interpretation of *Marranism*, which Foxe seems in this note to father on him, but that it arose from Foxe's misapprehending the meaning of a passage of Paulus Burgensis.

Page 413, line 22.]—Ville-Franche is 18 miles N. by W. of Lyons. (Gazetteer.) Foxe says "six miles," following Pantaleon, as in the case of Meaux, *suprà*, p. 402: "leagues" is put in from "*Histoire des Martyrs*."

Page 414, line 11.]—L'Official de la Primace, et l'official Buathier, et l'inquisiteur Orry." (*Hist. des Mart.*) See the note on p. 409, line 36.

Page 414, line 41.]—Pantaleon talks of "Aurincum" (Avranches) all through this story; but "Hist. des Mart." says "Evreux," which is correct; for it appears from the narrative that the place where Neel reproved the dissolute priests was Nonancourt, which is in the diocese of Evreux. The bishop of Evreux A.D. 1532—1574 was Gabriel de Veneur, of whom Gallia Christiana says, "Sub ejus episcopatu hæresis Calvinistica in urbe grassata est;" whereas nothing of that kind is stated respecting Robert Cenalis, bishop of Avranches A.D. 1532—1560, though he certainly was opposed to the Reformation, and appears as an actor in this persecution at pp. 428—430.

Page 416, lines 15, 22. "*Governor of the Marches, or the Marshal.*"]—"Le Prevost des Mareschaux." ("Hist. des Mart.") "Latrunculator." (Pantaleon.) See note on p. 419, line 33. "Prévôt des Mareschaux, un officier d'épée établi pour battre la campagne avec d'autres officiers et cavaliers ou archers qui lui sont subordonnés afin de procurer la sûreté publique: il est aussi établi pour faire le procès à tous vagabonds, gens sans aveu et sans domicile. Les Romains avoient des milices destinées, dont les chefs étoient appellés *latruncultores.*" (Dict. des Sciences.)

Page 416, line 18.]—"Chauffours, bourgade à deux lieues près de Chartres." ("Hist. des Mart.")

Page 419, line 33.]—"Latrunculator" is, in the "Histoire des Martyrs," called "le prévost des Mareschaux du pays de Dauphiné." See note on p. 416, lines 15, 22.

Page 419, line 12 from the bottom.]—"In Grenoble" is put in from Pantaleon and Crispin. The whole of this sentence is corrected from "Histoire des Martyrs."

Page 419, line 6 from the bottom. "*A notary.*"]—"Avec le Greffier" (Crispin): "Notarius criminum" (Pantaleon, p. 295).

Page 419, note (2).]—It would be more accurate to quote, "Locorum communium collectanea a Joh. Manlio, pleraque ex lectionibus Ph. Melancthonis excerpta, &c. (Svo. Basileæ, 1563), tom. ii. p. 31."

Page 424, line 24.]—"L'Enfumé." ("Hist. des Mart.") This was probably a nickname by which he was commonly designated for his pomposity. "Quem Fumosum appellant." (Pantaleon, p. 296.)

Page 424, line 6 from the bottom. "*The lords of Estnay and of Ciguongnes.*"]—Cassini's Map of France exhibits "Cigogne" about two miles west of Marchenoir. The other title the "Histoire des Vrais Tesmoins" calls "de Saint Ay;" which makes it probable that "d'Estnay" is a corrupt form, either of "de St. Ay" or of "de Santenay," which Cassini's map represents as a large barony on the forest of Blois; either place is some miles indeed from Marchenoir, but the baron might have an estate and residence near Marchenoir.

Page 426, line 7.]—"Le Greffier Pontac" (Crispin), *i.e.* the notary; see note on p. 419. Foxe calls him "the judge."

Page 427, line 2. "*Sainctes.*"]—"Saintes ville capitale du pays" (Crispin); whence Foxe miscalls the place "Sainctes Ville."

Page 428, line 8.]—The name "John Caillon" is supplied from a table of Errata to "Histoires des Martyrs," and from "Histoire des Vrais Tesmoins."

Page 434, line 25.]—"Filleul de feu Albert, marquis de Brandenbourg . . . importuné [le roy] par prières des Alemans." (Hist. des Martyrs.) Foxe does not notice "feu," and for "des Alemans" puts in "of the said marquis." As this happened A.D. 1558, and Albert had died January 8th, A.D. 1557 (Sleidan, ad an.), the importance of the correction of the text will be evident.

Page 434, line 28.]—The "Histoire des Martyrs" (p. 881) calls one of these the "Lieutenant-criminel;" but in the case of Philippe de Luns, p. 432, the same officer is called the "Lieutenant-civil" in the French. For "Benedictine, a Jacobite," Foxe reads, "Benedictus, Jacobin:" but see the next note.

Page 434, line 7 from the bottom.]—Here Danville says, "Benedictinus Jacopin et son compagnon un Sorboniste, dit Nostre Maistre:" and he had

just before said that he was questioned the first time by "Benedictinus Jacopin et un Sorboniste son compaignon;" and the second time by "le compaignon de Benedictinus, et deux autres Sorbonistes."

Page 434, line 5 from the bottom.]—The speaker is called by Foxe "The Doctor," and again at the top of next page. But Danville does not represent the first two questions as put by either in particular, but plurally by both together.

Page 435, line 3.]—This and the next three questions, according to Danville, were put by Benedictine: Foxe always says "*Doctor.*"

Page 435, line 25.]—Foxe erroneously reads "the *ninth* of the same month;" "19" is the reading in the French: and instead of "the same doctor with two other Sorbonists," Foxe has "another doctor with two Sorbonists:" the French says here, "devant D. et deux autres Sorbonistes;" but had previously said, that he appeared on the second occasion before "le compaignon de Benedictinus et deux autres Sorbonistes," (see the note next but two before this): it is clear, therefore, that "D" means "le compaignon de Benedictinus."

Page 436, line 21 from the bottom.]—Rebezies says, "Un Jacopin nommé Bened. maistre des Docteurs, et un autre Jacopin, duquel le nom m'est incognu" ("Histoire des Martyrs," p. 882): and the same authority makes *Benedictine* put the first eight questions: Foxe says "*The Doctor.*"

Page 437, line 28.]—The ninth question is, according to the French (p. 883), put by "Le maistre des Docteurs de Sorbonne."

Page 437, line 9 from the bottom. "*Then Benedictine,*" &c.]—"Alors Benedictinus, voyant que son maistre docteur ne repondoit a mon dire," &c.

Page 438, line 3. "*Another contrary example.*"—"Un exemple tout a l'opposite du sien:" Foxe says a "heavenly example:" but the opposition lies, not between *earthly* and *heavenly*, but between the tendencies of the two examples.

Page 438, lines 8, 10. "*The fourteenth chapter.*"—Foxe reads "twelfth" in both cases: "Sur quoi ils me surprindrent et dirent, Il n'est pas escrit de l'adoration de Saints au 14 des Hebr. c'est plustost à l'onzième chapitre. Bien soit, dis je, tant y a qu'il est escrit au nouveau Testament. Et toutefois estant de retour d'avec eux, je recitay leur propos à mes compaignons, et trouvoy que c'estoit au 14 des Actes. Voyez si ces gens ont bien leu leur nouveau Testament, de me dire qu'il estoit escrit aux Heb. 11 chap. et non au 14." Foxe inaccurately says for these last words, "well seen in their divinity."

Page 438, line 23. "*About that 'reiteration.'*"—"Nous nous trompions sur ceste reiteration."

Page 438, line 32. "*To wit, he is,*" &c.]—"A scavoir qu'il est contenu sous ceste courtine et ceste blancheur que vous voyez."

Page 438, line 35.]—"Et de cela je me tien pour resolu."

Page 441, line 10.]—See this case of Geffery Varagle referred to in the account of the persecution at Angroge, p. 513.

Page 441, line 23.]—"Plustost par crainte de reproche, que de vraie opinion qu'ils eussent, qu'il la meritast." ("Hist. des Mart.")

Page 441, note (1).]—The French work referred to is the "Commentaires de l'estat de la religion et la republique sous les rois Henri et François II. et Charles IX." (without place), by Pierre de la Place, published in French 1565, and afterwards translated into Latin. This story is accordingly there to be found.

Page 443, line 9 from the bottom.]—Foxe's "Saturday, the 16th of May," does not suit the year 1558 by Nicolas's Tables, as Sunday in that year fell on May 15th. Crispin's "xvi" is probably a misprint for "xiv."

Page 444, note (2).]—This reference proves that Foxe used Crispin's "Histoire des Martyrs" of 1564.

Page 446, line 25.]—"Mille écus sol" ("Hist. des Martyrs"): see the note on "crowns of the sun" in Appendix to vol. ii. p. 789: they are also mentioned *infra*, vol. v. p. 458, where see note in Appendix.

Page 447, line 19.]—"Natif de Braine le Chateau," ("Hist. des Mart."): Foxe calls the place "Bramcastle."

Page 447, line 9 from the bottom. "*The Dutch tongue.*"]—"La langue Alemande." ("Hist. des Mart.")

Page 450, line 3 from the bottom. "*As he were mad.*"]—See before, p. 17, line 11, for a similar expression—"marching as he were wood."

Page 451.]—Foxe evidently continues to make use of Crispin's "Histoire des Martyrs," in his account of the Spanish Inquisition. (Edit. 1564, p. 903.)

Page 453, line 1. "*In the year 1559, May 21.*"]—Foxe, as before, follows the French author in the ensuing account of the *Auto-da-fé* at Valladolid. An account of this *Auto* was published very early in Italian, intitled, "Relatione dell' Atto della Fede, che si è celebrato dall' officio della Santa Inquisitione di Valladolid. Nel Giorno della Dominica della Santissima Trinita, à xxi. del mese di Giugno, della Nativita del nostro Signore Christo M.D.LIX, &c.; in Bologna per Alessandro Benacio, et Compagni." The authenticity of this rare tract is confirmed by the "Hist. Pontif. Catol." of Illescas, part 2, chap. 30, p. 723, edit. Mad. 1613, and itself also fully supports the statements of Foxe: see more in Mendham's "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," p. 334, where the Italian account is reprinted, and the error in the title of *June* for *May* is pointed out: Trinity Sunday could in no year fall on June 21st, and did fall on *May* 21st in 1559 (see Nicolas's Tables). An account of this *Auto* has likewise been given in Spanish from the original archives by Llorente, late Secretary to the Inquisition, in his History of the Spanish Inquisition, published at Madrid in 1822, and republished in English by Whitaker, London, 1826. The Spanish account corrects some errors both in the French and Italian, which corrections have been introduced into Foxe's text: they chiefly regard the names and titles of persons and places.

Page 453, line 3.]—Valladolid is here correctly called "a town," not "a city," for it did not become a bishopric till 1595. It was now in the diocese of Palencia, and Llorente states this as the reason why the bishop of Palencia, as ordinary, degraded the clerical prisoners (see the note infra, on p. 455, line 26).

Page 453, line 13. "*The archbishop of Seville, prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors.*"]—This was Don Ferdinand Valdés, eighth inquisitor-general of Spain, appointed in January 1547 by the pope, and continued such for twenty years: it is computed that under his administration there were 2,400 burnt alive, 1,200 in effigy, and 12,000 penances. (Llorente, London, 1826, pp. 164, 579.)

Page 453, line 15. "*On the third sat the prisoners.*"]—These words are put in, as Foxe has omitted to make further allusion to the third stage, though he had mentioned, a few lines above, that there were three. This third stage, according to Crispin, consisted of six tiers of seats, narrowing from the bottom upwards; the bottom row being capable of accommodating ten persons, and the top but one. The prisoners then were arranged on these forms according to the supposed degree of their guilt; the solitary topmost seat being assigned in this instance to Dr. Cazalla. The knowledge of these circumstances throws light on the ensuing narrative.

Page 453, line 19. "*The earl of Buendia.*"]—It appears from Llorente (London, 1826, p. 435), that this personage was Don Juan de Acuña.

Page 453, line 26. "*Sanbenito.*"]—This name for the habit of a penitent is stated by Llorente (p. 29) to be a corruption of *saco bendito*; for before the 13th century it was the custom to bless the cloth (*sac*) used in a public penance.

Page 454, lines 12, 18. "*The procurator-fiscal.*"]—Foxe says, "The procurator-fiscal, or the pope's great collector." This definition of the meaning of the "procurator-fiscal" is not found in Crispin, nor is it correct: it is a term applied to any officer who acts on behalf of some high justiciary, and he is called *fiscal*, because, among other things, he looks after the pecuniary rights of his principal. (Dict. des Sciences.) Thus the public accuser on behalf of the Court of the Inquisition was called the "procurator-fiscal," as he assessed and received the fines levied on the prisoners.

Page 454, line 19.]—Crispin mentions in the "Histoire des Martyrs," that the archbishop of Seville, and the bishops of Valencia and Orense, were present with the other grandees at this *Auto*: whence Foxe probably was led to mention these among the "persecutors" of Dr. Cazalla and the rest. The Italian account adds the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo to the list. Llorente says the archbishops of Seville and St. Iago, and the bishops of Palencia and Ciudad Rodrigo, were present, but does not mention Orense. *Palencia* is certainly the correct reading, for Valladolid was in the diocese of Palencia; whereas *Valencia* was in a remote part of Spain, and had a distinct Inquisitorial tribunal. Moreover, Llorente states, that in consequence of the immense number of accusations archbishop Valdés, the inquisitor-general, had been compelled, just before this *Auto*, to delegate his powers to Don Pedro de la Gasca, bishop of *Palencia*, who established himself at *Valladolid*, and to Don Juan Gonzalez de Munebrèga, bishop of Tarragona, who repaired to Seville. (Llorente, London, 1826, pp. 197, 431.) Foxe talks of *Valencia* several times in the remainder of the narrative, wherein he follows the French; the Italian and Spanish accounts, however, in *all* those instances read "*Palencia*," which is therefore introduced into Foxe's text.

Page 454, line 21.]—Foxe after Crispin calls Dr. Cazalla "priest of Valladolid;" the title put into the text is from Llorente: the Italian says, "habitatore di Valladolid."

Page 454, line 29.]—The title of Francis de Bivero in the text is from Llorente: Crispin and Foxe call him "priest of Valladolid," and the Italian "habitator di Valladolid."

Page 454, 3d case. "Beatriz de Bivero."—Foxe, after Crispin, calls her "Blanche:" Llorente and the Italian say "Beatriz."

Page 454, 4th case.]—Foxe, after Crispin, omits to mention the confiscation of goods in this case.

Page 455, 5th case.]—Foxe, after Crispin, represents Constance as sentenced to be *burned*, which is a mistake: see Llorente and the Italian. Foxe himself at p. 457 makes only *fourteen* burnt.

Page 455, line 18. "Stone . . . set up in place of the house."—Foxe, in curious contradiction to what precedes, says "set up in the house:" Crispin says plainly, "en la place ou auroit esté ladite maison." Llorente in 1822 says, that he had seen the monument and inscription, but that it was destroyed in 1809.

Page 455, 7th case.]—Foxe, after Crispin, calls Perez "priest of Valencia:" Llorente and the Italian say "Palencia." After the words "behoof of the superiority" Crispin adds—"Suite du surplus de ceste histoire traduite de certaines lettres envoyées en Allemagne."

Page 455, line 25.]—"Palencia" is again put in for Crispin's and Foxe's "Valencia," from Llorente: who here says (Edit. Madr. 1822, Vol. iv. p. 193), "Pues estavan presentes los arbobispos de Sevilla y de Santiago, y los obispos de Palencia y de Ciudad Rodrigo, la [degradation] egecuta el de Palencia, como ordinario diocesano, puez Valladolid no era todavia obispado."

Page 455, line 36. "Prest and ready:"]—see the note in this Appendix on p. 372.

Page 455, 8th case.]—"de Roxas" is put in from Llorente; also the "*first*" marquis de Poza, who was "don Juan de Roxas."

Page 456, 10th case.]—Llorente says, that Don Louis de Roxas was eldest son of Sancho de Roxas Sarmiento, who was eldest son of the forenamed first marquis de Poza; and adds, that he was nephew of Don Pedro, mentioned No. 8.

Page 456, 11th case.]—Llorente calls this lady daughter of Alfonso Henriques de Almansa, marquis of Alcanizes, defunct, and of "donna Elvira de Roxas, su vuda, nieta materna de los citados primeros marqueses de Poza." Crispin and Foxe absurdly call her "*mother* of the aforementioned marquis de Poza." The Italian calls her "nepote al detto marchese di Poza."

Page 456, 12th case.]—Llorente and the Italian call him "de Ocampo:" Crispin and Foxe, "dell Campo."

Page 456, 14th case.]—Crispin calls Herezuelo “bachelier;” Foxe, “bachelor of divinity:” but Llorente (p. 194) “licenciado . . . abogado de la ciudad de Toro:” the Italian says “Bacillieri:” he had a wife and could not be “bachelor of divinity,” as Foxe calls him.

Page 456, 15th case.]—“La quinzieme fut appelée de son siège Katharine Romain.”

Page 456, 16th case.]—Foxe calls this individual “Frances Errem,” and speaks of “her” as a female: but Crispin says “François Errem” “un heretique;” the Italian “il licenziato Francesco di Errera;” and Llorente “Hernand de Herrera,” &c.

Page 456, 17th case.]—“Comme la maîtresse d’icelle secte.” (Crispin.)

Page 456, 18th and 19th cases.]—“Après fut appelée Isabella de Strada, et avec icelle Jeanne Velasques.” (Crispin.)

Page 456, 20th case.]—Crispin and Foxe do not name this individual: Llorente (p. 195) calls him “Juan Garcia, platero:” the Italian, “Giovan Garcia, argentiero.”

Page 457, 22d case.]—Crispin and Foxe only call her “Jane de Silva.”

Page 457, 23d case.]—Crispin and Foxe read, corruptly, “Lisueros;” Llorente and the Italian “Cisneros.”

Page 457, 24th case.]—Crispin and Foxe say, “Cisneras de Sareglia;” the Italian, “Cisneros de Soteglio.”

Page 457, 26th case.]—Foxe, after Crispin, says only “sister to the marquis de Royas.” Her full description is put in from Llorente.

Page 458, line 7.]—Llorente gives a full account of this Second *Auto-da-fé* at Valladolid, which took place October 8th of the same year, and was more splendid than the former, being attended by the king, Philip II.: 13 persons, with a corpse and an effigy, were burnt; and 16 admitted to reconciliation.

Page 458, line 10.]—Llorente represents that at the former *Auto-da-fé*, in May, 14 persons, with the remains of a woman, were burnt; and 16 admitted to reconciliation; *i. e.* 30 living persons in all. He does not, however, mention Case 27; but he mentions as put to penances—Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira, a knight commander of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; Donna Francisca Zumiga de Baeza; Antonio Minguez; and Isabella Minguez.

Page 458, line 7 from the bottom.]—“Dryander” is the Greek translation of the Spanish “Encenas,” and both are equivalent to “Du Chesne” in French; Anglicè, “a man of oak.” See the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 459, line 23. “Franciscus Encenas.”]—See Pantaleon, p. 101.

Page 463, line 4 from the bottom. “Bonaventure, General of the Order.”]—Foxe says, simply, “Bonaventure, a General.” It appears from p. 465, that he was such in the year 1543: query whether he be the same person who had been *Provincial* in the year 1525; see p. 372.

Page 465, line 28. “Earl of Belcastro.”]—The original says “Comes Petilianus.” Busching’s Geography says, “Belcastro, antiently *Petilia*, a little city and a bishop’s see, with the title of a dukedom, which belongs to the house of Caraccioli.” Some, however, say, that *Strongoli* is the antient *Petilia*.

Page 472, line 32.]—“Gentes illas ego cognovi, ex Valdensium origine, bonæ doctrinæ, et melioris vitæ.” (Pantaleon.)

Page 473, lines 6 and 9. “A muffer or bandage, all of gore-blood.”]—“Ligabat instita sen benda eorum oculos,” . . . “fasciolam illam (bendam Italicè vocant) sanguinolentam et sanguinosum cultrum capiens,” &c. (Pantaleon.)

Page 473, line 18.]—“Cum illa ipsorum maledicta obstinatione.” (Pantaleon.)—On “Buccianus” (lower down) see the Addenda.

Page 474, note (1).]—Almost the whole of the ensuing narrative of the persecution in Provence will be found, as Foxe’s references show, in Pantaleon and Crispin, with whose account the text has been collated, and in some instances improved. It is also in De Thou, “Hist. sui Temporis,” fol. Lond. 1733, tom. i. pp. 222—228.

Page 475, line 26.]—In the French Crispin, Latomus is called “Masson.”

Page 475, last line.]—“Inter cæteros prodiit quidam monachus ex ordine Dominicanorum, Joannes de Roma appellatus.” (Pantaleon, p. 112.) This whole story about John de Roma is omitted by Crispin, who proceeds at once to the cruel decree against Merindol, p. 477.

Page 476, line 1. “*Obtaining a commission,*” &c.]—“Ab episcopis legatoque Avenionensi.” (Pantaleon, p. 112.)

Page 476, line 10.]—“Michelottus Serra Cabrierensis, Marrus appellatus; et Gulielmus Melius.” (Pantaleon.)

Page 476, line 27. “*Any one of his own friends,*” &c.]—“Ne ipsi sodales Dominicani ferre poterant.” (Pantaleon.)

Page 476, line 6 from the bottom. “*The bishop of Aix.*”]—“Episcopus Aquensis,” in Crispin, Pantaleon, and De Thou: this term would ordinarily mean the bishop of *Acqs*, a suffragan of the Archbishop of Auch; but in this instance it means Antony Imberti, *bishop of Aix*, so called, because he was at this time, and had been for some years, *bishop-coadjutor* to Petrus de Filleul, *archbishop of Aix*, who shortly after this date died, Jan. 22d, 1541, at the advanced age of 102 years. Imberti was appointed his successor, but not installed till August 28th, 1541. He was a distinguished man in his day; he attended and figured at the Council of Trent in 1545, and published an account of its proceedings. He died in 1550. The above information is derived from Gallia Christiana. See the next note but one.

Page 477, line 19.]—This decree against Merindol is given by Crispin, dated November 18th, A.D. 1540.

Page 478, note (1).]—“Episcopi Sextiensis scortum.” (Pant.) *Aix* is “*Aquæ Sextiæ*” in Latin: “*Sextiensis*” is used properly here, as descriptive of the *bishop-coadjutor*. “*Estimée paillarde dudit évêque d’Aix.*” (Crispin.) See the note before the last.

Page 479, line 3.]—“*Mea lux.*” (Pantaleon.)

Page 480, line 13.]—“*Amica Aquensis.*” (Pantaleon.)

Page 481, line 30.]—“Interea præses Chassanæus, et senatores simul, ac nobiles, illinc digressi diversis itineribus proficiscuntur.” (Pantaleon.) “*Le Pres, Chassanée et les Conseillers se departirent, et les gentils-hommes s’en allerent d’autre part.*” (Crispin.) Lower down, “*Johannes de Roma Dominicanus, de quo antea diximus.*” (Pantaleon, p. 118.) “*Le Jacopin, Jean de Roma.*” (Crispin.)

Page 481, line 32. “*And divers abbots, priors,*” &c.]—The Latin account in Pantaleon (p. 118) says: “*Abbatēs nonnulli ac Priores, Præpositus Aquensis cum quibusdam senioribus Canonicis.*” The *Præpositus* [dean or provost] of Aix was Johannes de Carnolis, previously a canon of Aix; he was also chancellor of the university, and prothonotary of the apostolic see: he was *Præpositus* from 1526 to 1552. (Gallia Christiana.)

Page 482, line 3. “*Not forgetting his Spanish subtleties.*”]—The present archbishop of Arles was Johannes Ferrerius, nephew “*ex fratre Mathia*” of the preceding archbishop, “*Johannes Ferrerius, in Hispania Tarraconensi ortus, Herdensis primum ecclesiæ archidiaconus,*” &c. His nephew was made *bishop-coadjutor* to his uncle in 1518, and archbishop on his death in 1521; he died himself in 1550. (Gallia Christiana.)

Page 483, line 13.]—“*Dominicanus.*” (Pantaleon.) “*Un docteur en theologie, de l’ordre des Jacopins, nommé Bassinet.*” (Crispin.)

Page 483, line 21. “*Assignings.*”]—The French is “*de mes signatures.*”

Page 485, line 11. “*The president of the canons.*”]—“*Præposito canonicorum.*” (Pantaleon, p. 121.) No doubt the provost of Aix is meant: see note on p. 481, line 32. Otherwise, if the provost of Avignon be meant, it would be Perrinetus de Revillasco Taurmi, “*regius consiliarius, Præpositus Avenionensis 1527—1547.*” (Gallia Christiana.)

Page 485, line 23. “*The house of the bishop of Rieur.*”]—“*Episcopus Rivien-sis.*” (Pantaleon, p. 121.) The bishop of Rieur, A.D. 1538—1568, was Francis du Bourg. He obtained the bishopric January, 1538, was made Master of the

Requests, Dec. 15th of the same year, and consecrated September 2d, 1542. (Gallia Christiana.) We should rather have expected to bear, on this occasion, of "Episcopus Riensis or Regensis," *i.e.* the bishop of Riez (Anthony Lascaris de Tende, bishop of Riez from 1532 to November 14th, 1541), he being a suffragan of Aix; while the bishop of Rieux was a suffragan of Toulouse.

Page 485, line 32. "*As they passed,*" &c.]—"Transeuntes via Mensularia, ducentes sub axillis singuli domicellas, quas vocant (Pantaleon, p. 121): "Comme ils passoyent par la rue des Changes." (Crispin.)

Page 485, line 12 from the bottom.]—"Foreign" is put in from Pantaleon and Crispin: "peregrinus bibliopola."

Page 486, line 13. "*That he had sold,*" &c.]—"Imperatoris privilegio Gallicè conversos Bibliorum Codices permultos a me distractos esse memineram: nec imperatoris privilegio solùm, sed et Regis ipsius, Lugdunensibusque typis excusos." (Pantaleon.) "Qu'il a vendu plusieurs Bibles en François avec privilège de l'Empereur; et aussi d'autres imprimées a Lyons, et des Nouveaux Testaments imprimez avec le privilège du Roi." (See Appendix to vol. v., note on p. 213, note (1).)

Page 487, line 7.]—"In urbe comitatuque Venissæ toto." (Pantaleon.) "Par toute la ville et conté de Venisse." (Crispin.) Foxe calls it "Venice."

Page 487, line 14. "*The Venissin:*"—]"au conté de Venisse," Crispin: Foxe, "Venice."

Page 487, line 16 from the bottom.]—Francis de Tournon, one of the most eminent men of his day, was archbishop of Embrun, which he vacated for Bourges Non. Junii, 1525; after which he was translated to Auch June 14th, 1538; and became archbishop of Lyons 13 Cal. August, 1551. He was made cardinal of St. Peter and St. Marcelline in 1530; and abbot of St. Anthony Viennois August 13th, 1542, and dean of the College of Cardinals: he died April 22nd, 1562. (Moreri, Gallia Christiana.)

Page 488, line 13.]—For "ungilty" see Coverdale's Bible, Exod. xxi. 28.

Page 489, line 19.]—"Gulielmus Bellaius Langeius." (Pantaleon, p. 125.) French (Crispin), "Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeay."

Page 490, line 23.]—The words "*Libera me or*" are put in from the original.

Page 490, line 25.]—Foxe says "God a mercy:" but Pantaleon (p. 126) says, "Gratias ei nihilo magis agere:" Crispin, "qu'ils ne disoyent pas grand merci:" hence the old English phrase, "gramercy," is put into the text.

Page 490, line 14 from the bottom. "*He was also informed,*" &c.]—"Deque Senatus consulto, eisque rebus quæ postea consecutæ dicebantur, singulatim quæque ei relata fuere." (Pantaleon.)

Page 490, line 3 from the bottom. "*He should have good demonstration,*" &c.]—This passage is founded on Pantaleon: "hujus animus ex informatione divini verbi, ac utriusque Testamenti locorum inductione, recolligeretur; eoque modo sensim adhibito verbi gladio, vir is in Ecclesiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi restitui curaretur."

A professed copy of the king's letters is given in French in the "Histoire des Martyrs" (Ed. 1564, p. 199), dated Fontainebleau, February 8th, 1540, *i.e.* 1541. This does not mention the word of God, but says "voulons plustot essayer par la voye de douceur et de remonstrances de retirer et radresser les dits desvoyez à la voye de salut, que par rigoreuses punitions les faire tomber en desespoir." It appears, however, from the admission of Durandi the inquisitor (see p. 496), that the royal letters either did contain such directions as those mentioned in Foxe and Pantaleon, or that they were so understood.

Page 490, last line. "*By the sword of the word applied with gentleness.*"—This is substituted for Foxe's "as well by the gentleness as by the rigour of the same." See the Latin quoted in the last note.

Page 491, line 14.]—The confession presented by the people of Cabriers to the parliament of Aix is given by Crispin: it is dated April 6th, 1541, and speaks of their having held the same doctrines since the year 1200.

Page 491, line 17.]—James Sadolet, born at Modena in 1477, was distinguished for his masterly knowledge of Greek and Latin, and his general learning. He became secretary to Leo X. in 1513, and soon after bishop of Carpentras,

near Avignon. He was recalled to Rome by Clement VII. in 1523, and went on condition of returning to his diocese in three years. Paul III. recalled him to Rome in 1534, made him a cardinal in 1536, and employed him in many negotiations. He died in 1547, not without suspicion of poison for his gentleness toward the Protestants: in 1539 he wrote a letter to Geneva, calling the Calvinists "Charissimi in Christo fratres." He was to the last, indeed, a member of the Romish Church, but remarkable for his candour and moderation, and for his affection for learned persons, even though they might be engaged in defending religious principles different from his own. He had a very high regard for Sturmius, Bucer, and Melancthon (Seckendorf. Hist. Luther. lib. i. p. 43.) Sadolet's works were collected in 4 vols. 4to, Veronæ, 1737. There is a life of him in Dupin, cent. 16, book iii. (See Biographie Universelle, and Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.)

Page 491, lines 20, 31.]—"An conté de Venisse." (Crispin). "Venice." (Foxe.)

Page 492, line 8.]—"The bishop of Cavaillon" was Petrus Ghinucci, cousin to his predecessor Hieronymus Ghinucci, on whose death (July 3d, 1541) he was appointed, and died in 1557.

Page 500, line 5. "*He obtained the king's letters patent*"]—January 1545, but kept them till Sunday, April 12th, on which day he summoned the parliament of Aix, and, presenting the king's letter, made immediate arrangements for the expedition, which set off the very next day, Monday, April 13th. (Crispin.)

Page 500, line 26. "*Cabriette.*"]—"Cabriette." (Crispin.)

Page 500, line 27. "*Other places mo.*"]—Pantaleon adds, "Ultra montem Lebronem."

Page 500, line 8 from the bottom. "*Thereby.*"]—"Finitimis." (Pant.)

Page 501, line 15.]—Crispin gives the exhortations and prayers of four of the Ancients of Merindol.

Page 501, line 15 from the bottom.]—Miniers came to Merindol on Saturday, April 18th. (Crispin.)

Page 502, line 2.]—Miniers attacked Cabriers on Sunday, April 19th, and took it the next day. (Crispin.)—Line 8. "Poulin, baron de la Garde." (De Thou, p. 226.)

Page 503, line 10 from the bottom. "*Aubrius.*"]—See the Addenda to this Appendix, note on p. 474.

Page 504, line 6. "*No less than fifty times.*"]—"During fifty days." (De Thou.)

Page 505, line 23.]—See the note (1), at vol. ii. p. 263.

Page 506, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Moreover, concerning the confession," &c.]—In the "Christian Observer" for 1836, p. 330, there is considerable complaint in reference to this document, as represented or misrepresented by modern copyists, &c. Both Foxe and Sleidan, from whom he quotes, expressly mention that they give merely the tenor of it; but as this hardly meets present requirements, the following is supplied from Charles Du Moulin, who is famed for accuracy, and whose book was printed the very year the Confession was read in the parliament. See also "Christian Observer," p. 410.

"Alia Confessio brevior ab iisdem (Merindolianis et Caprariensibus), pro innocentie sue defensione, anno 1544 Regi Francisco transmissa, et anno 1551 Parisiis in Parlamento regio publicè recitata.

"1. Credimus unum tantum esse Deum, qui spiritus est, rerum cunctarum Conditor, Pater omnium, super et per omnia, in nobis omnibus, adorandus in spiritu et veritate; quem solum expectamus; Datorem vite, alimentorum, indumentorum, prosperæ item valetudinis, infirmitatis, commodorum et incommodorum: Hunc diligimus tanquam omnis bonitatis Authorem, et eum cordium Inspectorem timemus.

"2. Jesum Christum credimus esse Patris Filium et Imaginem, in quo omnis plenitudo Deitatis habitat, per quem cognoscimus Patrem, qui noster est Mediator et Advocatus: nec ullum aliud sub cælo nomen hominibus datum est, per quod servari nos oporteat. In hujus nomen solum invocamus Patrem: nec illas preces effundimus coram Deo, præter eas quæ in Scripturâ Sanctâ continentur, aut cum ejusdem sensu planè conveniunt.

"3. Credimus nos habere Consolatorem Spiritum Sanctum, à Patre et Filio

procedentem, *cujus inspiratione precamur, et efficacîâ regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona opera efficit, atque per Eum in omnem deducimur veritatem.*

"4. Credimus unam sanctam Ecclesiam, omnium electorum Dei à constitutione ad finem mundi congregationem; *cujus Caput est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Hanc verbum Dei gubernat, Spiritus sanctus ducit. In eâ sinceri Christiani omnes versari tenentur: pro omnibus etenim indesinenter orat, grata Deo ad quem confugit, et extra quam nulla est salus.*

"5. Illud apud nos est constitutum, ministros Ecclesiæ—episcopos, nempe, et pastores—in moribus et doctrinâ irreprehensibiles esse debere; alioquin deponendos, aliosque substituendos, qui eorum locum et officium impleant. Nemo autem hunc sibi honorem assumat, nisi à Deo vocatus—ut Aaron; gregem Dei pascens, non turpe affectans lucrum, vel ut Cleris dominans; sed prompto animo exemplum piis præbens, in sermone, conversatione, charitate, fide, et castitate.

"6. Reges, principes, et magistratus confitemur à Deo institutos esse ministros, quibus parendum sit: nam gladium gestant, ut innocentes tueantur, et malos puniant. Propterea honorem eis deferre, tributaque persolvere tenemur. Nullus autem ab hâc obedientiâ sese eximere potest, si modo Christianus dici velit, Jesu Christi Domini et Servatoris nostri exemplum sequens. Is enim tributum persolvit, nec jurisdictionem dominationemve temporalem usurpavit, in statu illo humiliationis gladium Verbi Cœlestis exerens.

"7. Credimus aquam in Baptismi Sacramento esse signum visibile et externum, nobis repræsentans illud quod virtus Dei intûs in nobis operatur, nempe spiritûs renovationem, et in Christo Jesu carnis nostræ mortificationem: per quem etiam Christum sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ membra effimur, in quâ fidei nostræ professionem et vitæ emendationem demonstramus.

"8. Sanctum mensæ, vel Cœnæ, Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sacramentum credimus esse sacrum memoriale et gratiarum actionem ob beneficia per Christi mortem nobis collata, in cœtu piorum, in fide, charitate, suique ipsius probatione celebrandam: et ita, panem et poculum sumendo, Christi carni et sanguini communicare, sicuti in Sacris Scripturis edocemur.

"9. Conjugium esse bonum, honorabile, sanctum, et à Deo institutum, profitemur; nemini prohibendum, nisi Dei verbum intercedat.

"10. Pios, et Deum timentes, credimus Deo se probaturos ut bonis vacent operibus, quæ præparavit, ut in eis ambulent. Hæc autem opera sunt charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, probitas, modestia, temperantia, aliaque opera in Scripturis commendata.

"11. Contra, fatemur cavendum nobis esse à pseudo-prophetis, quorum scopus est populum ab adoratione religiosâ uni Deo et Domino debitâ revocare, creaturis adhærere et confidere, bona opera in Scripturis mandata relinquere, et hominum figmenta sequi.

"12. Regulam fidei nostræ Vetus et Novum Testamentum retinemus, Symbolumque Apostolicum sequimur. Quisquis autem dixerit nos aliam profiteri doctrinam, longè eum falli et fallere demonstrabimus, si modo per judices ordinarios nobis liceat."

(See "Caroli Molinæ Opera," tom. iii. edit. Paris, 1612, part 2, col. 578, 579, 616, 617, or edit. Paris, 1658, col. 2011.)

Page 507. "*The History of the Persecutions . . . against the Waldos.*"]—The ensuing narrative is (as Foxe intimates at p. 555) a translation of a work intitled "*Histoire des Persecutions et Guerres faites depuis l'an 1555 jusqu'en 1561 contre le peuple appelé Vaudois,*" 8vo, 1562; and translated into Latin, 8vo, Genève, 1581. (Le Long Bibliothèque Hist. de la France, 1719, p. 75.) Foxe's text has been collated with the French, and corrected in a few places. Some dates in the narrative were clearly wrong, but are so in the French. De Thou (Opera, tom. ii. p. 85) gives the same account, and supplies the modern names.

Page 508, line 6 from the bottom. "*Would slit the minister's nose.*"]—"Nares abscederet," says De Thou, who also represents *John Martin Trombautius* as the persecutor's full name.

Page 509, line 19.]—"The president of St. Julian" is named in De Thou "*Amatus,*" or Aimé.

Page 512, line 5 from the bottom.]—Foxe says here, "How that the last year they had presented their Confession, which," &c.: the text is improved

by a slight transposition on the authority of De Thou: "Forum Confessionem anno superiori oblatam a senatu ad regem missam affirmat," &c.

Page 513, line 10 from the bottom.]—The account of Geoffrey Varialla or Varagle is given more fully *suprà*, p. 411.

Page 514, line 12. "*A peace concluded,*" &c.]—At Chateau-Cambresis, signed April 3d, 1559. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*)

Page 514, line 15 from the bottom.]—Leger (*L'Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont ou Vaudoises*, folio, Leyde, 1669. p. 30 of 2d part) gives this Supplication of the Vaudois to the duke, and another to his duchess.

Page 514, line 4 from the bottom. "*The month of March following.*"—This takes us over into the year 1560.

Page 514, last line.]—De Thou makes only two martyrs at Carignano, "John Cariganus Mathurinus, et uxor ejus." Foxe's account, however, is supported by a contemporary letter addressed by one of their ministers, Scipio Lentulus Neapolitain, to a gentleman of Geneva, detailing this persecution of the Lord of Trinity, and printed from the original by Leger (part 2, p. 34): the passage is worth transcribing: "Marcellin, François de Nation, et Jeanne Dratine de Carignan, sa Femme, ayant esté saisis, furent condamnés huit jours après à estre brûlés vifs, mais Dieu fist paroistre en la Femme une admirable exemple de constance, car comme on la conduisoit au supplice elle exhortoit son Mary, lui disant, Sus mon Frère, bon courage, nous jouïrons aujourd'hui par ensemble de la Beatitude Celeste. Peu de jours après fust aussi appréhendé Jean Cartinian, homme simple et vrayement pieux, lequel au bout de trois jours mourut très-constamment au milieu des flammes." The reader will observe, that the individual who is called by Foxe, and his French authority, "Mathurinus," is called in the foregoing passage "Marcellin;" he is likewise so called by Pierre de la Place (*Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et la Republique*, Svo, 1565, p. 184 verso).

Page 515, line 17.]—"De l'Arche" is according to De Thou; Foxe says, "Le Laughi."

Page 515, line 11 from the bottom.]—"Jacobite" is put in from the French, and De Thou.

Page 516, line 4.]—"The collateral Corbis," called "Turbis" in De Thou. "Collateral" means *assessor*.

Page 516, line 17. "*One named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne.*"—De Thou calls him "Carolus Lucernensis Comes;" and adds that "some" of the lords of Angrogne wrote likewise.

Page 516, line 30.]—The "Histoire des Vaudois," &c., says that there was an earthquake February 8th, two hours before daybreak, and another in the following April. See next page, line 14, &c.

Page 516, line 15 from the bottom.]—"Rauclaret" is the reading in De Thou; "Rinclaret" in Busching's Geography; "Rioclaret" in the contemporary letter of Scipio Lentulus.

Page 520, line 22. "*Cluson?*"—In De Thou, p. 89, this is called "Chiuson:" but "Cluson" is the reading in the French, the contemporary letter, and Busching's Geography.

Page 520, line 11 from the bottom. "*The next day following.*"—De Thou, p. 89, says, "12 Kal. Octobris," *i. e.* September 20th.

Page 522, line 5 from the bottom. "*The chief of Angrogne were assembled,*" &c.]—If we calculate backwards from the notes of time mentioned in the next page, we shall find that this assembly was held on Wednesday, October 23d, 1560.

Page 523, line 3. "*On the 25th of October.*"—The ensuing context proves that this was a Friday, the last Friday in October, or October 25th, 1560. Foxe calls it the "22d," following, however, his authority, "Histoire des Vaudois," &c.

Page 523, line 35. "*On Friday after, being the 1st of November.*"]—Foxe, following his authority, here says, "On Friday after, being the 2d of November:" but this cannot be correct, by Nicolas's Tables. De Thou (p. 90), in introducing the actual assault of *next day*, says, "Demum III. Non. Novembris," *i. e.* November 2d. Moreover, the contemporary letter of Scipio Lentulus in Leger (p. 35) says: "A cette cause le Prince c'estant achemené dans le Piémont, aux *Calendes* de Novembre l'an 1560, et s'arrestant à Verseil, envoya une armée de plus de 4000 pietons et de 200 chevaux, sous la conduite de la Trinité (qui pour mieux dire j'appellerai plustost Monsieur de la Tyranté, ou de la Tyranie même), pour détruire par le fer et par le feu toutes les Vallées. Or le lendemain au matin ils assaillirent secrètement Angrogne," &c. There is little doubt that "*Calendes*" has been mistaken in some MS. for "*Secundo.*" This correction is also confirmed by the account of Pierre de la Place, who at p. 185 of his "*Commentaires,*" &c. says: "L'armée doncques arriva à Lucerne le dernier d'Octobre, qui fut le Jeudi. Le Samedi après, qui estoit le deuxième de Novembre 1560, le matin, donnerent l'assault à Angrogne, qui est la premiere frontière." See also Foxe's own date in p. 525, "Monday being the 4th of November."

Page 525, line 8 from the bottom. "*On Monday, being the 4th of November.*"]—This suits A.D. 1560, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 527, line 6. "*That day's journey.*"]—The original word is "*journée,*" *i. e.* battle, or day's doings.

Page 527, line 10. "*On Saturday, being the 9th of November.*"]—This is consistent with the last date, p. 525.

Page 536, line 23. "*Friday . . . the 7th of February.*"]—This suits the year 1561, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 538, line 11. "*On Saturday the 15th of February.*"]—Saturday would fall on the 15th of February in 1561: Foxe, following his authority, says "14th."

Page 541, line 3 from the bottom. "*On Monday the 17th of March.*"]—This suits the year 1561 by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 544, line 11 from the bottom.]—Foxe reads "9th of March," following his authority; but without doubt it is a misprint for "19th," as it seems the next day but one to March 17th, mentioned at p. 541.

Page 546, line 31.]—Monday would fall on April 7th, in 1561; so that for "17th" we should read "7th."

Page 555, line 1.]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 507.

Page 557, line 15.—"*Warden of the Grey Friars.*"]—Foxe says simply "warden:" the rest is supplied from a few lines lower down in the text. The narrative is much more full in Edition 1563, p. 420.

Page 558, line 25.]—For a somewhat enlarged account of Patrick Hamelton, see M'Crie's "*Miscellaneous Writings,*" p. 90—100.

Page 558, line 13 from the bottom. "*Especially with Francis Lambert.*"]—"Francis Lambert was born in the year 1487 in Avignon, a celebrated city in France, situated near the river Rhone, upon the confines of the Alps, which divide France from Italy. His father, who was of Burgundian extraction, was secretary of the pontifical legation and apostolic palace; Avignon having been for some time a residence of the popes. He died when his son was very young. Being desirous to devote himself to religious meditation and practice, he in his 15th year entered a Franciscan monastery of the order of Minorites, called Observants, at Avignon. Afterwards the monks, having found some of Luther's writings in his possession, seized upon them, and having condemned them as heretical, caused them to be burned in the capital of the province. A short time after this, Lambert left France, and having gone into Germany, he openly renounced the monkish order. Lambert left the convent an. 1522, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, having spent twenty years under the monastic habit. Lest his enemies should seize him, or make an attempt upon his life, he was obliged to assume in public the name of John Serran. . . . In 1527 he was made principal of the newly-erected college at Marpurgh." (M'Crie's "*Miscellaneous Writings,*" pp. 104, 107, 111: see also Schellhorn's "*Amœnitates Literariæ,*" tom. iv. p. 307, 330, &c.)

Page 563, line 17 from the bottom.]—"Progeny" is here used of those born before, i. e. ancestry.

Page 573, margin. "*Datisi, Baroco, Cesare,*" &c.]—For the use made of these words, in which the vowels alone need to be regarded, see Watts' Logic, part iii. chap. 2, § 3; also Appendix to vol. i. note on p. 8.

Page 579, line 16. "*Norman Gurley.*"—He is called Nicholas, vol. v. p. 606.

Page 580, line 20. "*St. John Shorne.*"—See *suprà*, p. 232, line 18, where the same saint is mentioned: other allusions to him occur *infra*, vol. v. pp. 406, 468, from which it seems probable that there was a boot of one John, who had been perhaps a priest of Shorne in Kent (see Nares's Glossary, *in vocem*), preserved as a relic, which was supposed to cure the ague. His shrine was evidently very famous, and is often alluded to in the old writers.

The Editor of "Latimer's Remains" (Parker Soc. Ed. vol. i. p. 474) states that his head-quarters perhaps were at Shorne and Merston, near Gravesend, though he probably had shrines in other parts of the country, and cites from the Letters relating to the suppression of the Monasteries (218): "At Merston, Mr. Johan Schorn stondest blessing a bote, whereunto they do say he conveyd the devill. He is much sowzt for the agow."

Page 585, line 15.]—Here might be inserted the martyrdom of Stile, which subsequently came to Foxe's hands, and is to be found *infra*, vol. v. p. 655.

Page 585, line 32. "*Lawrence Maxwell, bricklayer of London.*"—He is mentioned by Strype from the Foxian MSS. as a bricklayer of St. Olave's, Silverstreet: and again by Foxe *infra*, vol. v. p. 418, soon after the burning of Barnes, as a bricklayer in Aldermanbury parish, A.D. 1541; soon after which we read (p. 451), that he and all his fellow-prisoners were discharged. But that occurred after the divorce of Anne of Cleves: see vol. v. p. 461. There is also mention made, vol. v. p. 29, of "Lawrence Maxwell, taylor, A.D. 1530," certainly the same person, with a mistake as to his trade, "taylor" instead of "tyler." This conjecture is confirmed by the fact, that the name preceding Maxwell's in that place is that of "John Stacy, Tyler;" and it is observable that these two are associated in this very list; and further, it would seem from p. 681 of the present volume, where they are again associated, that they were wardens of their Company. The reason why they are called sometimes "tyler," sometimes "bricklayer," is, that that Company is designated the "Company of Tylers and Bricklayers."

Page 585, note (1).]—Strype remarks, that Foxe has taken but little notice of the confessors of the truth under the years 1527, 1528, and therefore supplies the defect from the Foxian MSS.: many of the names, however, in this list will be found noticed by Foxe more fully *infra*, vol. v. pp. 26—42, 443, &c. The Foxian MSS. just referred to are in the Harleian Collection, No. 421: Bishop Kennett seems also to have gone over the same ground in the Bishop's Register; see his Collections, Lansdown MSS. No. 979, where many of these names occur, with the exact dates of their appearance, and references (not always correct) to the folios in the Register: thus Sebastian Harris, "curatus ecclie. parochialis de Kensington, London. dioc.," confessed having Tyndale's Testament and the "Unio Dissidentium," and was absolved February 23d, 1527-8: Richard Foster of London was abjured December 31st, 1527, &c. "Kenginton," in the third line of this list, is the reading in the Tonstal Register, folio 133, verso, but is corrected by Foxe himself into "Kensington" *infra*, vol. v. p. 42.

Page 586, lines 12, 27. See the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 589, line 21. "*The next day [July 30], being Sunday.*"—This fixes these events to the year 1525, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 589, line 25. "*When the Cardinal of York was thus a legate,*" &c.]—Wolsey carried his legatine authority so far, that he on one occasion declined to send a commission to Cambridge in 1523 to discover who were the fautors of heresy there, merely because the suggestion did not emanate from himself: hence, among the articles afterwards brought forward against him the 40th was, that he had neglected to use the means of putting down heresy.

Page 589, line 14 from the bottom. "*Wine with a say taken.*"—Nares in his

Glossary shows, that it was one of the usages of courts for the royal taster to *give the say*, i.e. having made a trial (assay) himself, to declare the goodness of the wines or viands. "To have the say taken" was, therefore, an affectation in Wolsey of royal magnificence. The word is sometimes written full, "assay;" as at p. 596, last line but one; and vol. v. p. 364, line 22.

Page 590, line 35.]—These commissions were issued A. D. 1525. (Rapin.)

Page 592, line 8.]—Foxe, after Fabian, reads "Hawd;" but Hall's chronicle reads "Lawd," i.e. *Laus Pompeii*, or Lodi.

Page 592, line 14.]—Foxe refers to Hall as his authority for the ensuing account of the sacking of Rome, and it is taken verbatim from Hall: but Foxe likewise refers to the "Paralipomena abbatis Urspergensis" in the notes, and we are at liberty, therefore, to correct from that author several inaccuracies of Hall, who apparently had the "Paralipomena" before him.

Page 592, line 15. "*The sacking of Rome.*"—Clement, after mature deliberation, and with the unanimous advice of his cardinals, published on the 4th or May indulgences for all who would defend his city against Charles de Bourbon; and, in case of their falling in the service, promised to unite them to the Angels in heaven:—"Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem . . . concedimus pariter et indulgemus; ac illorum, quos in defensione hujusmodi decedere contigerit, animas sanctorum Angelorum consortio in cœlestialibus æternæ felicitatis gaudiis aggregamus. Datum Romæ, anno MDXXVII., quarto nonas Maii." (Bullæ diversorum Rom. Pontificum a Bonifacio VIII. ad Paulum, III.; Romæ, 1559, fol. 67.)

Page 592, line 19. "*On the fourth day of May.*"—Hall and Foxe say "the sixth." But "quinto nonas Maii" (Paralip. p. 356) the duke sent a summons to Rome to surrender, and "postridie (quod erat Sabbatum)" they arrived before the walls, i.e. Saturday, May 4th; and May 5th fell on a Sunday in 1527.

Page 592, line 25. "*Ill-armed and,*" &c.]—"Inermes et oppugnatoriis machinis nullis instructi." (Paralipomena.)

Page 592, line 33. "*The drumslades struck.*"—In all the Editions published in Foxe's lifetime the reading is "blew," instead of "struck;" this last reading appears first in the Edition of 1596, p. 900, and seems correct. The word means a little drum, such as the kettle drum, quasi "*drum-slet*," so that the phrase here is equivalent to "the drums beat." In the Index to Sir F. Madden's *Privy Purse Expences of the Princess Mary*, v. *Dromslade's*, is quoted from Rymer's inedited Collections a licence from the king to Bartheu [Bartholomew] Rumbaugh, "dromslade player," to export 100 tuns of double beer, 9th October, 1534. And in a letter printed by Sir H. Ellis we read, "the daye afore they cawssyde the troumpettys with dromscellettys to go about the cyte." In the list of Henry VIII.'s band occur the names of "Barthil and Hans dromslades," who received a quarterly pension of 33s. 4d. See also the Index to Sir H. Nicolas's "*Privy Purse Expences of Henry VIII.*" See more in the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 592, line 41. "*Were slain two hundred.*"—The "Paralipomena" says that there were "ducenti," and that scarce 50 of them survived.

Page 592, line 43. "*Struck in the thigh with a hand-gun.*"—The "Paralipomena" says that "globus ænei tormenti, parum cautè a suis Emissus, crus alterum sub femore prefgit."

Page 592, line 47. "*Pope Clement had passed so little,*" &c.]—The "Paralipomena" (p. 356) says:—"Hoc quod nunc dicitur nemo credit fortasse, Pontifici adeo non fuisse curæ exercitum istum, ut sub urbis expugnationem ipse in ædem Divi Petri descenderet spectaturus sacrum, et nuntiantes expugnationem primum rideret, donec hostes in ipsum templum irruerent: nimium certe fretus Apostolico fulmine, quod *nudius tertius* in advenientes jaculatus fuerat, in cuius execrationis diplomate hæc lecta sunt verba: Excommunicamus Carolum dictum Borbonii ducem, et exercitum ejus, partim ex Lutheranis, partim ex Marranis constantem. Significabantur autem Lutheranorum nomine Germani, et Hispani Marranorum." Foxe from Hall says: "The same day that these three assaults were made, Pope Clement passed little on the emperor's army, for he had accused them on the *Saturday* before," &c.

Page 593, line 12.]—The five cardinals here intended were, 1. John Piccolomini, archbishop of Sienna, made priest-cardinal of St. Balbine, A. D. 1517, and afterwards bishop of Ostia and dean of the cardinals: died A. D. 1537. 2. Alexander Cesarini, made cardinal-deacon of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, A. D. 1517, and bishop of Albano and Pampeluna: died 1542. 3. Paulus Emilius de Cesio, bishop of Narni, Todi, &c., made cardinal-deacon of St. Eustace, A. D. 1517: died A. D. 1537. 4. Dominic Jacobace, bishop of Lucera, made cardinal-priest of St. Laurence, A. D. 1517: died A. D. 1528. 5. Andrew de la Valle, bishop of Malta, made cardinal-priest of St. Agnes in 1517: died A. D. 1534. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.)

Page 593, line 28. "*Quarels.*"—*i. e.* arrows. Brand's Pop. Antiqu. cited "A charme to draw out yren de Quarell": "sic exeat ferrum istud, sive quarellum."

Page 593, line 31.]—Laurence Pucci was made cardinal-priest of the Four Crowned Saints in 1513, and died 1531 (Moreri, v. Cardinal): so that Hall and Foxe err in saying that he was slain on this occasion. The cardinal *Ponzetta* died in the September following, of the treatment he had received. (Moreri.)

Page 593, line 12 from the bottom. "*Never was Rome so pillaged.*"—The pope's own subjects were, confessedly, the most active and savage in this business. Beaucaire, bishop of Metz, writes: "Eandem fortunam Cardinales a Minerva et Ponseta subierunt; et per totam insuper urbem vestibus sacris induti, asinisque aut vilibus mulis insidentes, per ludibrium deducti sunt: quod et plerisque pontificibus accidit; in quos et in templa et statuas *Germani* magna ex parte Lutherani rabiem suam effundebant. At *Hispani* longe crudeliores, præter vim mulieribus virginibusque multo petulantius illatam, tormentis et suppliciis familiarium arcana exquirebant, et inter tormenta multos necabant, omnemque captivorum substantiam inusitata feritate rapiebant. *Itali* vero in suos non minus sævi, utpote ex fæda teterrimorum latronum colluvione collecti, *Hispanorum*, qui strenui milites erant, virtutes non imitabantur, sed *ritia longe superabant.*" Vide "Rerum Gallicarum comment. auct. Fr. Belcario Pegulione Metensi Episc." (Lugd. 1625) p. 595, § 29.

Page 593, line 4 from the bottom. "*This woodness.*"—"Duravit hæc rabies non modicos dies." (Paralip.)

Page 594, line 6. "*They would with one voice call him Antichrist.*"—The "Paralipomena" says, "Interim parum plausibile Romanis auribus Lutheri nomen boatu horrido occinentes, si fors mitratorum aliquis de fenestra prospexisset."

Page 594, line 13. "*Sir Frederic de Bozolo.*"—Frederigo de Bozzolo in the "Il Sacco di Roma da Fr. Guicciardini," p. 199, edit. 1758. "Bodso," Foxe.

Page 594, line 20.]—Foxe from Hall says "July:" but the "Paralipomena" says, "Usque ad octavum Idus Junias," *i. e.* June 6th. Foxe himself says, a few lines lower, "When the month of July came."

Page 596, line 21. "*Defender of the Faith.*"—This title was first conferred by Leo X., in a bull dated Rome, 5 Id. Octob. pontificatus anno nono, *i. e.* October 11th, A. D. 1521. (Rymer.) But it was confirmed by Clement VII., in a bull dated Rome, 3 Non. Mart. pontificatus anno primo, *i. e.* March 5th, A. D. 1524. (Rymer.) The original bull of Leo X. conferring this title on Henry VIII. is preserved in the British Museum, and a beautiful fac-simile of it was published by Causton and Co., Birch-lane, London, in 1843. It is represented as mutilated by the fire at Cotton House in 1731. The original bull of Clement VII., called *The Golden Bull*, may be seen at the Rolls House, Chancery Lane.

Foxe has already described the occasion on which this title was given, at p. 294. To the note at foot of that page we may add the following:—"All that seems known (writes Mr. Bruce) respecting the authorship of this volume [Henry's Reply to Luther] may be summed up in a few words. It was begun to be written before the 15th April, 1521, and was finished before the 25th of August, in the same year. There can be no doubt that the king received assistance from the learned men about him, and in all probability many arguments and passages were altogether the work of others; but still there seems reason to believe that, in the first instance, at any event, the book proceeded from the king's own pen, and that throughout it was subject to his superintendence and control. We know that he was consulted upon one suggested alteration, which he refused to allow. By whom he was assisted is unknown.

Rumour has singled out Lee, Fisher, and Wolsey; amongst whom probability seems to me to suggest Fisher, as the most likely to have been active in the work; the others, or at any event Wolsey, contributing, perhaps, occasional suggestions. The dedicatory lines were furnished through Wolsey's means, but by whom they were written does not appear. The table of contents was compiled by Sir Thomas More." (*Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. pp. 75, 76.)

Page 597, line 7.]—Wolsey was made cardinal of St. Cecilia, September 7th, 1515. (Richardson's *Godwin*.)

Page 599, bottom.]—This embassy was sent about the close of 1528. (Rapin, Henry, &c.)

Page 608, line 28. "*Sitting in his pontificalibus in the cathedral church of Paul's*."—This paragraph will be found in Holinshead, sub a. 1526, *verbatim*; except that he adds, that it was "February the 11th, on Sunday," which, by Nicolas's Tables, was Shrove-Sunday in the year 1526; which exactly accords with Foxe's narrative respecting Barnes *infra*, vol. v. pp. 415—419.

Page 608, line 31. "*Two merchants of the Stilyard*."—It appears from the narrative in vol. v., that five Stilyard men were examined with Barnes. The editor has discovered among the Miscellaneous Exchequer Papers formerly kept at the Chapter House, but now at the Rolls House, Chancery-lane, several documents which confirm Foxe's narrative: one (First Series, No. 560) contains a list of Interrogatories to be put to certain examiners, one of which particularly specifies eating meat on prohibited days; and, connected with this, are the examinations of four Stilyard men before the Cardinal at the Chapter-house, Westminster, February 8th [no year given]; viz. Helbertus Belendorp, Hans Rensell, Hans Ellerdorpe, and Henry Pryknes: also, on a separate sheet, dated April 6th, 1526, is the Examination and Abjuration of another Stilyard man, named Adrian Delevyn, *alias* Deryke.

No. 1234, in the same Series, contains a letter from Sigismund, king of Poland, to Henry VIII., dated Dantzic, May 11th, 1526, in favour of Jacobus Egerth, a citizen and merchant of Dantzic, falsely accused of heresy; and another letter from the same to the same, dated Dantzic, May 12th, 1526, in favour of one George Vantelchen, citizen of Dantzic, residing in England, "qui, cum inquisitio istic fiebat in domo Londini Germanorum, absens erat: quamvis autem nulli libri Lutherani in Ejus Camera sint inventi, non audet tamen nisi securitatem consecutus a Majestate Vestra istuc redire:" the prayer for "facultatem redeundi et negocia sua et patroni sui Ulrici Wise Consulis Gedanensis [of Dantzic] istic exercendi."

No. 1247 contains the same letter, addressed to the cardinal.

Page 608, line 33. "*The Bishop of Rochester made a Sermon in reproof of Martin Luther*."—Fisher had already preached at Paul's Cross a Sermon on a similar subject, on the Octaves of the Ascension [May 16th] 1521. See Herbert's Ames.

The same bibliographer also mentions the sermon preached on this occasion: it was intitled—"A Sermon had at Pauls by the commandment of the most reverend father in God my lorde legate [and sayd by John the bysshop of Rochester] upon quinquagesom sonday [concernynge certayne hereticke] which than were abjured for holdynge the heresies of Martyn Luther that famous hereticke [and for keeping and retayning of his bokes agaynst the ordinance of Pope Leo the tenth: cum privilegio a rege indulto: Imprinted in fletestrete [in the house of Thomas Berthelet] nere to the Cundite [at the sign of Lucrece, cum privilegio a rege indulto." (Herbert's Ames, i. 459). The text was Luke xviii. 42: "Receive thy sight; thy faith hath saved thee." It was accompanied with a Preface, which is described by Herbert, and in which Fisher says, "I have put forth this sermon to be read, which, for the great noise within the church of Paul's, might not be heard." Tyndale afterwards severely reprov'd him for it in his "Obedience of a Christian Man." (See Tyndale's Works by Russel, vol. i. pp. 250—255, and the Tract Society's edition, pp. 104—106.)

Page 608, lines 30, 38. "*Friar Barnes . . . Which was about A.D. 1526*."—A full account of Barnes's examination and abjuration is given *infra*, vol. v. p. 415—419. It has been suggested (see Mr. Bagster's Hexapla, Introduction,

p. 67), that Foxe's date here is not correct, and that Barnes really abjured in February 1528; and this is argued from Foxe's statements respecting Barnes and Bayfield, at page 681 of this volume. Those, statements, however, have been misunderstood, and, as will appear, are in themselves not perfectly accurate. The following positive objections to the later date (February 1528) seem insuperable. Foxe states at vol. vii. p. 452, that Dr. Barnes preached the offensive sermon (which caused his apprehension on the Tuesday before Shrovetide next following) on a Sunday which was Christmas Eve, *i. e.* December 24th; which suits 1525, not 1527. Besides, Gardiner and Foxe are represented at vol. v. p. 417, as interposing in Barnes's favour on the day of his appearance before Wolsey, Wednesday before Shrovetide: now Shrove Sunday, in 1528, fell on February 23d, and the Wednesday previous was February 19th, when Gardiner and Foxe were on their road to the Pope, and could not have interposed for Barnes in the manner stated, for they left London February 10th, and reached Orvieto March 20th, 1528. (Henry's Hist. of England.) To all which may be added, that John Tybal gave evidence April 28th, 1528 (see Strype's Memorials, book i. chap. 8, and his Appendix of Records, No. XVII.), that at "Michaelmas last past was twelve months" (*i. e.* September 1526) he and Thomas Hilles came to London, and found friar Barnes then living at the Friars Augustine (where he was permitted to be a prisoner at large, after a half-year's imprisonment in the Fleet), and had intercourse with him respecting the Gospel, when he enjoined them caution. His proceedings, however, were discovered, as appears at vol. v. p. 419, which led to his removal to Northampton, whence he escaped to the continent. For further confirmation of Foxe's date, see the three notes preceding this.

Page 608, line 11 from the bottom. "*After this, the said cardinal likewise, A.D. 1528, and in the month of November.*"—This paragraph, placed here by Foxe in connexion with Wolsey's history, appears in the edition of 1563 (p. 477) in connexion with the history of Bilney and Arthur, and it is very important that this connexion should not be lost sight of. See on this subject the note in this Appendix on page 632, line 37, where it is shown, that Bilney's abjuration before the cardinal here spoken of, is distinct from that before Tonstal December 7th, 1527. The history of Lome and Garret fully confirms the date "November 1528," as will be shewn in the Appendix to vol. v.

Page 608, line 3 from the bottom.]—Foxe's statement here is liable to some misapprehension, for though Cardinal Campeius first seriously opened the proceedings on the Divorce at Blackfriars May 31st, 1529, yet he had arrived in England the previous October.

Page 609, line 9. "*The day appointed*"—was Friday, July 23d, A.D. 1529.

Page 609, line 33. "*And further, on the 17th of October.*"—Foxe, following Hall, here says "November;" which is manifestly an oversight: see the dates at the bottom of this page and of the next.

Page 610, line 32. "*That same year,*" &c.]—Foxe's text, taken from Hall, here reads inaccurately: "The next year following, which was A.D. 1530, in the month of November, was summoned a general parliament, to be holden at Westminster." Foxe's text, in the very next page, states the matter correctly: "A parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November . . . thus the parliament being begun the sixth day of the aforesaid month of November;" and a few lines lower in this page, we have "Sunday the 24th of October," which suits the year 1529 by Nicolas's Tables. The Parliamentary Rolls also prove, that the parliament met November 6th, 1529.

Page 611, line 16. "*In the year aforesaid, A.D. 1529.*"—A correction for Foxe's "In the year following, A.D. 1530." See the last note.

Page 613, lines 8, 7, 3, from the bottom.]—The bill respecting probates is in the Statutes at Large, cap. 5, 21 Henry VIII.; that respecting mortuaries is cap. 6; that on pluralities, &c. cap. 13.

Page 614, line 7 from the bottom. "*Which was A.D. 1530*"—stands in Foxe's text after "lay at Esher," which renders the statement erroneous. Ash-Wednesday in 1530 fell on March 2d, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 615, line 6.]—"Thenceforth" is substituted for Foxe's "that year."

Page 615, line 19.]—Foxe says: "where he so continued the space of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he, being," &c. Hall, whom Foxe copies, all along erroneously supposed Wolsey to have died A.D. 1531, which will account for the erroneous dates which it has been necessary to correct in these few pages. It is melancholy to think that Wolsey died with the language of persecution on his lips. See Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

Page 617, line 23. "*The trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, alderman of London.*"]—This good man was sent for by Sir Thomas More and put into the Tower May 14th, A.D. 1528; he petitioned the king May 19th. Strype gives the petition from the Foxian MSS., vol. i. No. 89; and No. 90 is his will, dated Nov. 16th, 1537. He was sheriff of London in 1535.

Page 617, line 31.]—Roy was a Greenwich friar, who joined Tyndale at Hamburgh in 1524, and remained with him till 1525, during which time he acted as Tyndale's amanuensis in printing his English Testament. After which Tyndale found it necessary to disavow him, as he describes in his preface to the "Parable of the Wicked Mammon." He was author of the Satire on Wolsey in Rhyme, hereafter noticed, and published a translation of a Latin book called a "Dialogue between the father and the son," with a "Prologue" of his own. In the margin of Bishop Tonstal's Prohibition of Tyndale's Testament (see p. 666 of this volume), Tonstal Register fol. 45, there is the following entry, to which Foxe no doubt alludes at p. 696 of this volume: "Admonitio ad tradendum libros novi testamenti in idiomate vulgari translatos per fratrem Augustinensem Lutherum et ejus ministros, viz. Willielmum Tyndall, alias Hochyns, et fratrem Willielmum Roy, apostatas Anglos, in mense Octobris anno Domini millesimo et quingentesimo xxvj.

"Præfatus frater Roy anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxxj^o erat combustus in Portugallia ob hæresim ut dicebatur."

Page 617, line 32. "*For helping them over the sea to Luther.*"]—Mr. Anderson in his "Annals of the English Bible" (vol. i. p. 45, &c.) strongly contends, that there was no connexion at all between Luther and Tyndale; and that the contrary representation was sent abroad by the enemies of Tyndale to damage the reputation of his Translation, "*Lutheran*" being the bye-word for pretended heresy, as "*Lollard*" had been in a previous age. For more on this subject, see the Appendix to vol. v., note on p. 119, line 30.

Page 618, line 15. "*The nunnery of Denny.*"]—Founded in Cambridgeshire, A.D. 1341, by Mary de S. Paulo, widow of Adomare earl of Pembroke. It contained twenty-five nuns at the time of the dissolution. (Tanner's "Notitia Monastica.")

Page 619, note (2).]—Latimer's 7th sermon on the Lord's Prayer, P.S. p. 440.

Page 620, line 3.]—"In ea igitur academia enutritus a puero Bilmæus," &c. (Latin Edition, p. 123.)—See the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 620, line 27 from the bottom. "*At the last in London he preached many notable sermons.*"]—Five in Whitsun week alone, A.D. 1527; see the notes on pp. 623, 627.

Page 620, line 13 from the bottom.]—Respecting Barnes, see *infra*, vol. v. p. 415, and the note in this Appendix on p. 608 line 30.

Page 620, line 10 from bottom. "*In Trinity church in Cambridge.*"]—This is a mistake for *St. Edward's church*, which has belonged to Trinity Hall ever since A.D. 1446. See Foxe's own statement *infra*, vol. v. p. 415.

Page 620, line 9 from bottom. "*Whose theme was, Gaudete,*" &c.]—Barnes's text, taken from Philippians iv., occurs in the Epistle for the Sunday before Christmas, and in this instance it was the day before Christmas, (see *infra*, vol. v. p. 415, and vol. vii. p. 452), which fixes it (by Nicolas's Tables) to the year 1525.

Page 621, line 30. "*Of all the bishops and clergy.*"]—It is remarkable that the marginal note here accords much better than the text with the Latin edition, which says: "Ingens erat per idem tempus Thomæ Vulsæi, cardinalis Eboracensis, in Anglia autoritas, sed fastus, pompa, atque ambitio multo major, quæ manifestam vitæ vanitatem, non modo ipsius sed et universi ordinis, tum pontificis omnium maximè, apud cordatos quosque declarabat." (Latin Edition, Bas. 1559, p. 124.)

Page 621, line 6 from the bottom. "After this, on the 27th of November, 1527."—Foxe here begins to use the *Tonstal Register*. The whole Process, transcribed by the Editor from the *Tonstal Register*, is printed for the first time at the end of this Appendix.

Among the rest summoned on this occasion was George Joye. "On the Saterdaye sevennight [November 23rd] before Advent Sondaye, the yeare of our Lorde 1527, there were letters sent as from the Cardinall by one of hys officers to Cambrydge, delyvered to the Vyce Cancellor called Doctour Edmonds, master of Peter Colledge, where I was then felowe. In whyche letters he was commaunded to sende me up to appeare at Westminster y^e Wendesdaye folowyng [the 27th of November] at ix of the clok with Bylney and Arture for certayne erroneous opynyons &c. Our master sent for me on the morow in to the contrey, and I came to hym on the mondaye. He shewed me the letters; I red them, and sawe the Cardinals sygne manuell subscribed in great letters, and his seale. I gote me horse when it snowed and was colde, and came to London, and so to Westminster, not long after my howre, when Bylney and Arture were in examinaeyon. Whyche thyng when I harde of, and knewe but those two poore shepe among so many cruel wolves, I was not over hastye to thruste in among them; for there was a shrewd mayney of bishops beside the Cardinal with other of theyr faction. And I thought to heare how these two lytell lambes shulde spede, yere I wold put myselfe into these Lyons mouthes. I went to my diner and taried walkyng in the cyte." (Cited in Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation* p. 7.) And in his *Refutation of the Bishop of Winchester's Declaration of his Articles*, 1546, Joye writes with especial reference to Gardiner's behaviour on that occasion:—"When I was brought before doctor Shixton Dean of the Cardinals chappel, and before Dr. Capon his almoner sent to Cambridge to enquire for us that professed the gospell, and for our bokes, you standyng by them at the cup-borde in Peter Colledge aule did speak for me and for my bokes as by name for *Pseugmata* [Psegmata] *Chrisost* upon Gnes,¹ which Jhon Oecompadius [Ecolampadius] had translated, and gave us both your good word, so that I kept the boke stil. And what favourable letters afterwarde ye wrote to maister *George Stafforde* to give hym warninge when he was complained of to the Cardinall for readyng, and declarynge truly and faithfully thepistle to the Romains, and shewed him howe he sholde temper his lection in utteringe the truth, and excuse of himselfe, &c. I know it and remember it all. For maister George didde ever shew me your letters. Also I saw M. Chikes letters both sent unto you, and yours sent to him agen, as concerning the cause of the gospell then in growing, and favored of you gretely as I and thei perceived by your letters, wherein yet I remember and forget not your wordes. And when I was sente for to the Cardinall and accused by the byshope of Lincolne, Langley, by Sir William Gascoine, knight, the Cardinalls treasurer, and by the Prior of Newnhams letters; whiche letters ye had; it was shewed me what good words and good counsell ye gave me; and even after I did, and so escaped the Cardinals and the Bishops handes. For ye saide I did wisely, if I coulde kepe me out of their hands; for that tyme did M. Bylney and Arture apere before him, and I was sent for to kepe them companye to have holpen them to bere fagots or els to burne for Gods word, or to recant. But I thanke God and your good premonicion and counsell, for that I toke another waye. But ah lasse for pitie, anon after that yours so gracious a calling of God to his truth in Cambridge, the Cardinall called you to promociions, and he that called Christ into the top of so high an hill and shewed him al the pleasures and glory of this wretched worlde, called you up to him also, sainge that ye wolde fall downe worship and serve him." foll. LXXXI—II. (See the note infra on p. 671, line 4.)

Page 621, note (1).—The original text of Foxe says: "Carried with Arthur, as is aforesaid, to Tonstal:" and two lines lower "as we have before specified." This extract from the early Edition is found *there* at the *end* of the account of Bilney; being introduced *here* at the *opening* of his history, it was necessary to modify the expressions just referred to.

Page 622, line 7. "*The cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before,*" &c.]—Item, *præfatus reverendus pater interrogavit eundem*

* Joye seems to have confounded two separate publications, the *Pseugmata*, and *Chrysostom upon Genesis*, with both of which however *Ecolampadius* was connected.

M. T. Bylney, an olim præstitit juramentum coram eodem quod nullas Lutheri opiniones prædicaret, recitaret, et defenderet, sed easdem ubique impugnaret. respondit, quod præstitit juramentum hujusmodi, non tamen judicialiter," &c. The following passage in Sir Thomas More's Dialogue (Works, p. 213) will explain this question put to Bilney: "This man [Bilney] had also bene before that accused unto the gretest prelate in this realme, who for his tender favour borne to the Universitie did not procede far in the matter against him. But accepting his denyall with a corporall othe that he sholde from that time forth be no setter forth of heresies, but in his prechings and redinges impugne them, dismissed him very benygnely, and of his liberal bounte gave him also money for his costes." But for the *informality* of this previous abjuration, Bilney would now have been burned *forthwith* as a relapse. See the Addenda.

Page 622, line 29. "*All favour,*" &c.]—The Tonstal Register, fol. 131, says: "Omnibus amicitia, odio, favore, preceve, aut pretio, aliisque similibus corruptionis generibus postpositis et semotis, absque alicujus falsitatis intermixture seu veritatis alienacione seu omissione in forma jurandi," &c.

Page 622, line 9 from the bottom. "*On the 28th of November.*"—All the Editions read "the 27th," except that of 1563, which correctly reads "xxviii." The exact words of the Tonstal Register, fol. 131, are as follows, the first words, "Vicesimo octavo," being written very large and conspicuous:—

"VICESIMO OCTAVO die mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo septimo, in capella infra ædes reverendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Richardi Norvicensis episcopi," &c.

Page 623, line 5. "*Articles against Thomas Arthur.*"—The Tonstal Register, folio 135 verso, gives the first *five* of these Articles as drawn from a Sermon preached at St. Mary Woolchurch, London, on Trinity Sunday, 1527; and the *sixth* and *seventh* as uttered by him "in the Parish Church of Walden and other places thereabout." See the Process at the end of this Appendix.

Page 623, line 49. "*These answers thus made, &c.*"—See the Tonstal Register, folio 131 verso: and for the "*Interrogatories*" in next page, see folio 132 verso.

Page 625, Article xxxiv.]—This Article stands thus in the Tonstal Register, folio 132 verso: "An tu, Thomas Bylney, citatus in causa hæresis ad comparandum coram Reverendissimo patre, Domino Thoma Cardinali Eboracensi, Sedis Apostolicæ de latere legato, non dum purgatus de hiis pro quibus citatus eras, verbum Dei populo publice in diversis Ecclesiis civitatis et diocesis London, viz. in Ecclesiis Sanctæ Helenæ, et Sancti Magni Civitatis ejusdem—et in Ecclesiis de Wyllesdon, Newyngton, Kengyngton, et Chelsey, extra urbem—absque licencia sufficienti Episcopi London aut ejuscujusque alterius, prædicaveris." These sermons were preached at Whitsuntide [June], 1527.

Page 625, line 13 from the bottom.]—These answers are not in the Register.

Page 626, line 11 from the bottom. "*And the reverend father Marcus Marulus.*"—A native of Spalatro in Dalmatia. He compiled "*Bene vivendi Instituta,*" first printed at Venice, 1506, and afterwards at Basil, 1513; and "*Evangelistarium sub Fidei, Spei et Charitatis titulis in septem libros partitum; Coloniae, 1529.*" See Possevin's "*Apparatus Sacer,*" tom. ii. p. 61; Bayle's Dictionary, and Panzer's "*Annales Typogr.*" vol. vi. pp. 191, 406, 416.

Page 627.]—The Tonstal Register, folio 133 verso, gives five Articles from Bilney's St. Magnus' Sermon, preached in the Whitsun-week, 1527; containing not above half the quotations which Foxe gives, and adding one which he does not give, viz:—"Item, he sayde, good people, I exhorte you in God, that if priests be of vyyl conversation, or will not applye ther learning, that you helpe them not, but rather let them starve than give them any penny:" it is subjoined "*Negat, ut ponitur.*" See the Process at the end of this Appendix.

The same Register, folio 134, gives nine Articles from the Wyllesdon Sermon, preached also in Whitsun-week, 1527, including what is cited in this page and afterwards at p. 648.

The same Register, at folio 134 verso, gives three Articles from the Newington Sermon, preached also in Whitsun-week, 1527, and nine from his Ipswich Sermon, preached May 28th, 1527, including what Foxe cites in this page and afterward in p. 649.

Page 627, line 23. "*Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham,*" &c.]—

“Norfolk anciently contained *many* celebrated reliques and miraculous images, to some of which pilgrims resorted from the remotest parts of Europe. Among the *local* saints, we read of St. Blythe of Martham; St. William of the Wood (martyred by the Jews of Norwich in the twelfth century); St. Margaret of Hoveton (whose reliques were deposited at St. Bennet’s at Holme); St. Parnell of Stratton; St. Walston of Bawburgh; St. Tebbald of Hobbies. We also read of St. Albert of Cringleford; St. Botolph of Foulsham; our Lady of Reepham, &c. Among other remarkable reliques formerly in this county, we read of St. John the Baptist’s head at Trimmingham; the *holy thorn* (a part of our Saviour’s crown!) and other reliques in the church of Great Yarmouth, and a portion of *the true cross* at Broomholme Priory. And I must not forget ‘*the good sword of Winfarthing*,’ before which *wives* who longed to be *widows* used to keep a light burning for a whole year! But the milk of Walsingham was by far the most celebrated of the Norfolk reliques.” (“The Antiquities of Norfolk,” by the Rev. R. Hart, 1814, pp. 33, 34.)

Page 627, line 12 from the bottom. “*Sancta Maria*,” &c.]—This petition, with others to various saints, follows the petition to the Trinity in the Romish Litanies.

Page 630, line 11 from the bottom. “*By the illusion of Satan*.”]—See Appendix to vol. iii., note on p. 267, line 3.

Page 632, line 18.]—Foxe’s text reads “Farmer:” but the Tonstal Register, folio 131, reads “Farman:” no doubt Dr. Forman is meant, the rector of All Saints, Honey Lane, for he is called Farman in some original documents which will be given in the Appendix to vol. v., connected with Garret’s history. See the note in this Appendix on p. 689, line 21.

Page 632, line 21. “*Till Saturday . . . On the 7th of December*.”]—From this it would appear, that Bilney abjured the first time on Saturday, December 7th, A. D. 1527. (See Nicolas’s Tables.)

Page 632, line 30.]—Bilney’s abjuration is in the Tonstal Register, fol. 135, and is printed in the Process at the end of this Appendix.

At the margin of this abjuration is added in the Register: “*Iste Thomas postea die Sabbato xxvi Augusti, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxxj, combustus fuit Norwici propter hæresim et relapsum in eandem;*” which puts his death one week later than Foxe.

Bilney’s abjuration is followed in the Register, fol. 135 verso, by the articles and abjuration of Arthur; then, fol. 136 verso, come the articles of Lome as given *infra*, vol. v. p. 26, and his abjuration; then, fol. 137, the articles of T. Garrard, as given *infra*, vol. v. p. 428, and his abjuration.

“Henry bishop of Saynt Asse” mentioned in the abjuration as one of the Commissaries who sat on Bilney, means Henry Standish, formerly Warden of the Franciscans, now bishop of St. Asaph. This title was often contracted, as here, into *St. Asse*; the contraction was not an unsuitable one in this instance; for Standish was a very ignorant and bigoted man, and is said, on the appearance of Erasmus’s Testament in 1516, to have fallen on his knees to the king and queen, and implored them to go on like their predecessors and put down Erasmus: Erasmus called him “*Episcopus a Sancto Asino*.” (Wood’s Ath. Bliss, i. p. 91). According to Roy’s Satire, it was he who first informed Wolsey of the arrival of Tyndale’s English Testament, and implored him to suppress it.

Page 632, line 37. “*And should stand before the preacher at Paul’s Cross all the sermon time*.”]—In the edition of 1563, page 477, these words are followed by a paragraph which, in the subsequent editions, is removed to another place (see page 608, line 11 from the bottom). The paragraph runs thus in the Edition of 1563:—“After this, the Cardinal, as legate, called the whole Cleargye before him at Westminster, and there sayde, that al the abuses of the Church should be mended, but he did nothinge therein but onely abjure Arthur, Bilney, Jeffraye Lome, and Garret, that spake against the Pope’s autoritye and his pompe and pryde. Whose Articles here followe in order, as they were objected against them.” Then follow the Articles against Bilney from his St. Magnus Sermon (see p. 627). These Articles are found in Bishop Tonstal’s Register, but not the paragraph.

The only material difference between the two versions of the paragraph is, that at page 608 we have the date put in “A. D. 1528, and in the month of November.” This, however, is an important addition, for it appears only three

lines higher on this page that, though Tonstal absolved Bilney on this occasion, yet, "for his penance, he enjoined him that he should abide in a prison appointed by the Cardinal, till he were by him released"—"Quod idem Bynley maneret in carcere in loco per Reverendissimum dominum Legatum deputando, donec idem Reverendissimus dominus Legatus vel alius suus ordinarius pro tempore futurus illam pœnitentiam prædictam relaxandam duxerit." Register, folio 132. It is plain, therefore, from a comparison of this sentence on Bilney with the paragraph in p. 608, that Wolsey detained Bilney in prison till November 1528, and that previous to his release he was re-examined and re-abjured before the cardinal as "legate;" for Wolsey was exceedingly enamoured of his legatine authority, and fond of displaying it independently of the other bishops (see the note on page 589, line 25). Thus it appears that Bilney was imprisoned at least a year and a quarter, that is, from September 13th, 1527 (see vol. v. p. 43) to November 1528: perhaps much longer, for it seems from the note in this Appendix on p. 625, Article xxxiv., that Bilney was under citation from Wolsey so early as Whitsuntide (June) 1527.

The sentence on Bilney is immediately followed in the Register by the sentence on Arthur. Arthur was not, like Bilney, remanded to prison, but was ordered for thirty days not to say mass in public, but only secretly to himself (if so disposed), and not to preach again without special license from his ordinary: he was, however, to bear his faggot with Bilney at St. Paul's; and it appears from p. 608, that Wolsey required him to be forthcoming, with Bilney and others, in the following November.

Page 632, (note 2).]—The following are the two other Latin letters, as printed in the Edition of 1563:—

"Etsi nesciam, pater in Christo colende, an usquam vel dixerim vel scripserim, quòd Evangelium non fuit longo nunc tempore sincere prædicatum, quod tua dominatio ex meis, sive concionum sinistris auditoribus (qui Malchum dextera multilatam aure referunt), sive ex scriptis, sive ex verbis meis, temere forsân potius quam malo animo effusus, collegisse videtur: tamen in hac re quoniam id tua jubet paternitas, idque pio, ut spes est, animo (neque enim apud Tonstallum ullum fucis locum esse crediderim), quid a Deo per Christum in scripturis didicerim, et quo modo doctores magni etiam nominis similia in suis jam dudum concionibus non docuerint, quam potero paucissimis æperiam, omnia tuo permittens, imò subjiciens, paterno judicio, acriori quam ut cœcutire, synceriori quam ut calumniatorem agere, velit aut possit. Ergo, fateor me non raro veritum fuisse, ne non pure jamdiu annunciatus sit Christus. Quis enim jamdiu per illum offensus aut scandalizatus fuit? quis propter Evangelium ejus persecutionem aliquot jam annis passus est? Ubi gladius quem venit mittere in terram? ubi denique reliqui Evangelii non adulterati fructus? Quos quia non vidimus an non metuentum est, arborem quæ tales edere solet fructus in nostro jamdiu fundo fuisse desideratam? tantum abest ut apud nos coaluisse crediderim. An non omnia in pace vidimus? At quid dicit ecclesia? In pace amaritudo mea amarissima. At ecclesia malignantium dicit, Pax, pax; et non est pax, nisi ea, de qua scriptum est, Cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt omnia quæ possidet, qui cum se videt a fortiori superandum omnia discerpit ac laniat. Quid nunc denuo fieri incipiat, non ausim affirmare. Det Dominus nobis gratiam ne venientem (si Christus est) rejiciamus, ne forte terribile illud Dei contra nos judicium experiamur: Eo quod charitatem veritatis non receperunt ut salvi fierent, ideo mittet illis Deus operationem erroris ut credent mendatio. O tremendam sententiam, quam an jamdudum plerique incurrimus Deus novit, ut judicentur omnes qui non crediderunt veritati, sed consenserunt iniquitati! Veniet, inquit, tempus quando sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt. Quid igitur dicemus de ea quæ jamdiu regnavit ac triumphavit nemine contra vel mutiente? An sanam fuisse? Certe nunquam magis abundavit iniquitas. Nunquam aequè refrixit charitas. At quamobrem? an quia defuerunt qui vitia insectarentur? qui ad charitatem inflammarent? at negant hoc et vere negant multi docti quidem et magni nominis theologi. Sed mores tamen indies magis a christianismo degenerantes re ipsa clamare videntur impletum quod Deus per prophetam suum Amos jam olim comminatus est, dicens: Ecce dies venient, dicit Dominus, et mittam famem in terram, non famem panis neque sitim aquæ sed audiendi verbum Domini. Et commove-

buntur a mari usque ad mare, et ab aquilone orientem circumibunt, quærentes verbum Domini, et non invenient. In die illa deficient virgines pulchræ et adolescentes in siti.

“Sed ut multa præteream, quibus adducor ut metuam verbum Dei non fuisse pure predicatum, illud est non postremum, quod qui quam purissime student predicare Jesum male audiunt propter nomen ejus, qui est Petra scandali et lapis offensionis his qui offendunt verbo, nec credunt in quo et positi sunt. Sed qui sunt illi, inquires, et qualia docent? Certe, quicumque intrant per ostium, Christum dico, in ovile ovium (id quod faciunt omnes, qui nihil aliud quærunt quam gloriam Dei et salutem animarum), de omni hujusmodi recte quadam tenus dici potest illud, Quem misit Deus, verba Dei loquitur: quamobrem? Quia Angelum refert ecclesiæ Philadelphię, ad quem Johannes scribit dicens: Hæc dicit sanctus et verus qui habet clavem David, qui aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit. Ecce dedi (nomine Christi loquitur, qui ostium est et ostiarius) coram te ostium, scilicet scripturarum, apertum, aperiens tibi sensus, ut intelligas scripturas, et hoc quia per me ostium intrasti, nimirum juxta nomen tuum fratrum dilectioni non tibi inserviturus. Quisquis enim per me ostium fuerit ingressus salvabitur, ingredietur et egredietur, ac pascua invenient. Huic enim ostiarius aperit et oves vocem ejus audiunt. Contra de iis qui non ingressi sunt per ostium, sed aliunde, ambitione, avaricia, vel dominandi libidine corrupti, ascenderunt (ad inferos in puncto nisi aliquando recipiscant descensuri), illud Hieremiæ vere dictum est: Egressus est a filia Syon omnis decor ejus, quia principes ejus facti sunt velut arietes non invenientes pascua. Quamobrem? quia aliunde velut fures et latrones ascenderunt, non missi, non vocati. Et quid ergo mirum, si non predicent, cum non emittuntur, sed currunt ob quæstum, assumentes sibi honorem, sibi inquam, non Deo, non animabus. Et hæc est radix omnium malorum in ecclesia, quod quia non mittuntur a Deo intus (nam sine hac interna vocatione centies a Papa, rege, vel imperatore per mille Bullas electum et consecratum fuisse nihil quicquam judat coram Deo qui respicit cor, et cujus judicium est secundum veritatem, utenque hominum ad tempus judicio imponamus, qui et ipsi aliquando videbunt turpitudinem hujusmodi), hinc inquam omnium malorum in ecclesia origo est, quod ingerimus nos metipsos ad curam animarum, quarum salutem aut Dei gloriam (quod est intrare per ostium) non sitimus, non quævimus, sed per omnia, nostra. Hinc est quod neque Christum scimus predicare (quomodo enim, inquit, predicabunt, nisi mittantur, scilicet, purè, Christum? Alioqui multi fures et latrones predicant sed labiis tantum, cor autem eorum procul est ab ipso); neque eos qui sciunt sinimus, sed persequimur, sed scripturas ipsas jam redivivas conamur sub prætextu pietatis opprimere, veriti (opinor) ne veniant Romani, et tollant locum nostrum.

Hostis Herodes impie,
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia,
Qui regna dat cœlestia.¹

“Heu cæcitatem nostram, pater benignissime! heu cæcitatem nostram plusquam Egyptiam! heu tenebras plusquam palpabiles! Quarum, si qui sunt, qui populum velint admonere, mox ait Pharaos: Quare, Moyses et Aaron, sollicitatis populum ab operibus suis, et vere suis? ite ad onera vestra. Illi opprimantur operibus et explent ea, ut non acquiescant verbis mendacibus. Sicque dispergitur populus per omnem terram Egypti ad colligendas paleas, ad colligendas (inquam) paleas. Quis det, ut aliquando dicat Dominus: Videns vidi afflictionem populi mei, qui est in Ægypto, et gemitum eorum audivi et descendi liberare eos. Sed quo me rapuit hic zelus? an secundum scientiam, non ausim pronuntiare; tuum esto (pater observande) judicium.

“Illud jamdudum expectas, ut ad longum (ut scribis) tibi depingam, quomodo (quod hætenus diu desideratum esse dixisse prædico id veritum esse non inficio) debet syncere prædicari, ut regi tuo melius posthac consulatur. Hic fateor verebar, ne qua subesset ironia, quoad te scripsisse illud propriis articulis testimonio oculato didicissem. Tum demum fluctuare corpi, quo animo

(1) In the “Paralipomena Rerum Memorabilium,” appended to the “Chronicon Abbatis Urspergensis,” p. 349. we read:—

“Anno Domini 1521. Eodem tempore scribit Lutherus ‘de Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie præludium’ cum ejaculatione hæc. *Lata Libertas: item carmine isto annexo, Hostis Herodes impie, &c.*”

Tonstallus hoc a Bylneo flagitaret, emeritus miles a tyrunculo, summus Londoniensium pastor ab infima ovicula. Sed quocunque animo, spero optimo, flagitasti, Propediem (neque enim opus est unius diei apud me qui viribus corporis sic destituor) propicio Christo, pro gratia Dei mihi collata, opus illud quamvis viribus meis majus aggrediar. Sub quo si succubuero, non fallam te, utpote cui nihil polliceor, nisi promptam quod injungis peragendi voluntatem.

“Quod ad Evangelii prædicationem attinet, utinam faceres mihi potestatem privatim tecum coram loquendi, ut libere dicam quod in scripturis sanctis per Dei gratiam didici, pro consolacione conscientie meæ. Quod si feceris, spero, te non penitebit. Omnia tuo judicio submittentur, qui (nisi te nondum in aliquo novi) arundinem comminutam non confringes, et linum fumigans non extingues, quin potius, etiam si occupatus fuero (ut sum homo) in aliquo errore, &c.” (Gal. vi. 1., Heb. v. 1, 2.)

Tuus, Thomas Bilneus.

“*Memineris cras mei, ut ad Reverendissimum tua ope deducar, ad cujus tribunal sisti longe malim, quam cujusquam suorum.*

—(Foxe, Edit. a. d. 1563, pp. 465, 466.)

“Salve pater, in Christo mihi plurimum observande. Rogasti, ut ad longum tibi scriberem in quibus non est predicatum sicut debuit: et quomodo debuit melius predicari. Onus videlicet viribus meis longe majus: sub quo igitur si succubuero, tuum fuerit qui hoc oneris meis humeris imponeris, hoc me fasce levare. Quod ad primum attinet, ab iis non est predicatum ut debuit, qui relicto verbo Dei sua predicarunt; quales non paucos fuisse, illud abunde magnum argumentum est, quod ipsum nunc verbum sincere afferentes audiunt, Novitates annunciant isti. Sed et illud non leve hujus rei testimonium est, quod vix unum aut alterum in Anglia potentem in scripturis habemus. Et quid monstri est, si nova illis omnia videantur pia, quibus novum est evangelium, humana figmenta aliquot jam annis assueta. Utinam vanus hic essem, ac non vera, heu nimium vera, proferrem, si tamen profero, quæ in sinum tuum infundo. Sed et illi pessime predicaverunt, qui, aut ipsi scripturas torsērunt, aut ab aliis detortas ex chartis ferme putridis temere coacervaverunt. Et quomodo non torquerent, aut ab aliis tortas quomodo diducerent, quando ne semel quidem Biblia seriaticim perlegerint? Atque horum magnus valde numerus est, a quo etiam seipsos egre forsā vindicabunt magni aliquot Rabini, quos populus hactenus tantum non pro diis admiratus est. Atque hi nunc ventri suo timent et gloriæ, gloriam vero Dei Valere sinunt; quæ vel ab Asino Balaam propagari potest, tantum abest ut abjectos verbum Dei loquentes contemnere debeamus. Habemus (inquit) thesaurum hunc in vasculis fictilibus, ut virtutis eminentia sit ex Deo, et non ex nobis. Quæ stulta sunt mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat sapientes, et infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia, et ignobilia mundi et contemptibilia elegit Deus, et ea quæ non sunt, ut ea quæ sunt destrueret, ut non gloriatur omnis caro in conspectu ejus. At nunc omnes fere sapientes esse volunt, ideoque pudet eos simplicis Evangelii, pudet eos vere cum Paulo dicere, ac re ipsa prestare, Ego cum venissem ad vos, fratres, veni, non in sublimitate sermonis aut sapientiæ annuncians vobis testimonium Christi. Non enim judicavi me scire aliquid inter vos, nisi Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum. O veri vocem Evangelistæ! At nunc pudet nos hujus stultæ predicationis, per quam placuit Deo salvos facere credentes, eligentes potius fastuosè in iis quæ non vidimus incedere, frustra inflati a sensu carnis nostræ, narrantes iniquè fabulaciones, et non legem tuam, Domine, quæ immaculata est, convertens animas. Sed quomodo Dei legem docerent, quam ne in libris quidem legerint, nedum ex ore Dei didicerint? At hoc in pastore, in episcopo, in speculatore requiritur: Fili hominis (inquit), omnes sermones meos quos ego loquor ad te, assume in corde tuo, etc. Et paulo post: Fili hominis, speculatorem dedi te (dedi te, non ambientem, non irrumpentem, non aliunde ascendentem, sed nihil minus expectantem, dedi te) domui Israel, ut, ipsi inservires, ipsi ab altitudine speculæ si quid hostium ingrueret denunciaris; dedi te domui Israel, non domum Israel tibi, ut te servum ovium agnoscas, non dominum. Non enim oves propter pastorem, sed pastorem propter oves. Major qui recumbit, quam qui ministrat: Quod agnovit ille, qui vere dixit: Nos servi vestri propter Christum. Sed ad quid dedi te domui Israel? Ut ministres tantum sacramenta? ut consecres ligna, lapides, et coimeteria? (hæc, Deum testor, gemebundus atque alte suspirans nunc scribo, in sinu tuo animi

amaritudinem effundens.) Nequaquam. Quid ergo? Sequitur primum episcopi officium, Audies de ore meo verbum. O brevem lectionem, sed quam totus mundus, nisi intus docente Deo, non potest capere. Quid est, Audies de ore meo verbum? nisi Eris *θεοδιδάκτος*. Ergo quotquot non sunt docti a Deo, quamlibet etiam in scripturis humanitus exercitati, non sunt speculatores a Deo dati; ac multo minus, qui non callent scripturas, ideoque (ne nihil dicant) humana semper crepant, hoc est, mendacia. Nam qui a sese loquitur, mendacium loquitur. De eo scriptum est, Volunt esse legis doctores, non intelligentes quæ loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant: quales non possunt non esse omnes, qui quod ore loquuntur non credunt, quia non intus a Deo docti intelligunt verum esse; non habent in corde persuasum; ac proinde non oves quidem sunt, cum se jactitent esse pastores. Contra de veris a Deoque datis ac doctis pastoribus dici aliquousque quidem potest, immo prorsus, Quod scimus loquimur, et quod vidimus (nimirum certissimis oculis fidei) testamur. Et hi neque falluntur, neque fallunt. Porro impostores proficiunt in pejus, errantes et in errorem mittentes. Hos, quia de mundo sunt, libentius audit mundus: Ipsi (inquit) de mundo sunt, ideo de mundo loquuntur, et mundus eos audit. Ecce tibi, pater, lydium predicationis nostræ diuturnæ lapidem. An non mundus eos cum summo fere applausu jam diu audit? At verbum crucis nunquam sustinere potuit caro, neque carnis prudentia, quæ inimicitia est adversus Deum, nec legi Dei subditur, immo ne potest quidem. Cur ergo hæreseos et pro schismaticis traducuntur, qui hominibus placere nolunt nisi ad ædificationem, memores illius scripturæ, Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placent, dicentibus, loquere nobis placentia? Cæterum iis omissis, ad secundum veniamus. Quomodo, inquis, debuit melius predicari? Certe, si illum audivissemus, de quo dixit Pater, Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacitum est; ipsum audite. Hic de semetipso dicit, Oportebat Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis tertia die, et predicari in nomine ejus penitentiam et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes. Quod quid aliud est, quam quod alius Evangelista scripsit, Euntes in mundum universum predicate Evangelium omni creaturæ: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit. Quid hoc nuncio afflictis ac desperabundis conscientiis suaviter, jucundius, aut gratius esse potest? At hic an Christus fuerit jamdiu auditus nescio, ut qui neque omnes Angliæ concionatores audivi, neque si audivissem, diffidere satis eos ante unum aut alterum annum potuissem. Hoc ausim affirmare, quotquot ego jamdudum audivi (de celeberrimis loquor) sic predicarunt penitentiam, quod, si olim tales penitentiam precones audivissem, penitus sane desperavissem. Atque ut unum de celeberrimis tacito nomine proferam, sic, posteaquam vitia acerrime fuisset insectatus (quo nomine nulli non pie docto placuit, neque enim satis potest in scelera declamari), concludebat: Ecce (inquit) tu, libidinose, sexaginta annos velut jumentum in stercore suo in libidine tua computruisti; et vis tu præsumere in uno anno tantum cælum versus progredi, idque in senectute, quantum a cælo sexaginta annis infernum versus retrocessisti? Egregia videlicet argumentatio. Hocine fuit predicare penitentiam in nomine Jesu, an Christum potius cum Antichristo conculcare? Nam quid aliud re ipsa dixit ille quam, Christus frustra pro te mortuus est, non erit tibi Jesus; oportet te pro temetipso satisfacere, alioqui peribis in eternum: Mentitur Iohannes qui dicit, Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi; item alibi, Sanguis ejus emundat nos ab omni peccato; item, Ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis totius mundi: et alia infinita mendacia sunt. Quod quid aliud est, quam quod a Spiritu Sancto per os Petri predictum est: Erunt falsi doctores, qui Dominum Jesum, qui ipsos mercatus est, abnegabunt. Et quid sequitur hujusmodi doctrinas dæmoniorum in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium? desperabunda conscientia tradit se desideriiis suis. Juxta illud Pauli: Posteaquam eo pervererunt, ut dolere desierint, semetipsos dederunt lascivire ad patrandum omnem immunditiam cum aviditate. Videntes enim impossibile ut satisfaciant, Deo obmurmurant, vel tam crudelem ut ipsi predicant non credunt. Alia dicere vetat angustia chartæ, et malim coram tecum in aurem instillare. Ad quod si me admiseris, spero non te penitebit, et magna esset mihi consolatio, Christum testor, in quo feliciter cum omni grege tuo vive ac vale.

Tuus Captivus, et supplex pro te ad Deum orator

T. B.

—(Foxe, Edit. A. D. 1563, pp. 466, 467.)

Page 636, line 44. "Momes"]—faultfinders. See vol. viii. p. 250.

Page 638, margin. "*Ex Prudentio.*"]—Rather read "*Ex Sedulio;*" for the words in the text, from "Ah thou wicked enemy" down to "heavenly kingdoms," form part of a hymn by Sedulius (lib. v.), and are appointed for use during Epiphany in the pre-reformation service-books: "*Hymnus*" says Daniel (Thes. hymnol. I. 148) "in Epiphania omnibus ecclesiis usitatissimus."

Page 640, line 8. On "carping" see the Addenda.

Page 641, line 18. "*After this abjuration made, about A.D. 1529 the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow,*" &c.]—This passage is thus punctuated in all the Editions of Foxe: "After this abjuration made about A.D. 1529, the said Bilney," &c. But Foxe has already correctly placed the *abjuration* of Bilney to December 1527, and his *re-abjuration* to November 1528. He clearly meant the words "about A.D. 1529" for the date of Bilney's *repentance*, for he has so dated it next page, line 16. A slight shifting of the comma harmonizes Foxe with himself.

Page 641, line 37. "*When the cardinal was aloft, and bare the swinge.*"—He lost the king's favour in July or August, 1529. See p. 609, and vol. v. p. 53.

Page 641, line 38. "*Bilney came to Cambridge again a whole year after.*"—This "whole year" is evidently to be computed from Bilney's first abjuration in December, 1527 (see p. 632). His detention in prison till the following November, as suggested in a previous note (on p. 632, line 37), accounts for his delay in returning to Cambridge.

Page 641, notes (1), (2).]—See also Latimer's last sermon before king Edward, where he describes the case of a despairing person whom God restored. Tyndale also alludes to Bilney's case in his letter to Frith *infra*, vol. v. p. 132.

Page 642, line 26. "*He would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more.*"—The evidence of Lawrence Staples (*infra*, vol. v. p. 32) proves, that Bilney about six weeks before his attachment was at Greenwich, and soon after at Cambridge; when he took this final leave of Cambridge and started for Norfolk. See the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 642, line 37. "*The blind bishop Nix.*"—"Being blind of both eyes, and no less blind in soul than in body:" Edition of 1563, p. 477. "*Episcopus Norvicensis, Ricardus Nixus, cæcus, atque utroque oculo captus; nec interim animo minus quam corpore inscius.*" (Latin Edition, p. 124.)

Page 643, line 3. "*Bird . . . that brought apples to Bonner.*"—See *infra*, vol. vii. p. 104.

Page 643, line 22. "*Certain Norwich men, writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterwards, being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his execution read a bill, &c.*"—"Execution" is substituted for Foxe's "examination" on the authority of Sir. T. More himself. (Works, London, 1559, p. 349.)

At the Rolls House, Chancery Lane, among the miscellaneous papers of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, Second Series, Nos. 1884-90, the Editor has discovered the proceedings taken before the Lord Chancellor, relative to Bilney's alleged recantation: though running to some length, they are printed at the end of this Appendix, as curious in themselves, and as fully supporting Foxe's and Bishop Burnet's view of the case.

Nos. 1889, 1890, are autograph compositions of Bilney's, written by him; while in prison, after he was delivered to the secular power; and show an extraordinary knowledge of Scripture. One cannot conceive how Bilney should have abjured at the stake, after penning these pious effusions of his soul *only three days* before his execution; wherein he endeavours to confirm his brethren in the profession of the truth, evidently meaning the Gospel principles which he and they had embraced in common; and argues the goodness and wisdom of God in bringing good (that is, true contrition and humility) out of evil, meaning obviously his former abjuration.

No. 1888 is a copy of Nos. 1889, 1890; and is thus noted at the beginning: "This is the very true copy of A booke which Thomas Blynney made and

wrytte w^t his own hande, whiles he was in prison in the gildhall of the Citie of Norwich, After he was delyvered unto the seculer power: which boke was delyvered atte the day of his deth | which Copye is sent to my lords grace the Duke of Norff. Atte his comandement by the Maier of Norwich.”

No. 1887 is a memorandum made by the Mayor of Norwich, of Bilney's last words at the stake.

No. 1884 is the Deposition on oath of John Curatt, Alderman of Norwich, before the Lord Chancellor, November 9th, 1531, touching what passed during Bilney's last hours.

No. 1885 is the Deposition, on oath, November 25th, of Mr. Edward Reed, Mayor of Norwich, on the same subject.

No. 1886 contains fifteen Interrogatories prepared by Dr. Pellis in Latin, and put in by Dr. Pellis, December 5th, against the said Mayor, with the Mayor's answers.

The best commentary on the foregoing papers will be the following passage from Bishop Burnet:—

“He preached up and down the country, confessing his former sin of denying the faith, and taught the people to beware of idolatry, or trusting to pilgrimages, to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of saints, or to images; but exhorted them to stay at home, to give much alms, to believe in Jesus Christ, and to offer up their hearts, wills, and minds to him in the Sacrament. This being noised abroad, he was seized on by the bishop's officers and put in prison at Norwich, and the writ was sent to burn him as a relapse, he being first condemned and degraded from the priesthood: while he was in prison the friars came oft about him to persuade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a bill of abjuration.

“In this he was certainly abused, for if he had signed any such paper, it had been put in the Bishop's register, as all things of that nature were; but no such writing was ever shown, only some said they heard him read it, and others who denied there was any such thing, being questioned for it, submitted and confessed their fault. But at such a time it was no strange thing if a lie of that nature was vented with so much authority, that men were afraid to contradict it; and when a man is a close prisoner, those who only have access to him may spread what report of him they please, and when once such a thing is said, they never want officious vouchers to lie and swear for it. But since nothing was ever showed under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in these reports, which were spread about to take away the honour of martyrdom from the new doctrines. It is true he had never inquired into all the other tenets of the church of Rome, and so did not differ from them about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and some other things. But when men durst speak freely, there were several persons that witnessed the constancy and sincerity of Bilney in these his last conflicts,” &c. (Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, book ii. ed. 1681, vol. i. p. 163.)

The Editor may state, that he has searched the London and Norwich Episcopal Registers with care, but can find nothing about Bilney's alleged recantation. The note in the margin of his abjuration, in the London Register, in fact implies that he did *not* recant. (See note above on p. 632, line 30.)

After reading the documents, the reader will doubtless be of opinion, that Foxe's and Bishop Burnet's defence of Bilney against the charge of recantation is complete: Bilney was, after all, but partially enlightened; and most probably, like Wiclif and others who had preceded him, died in external communion with the church of Rome. (See Appendix to vol. iii., note on p. 22, note (1).) But that he uttered any thing at the stake which could be fairly called a recantation, is quite incredible. That Dr. Pellis's bill was not produced before Sir T. More, nor quoted by Sir Thomas when writing on the subject, looks very suspicious; he, perhaps, learned a little prudence from the amazing absurdity of Knyghton in publishing in his Chronicle the *so-called recantation* of Wiclif. (See Appendix to vol. iii., note on p. 19, note (1).) The weight of evidence on the other side, produced by Foxe, is so overwhelming, that we may consider Bilney as having abundantly earned the character of a faithful witness and martyr.

Page 648, line 33.]—Respecting these citations from Bilney's Sermons, see the note in this Appendix on p. 627.

Page 652, line 10 from the bottom.]—It was peculiarly mortifying for poor Necton to have to officiate at Bilney's burning, seeing he would go out of office September 29th following, *i. e.* in a little more than a month. Necton was chosen 1530. September 8th was the day for electing sheriffs at Norwich, and they came into office on Michaelmas day. (See Bloomfield's "History of Norwich.")

Page 652, last line.]—St. Magnus's day was August 19th, and Holinshead says expressly, that Bilney was burnt August 19th, which fell on a Saturday A. D. 1531. For the later date assigned in the Register, see the note on p. 632. line 30.

Page 653, line 3.]—An "ale-brew" or "aubry" means bread and beer. (Bloomfield's "History of Norwich," account of Bilney's martyrdom.)

Page 653, line 30.]—The translation of the passage in the text is imperfect, and is completed from the Latin in the note.

Page 654, line 20. "*Somewhat tarrying,*"]—*i. e.* delaying. See Appendix to vol. iii., note on p. 258, line 22 from the bottom.—On Dr. Warner, see the Addenda.

Page 654, line 13 from the bottom. "*Collation*"]—an exposition or short sermon: see vol. v. p. 532, line 11, and p. 554, lines 1, 3, 5.

Page 656, note (1).]—Strype, in his "Life of Archbishop Grindal" (book i. chap. 2), says, that Ridley might have told the story in the text about Stafford to his chaplain Grindal, who would again report it to Foxe; and this is most probably the meaning of this reference.—See the Addenda for other matters.

Page 657, line 23. "*Upon occasion whereof, the next year following, this book was made (being about the year 1527).*"]—There is some uncertainty about the time when "the Supplication of Beggars" was written. "Compyled by Simon Fyshe anno MCCCCXXIV" is printed on the title-page of "The Supplication of the Poor Commons, 1546" (Herbert's Ames, iii. p. 1537). Bishop Tanner says, "Scripsit ad regem Henricum VIII. anno MD. XXIV." It is said to have been scattered in the streets before Henry VIII. in the procession on Candlemas day [February 2d] A. D. 1526. If these dates be correct, Fish must have fled at Christmas A. D. 1523, two years before Foxe's date, 1525, and four years before that assigned by Holinshead, 1527. Sir Thomas More in his reply, intituled "The Supplication of the poor Souls in Purgatory," remarks that Fish values the angel at 6s. 8d. (see *infra*, p. 659): and that he was not aware of the new valuacyon: for he ranne away before the valuacyon changed." The noble was raised to the value of 7s. 4d. in August, and 7s. 6d. in November, 1526, which tends to confirm Foxe's date, 1525. (See Annals of the Coinage, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding.) Holinshead gives some account of the contents of this play, and says that it was not levelled at the cardinal in particular, only his guilty conscience made him fancy it to be so.—See the Addenda, on Roo.

Page 657, line 33. "*Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal.*"]—This flight of Fish cannot be that above related, at Christmas 1525; for at the end of this paragraph he is said to have been absent "two-and-a-half years;" and yet Sir Thomas More was then chancellor, who did not accept the seals till October 27th, 1529; and Foxe himself here speaks of the year 1530. The fact is that Fish returned from his first exile, and was living at White-friars, in Fleet-street, about November 1526, and receiving English Testaments from Mr. Richard Herman, an English merchant at Antwerp, and selling them to others for distribution; and he was likewise in London about Christmas 1527. All this appears from the evidence of Robert Necton, given before the cardinal about May, 1528, printed from the Foxian MSS. by Strype, Mem. lib. i. chap. 8. It is probable that Fish fled again to the Continent, when the search after suspected persons and books began early in 1528: or he may have fled at Christmas 1527 (as Holinshead states) in consequence of having acted in the comedy; and it is likely that *then* for the first time the "Supplication of Beggars" was printed at some foreign printing-office, and a copy sent (as stated by Foxe) to Anne Bullen: "two-and-a-half years" from that period brings us to "1530."

Page 658, line 8.]—Stokesley was enthroned July 19th, 1530. (Godwin.)

Page 658, line 23.]—Sir Thomas More says of Fish: "And thys good zeale had ye wote well Symon Fische had when he made the Supplicacioⁿ of beggers. But God gaue him suche grace afterwarde y^t he was sory for that good zeale, and repented hymselfe, and came into the church agayne, and forsoke and for-

sware all the whole bill of those heresyces, ont of which the fountain of that good z-eal sprange." (Apology, Works, Lond. 1557, p. 881, col. i. c.)

Page 659, last line but one.]—The first three Editions of Foxe read correctly, "xliii. M. pounds, and cccxxiii. li. vi. s. viii. d. sterling," which is corrupted in the Edition of 1583 into "430333 pounds 6s. 8d. sterling." See the note on p. 657, line 23.

Page 660, line 17. "*Find*"]—maintain. See Appendix to vol iii., note on p. 97.

Page 662, line 31.]—On "hane" for "have," see the Addenda.

Page 664, line 26. "*A certain of masses.*"]—"Certain," a portion or quantity: frequently so used in the old authors. (See Todd's Johnson.) For other instances of the phrase, see the Addenda and the Glossarial Index.

Page 664, line 6 from the bottom.]—Archbishop Ussher supposes (Answer to a Jesuit, chap. on Purgatory), that Sir Thomas More wrote his "Supplication of Souls" in imitation of Joh. Gerson's "*Querela defunctorum in igne purgatorio detentorum ad superstites in terra amicos.*"

Page 666, line 13 from the bottom. "*A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstall,*" &c.]—This heading is incorrect, as no books are prohibited by the Document itself except the New Testament in English. The document is correctly dated in the Edition of 1563 "the 24th of October," that being the date in the Tonstal Register, fol. 45.—"Datum sub sigillo nostro xxiiij^{to} die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxvito, et nostræ consecrationis anno quinto." A similar document was shortly after issued by Archbishop Warham, dated Lambeth, November 3d, 1526, which is printed in Wilkins, iii, p. 706, Ex Reg. Exon. Voysey, [vol. ii.] fol. 62 [51]. Voysey's Register corrects certain errors of the press in Wilkins: for example, p. 706, col. 1, last line but three, for "in citius" read "ni citius;" and in the 2d col. last line but four, for "numeratorum," read "incineratorum." The mandate was received by Bishop Voysey on 21st November, 1526, and on the 25th November he directed a commission to the Archdeacons of Exeter, Cornwall, Totnes, and Barnstaple, or their officials, to see the primate's orders carried into execution, and to report to him by the next feast of St. Thomas, under their respective seals, what they had done in the premises. The Editor is indebted for the above information to the kindness of the Registrar of Exeter diocese.

Page 667, line 7. "*Some with glosses, and some without.*"]—These words describe the first two Editions of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into English, printed in *quarto* with a Prologue and Glosses, and in *octavo* without these additions, and issued from Worms in 1525. So diligent was the search after these Editions in England, in consequence of this order, that of the octavo *only one perfect and one imperfect* copy are known to exist; and of the quarto only a fragment (containing, however, the Prologue) is known to exist, having been discovered in 1836. (See Mr. Offor's Preface to his Edition of Tyndale's Testament, and Mr. Anderson's "Annals of the English Bible.")

Page 667, line 34. "*The names of the books,*" &c.]—Foxe no doubt had authority for the ensuing short list. Wilkins prints it after Warham's Mandate, with the following title: "Nomina librorum hoc tempore prohibitorum, una cum Novo Testamento:" then follows the short list which Foxe gives; but no such appendage is found either in the Tonstal or Exeter Register; and certain it is, that two of the books mentioned were not in existence in the year 1526. Tyndale himself has furnished us with the dates of the publication of his "Wicked Mammon," and "Obedience of a Christian Man." In the conclusion of his "Practice of Prelates," dated "in the year of our Lord MCCCCC and XXX." we have these words: "And let them remember, that I well toward *three* years ago sent forth the true Obedience of a Christian Man." i.e. in 1527; and Ames mentions an edition of it dated December 11th, 1527. The "Parable of the Wicked Mammon" preceded this, for it was the first publication to which Tyndale set his name; and he tells us the reason for departing from his *incognito*, viz. that he might disavow connection with Roye's *Satire* and *Dialogue* and *Prologue*, printed by Roye in 1527: the "Wicked Mammon" therefore was probably published in the summer of 1527; Tanner says, May 8th, 1527.

Page 667, line 39. "*Unio dissidentium.*"]—This work is so often mentioned in Foxe, that it may be acceptable to the reader to be informed of its full title and contents.

“Unio dissidentium, Libellus omnibus unitatis et pacis amatoribus utilissimus, ex præcipuis ecclesiæ Christianæ doctoribus selectus, per venerabilem patrem Hermannum Bodium, verbi Divini concionatorem eximium. *De lapsu Adæ, et peccato originali. Omnes homines prævaricatores esse per Adam. Quomodo liberemur à peccato. De Baptismo parvulorum. De Prædestinatione, Vocatione, Justificatione, et Glorificatione. De duplici lege, naturali et positiva. De operibus legis. De lege judiciali, et gladio seculari. De Gratia et merito. De fide et operibus. De præceptis et mandatis hominum. Lege tum judica.* Antwerp, 1527.”

“Unionis dissidentium altera pars. Libellus ex præcipuis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ fidei Doctoribus selectus, per Hermannum Bodium, verbi Divini concionatorem. *De utilitate verbi Dei. De pænitentia et triplici confessione. De correptione fratrum. De abstinentia et jejuniis. De oratione. De labore manuum. De indulgentiis. De Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi. De ordine Ecclesiasticæ constitutionis. Quod omnes fideles sint Sacerdotes, Reges, et Prophætæ sed non omnes Ministri Ecclesiæ. De honore erga Sanctos. De Anti-Christo.* Colon. 1527.” (Autographa Lutheri aliorumque celebrium viro- rum, collected by Rudolph Augustus duke of Brunswick, and described by Von der Hardt, *Brunsvigæ*, 1690, vol. i. p. 242.) The same author (at p. 283) mentions a later Edition of the “Unio,” as “jam denuo aucta et locupletata, verum ea diligentia nunc ab innumeris mendis ita repurgata, ut priores editiones, quantumvis accuratas, longe tamen vincat. Nam infinita pene loca male citata sunt restituta, corrupta emendata, mutila suppleta. Quod facile deprehendet, quisquis hanc cum pristinis Editionibus contulerit. Colon. 1531.” (Ibidem.) Who Bodius was, we are not aware. Seckendorf, speaking of this later Edition, Colon. Agrip. 1531, says, “Libellus si quid judico egregius;” and in reference to the title, “Eum scopum sibi proposuit (autor), ut doctorum illorum veterum sententiæ concordantes methodum præberent de articulis controversis conveniendi.” (Seckendorf de Lutheranismis, ad Indicem I supplementa.) Dr. Turner, in a letter to John Foxe (printed in the Parker Society’s Edition of Ridley’s Remains), states that he gave a copy of it to Dr. Taylor, afterwards burnt at Hadley, and that it was one great means of opening his eyes to the truth. It is mentioned in this Appendix (note on p. 585) as being, at least the first part of it, in the possession of Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington, February 24th, A. D. 1528; and at vol. v. p. 421, as one of the books circulated by Garret. It is mentioned at p. 685 of this volume among the books imported by Bayfield from the Continent. It is also mentioned vol. v. pp. 419, 620, among the charges brought against George Parker and John Borthwike. John Lambert mentions it with great commendation at vol. v. pp. 186, 189, 216. At p. 567 of vol. v. among a list of prohibited books we find “An Abridgement of Unio dissidentium: translated out of Latin into English.” It would seem that a third part was at length added to it, for it is placed in the Indices Expurgat. of Rome A. D. 1559 and 1589 as the “Unio Dissidentium Tripartita.”

Page 667, line 9 from the bottom. “*The King’s Proclamation*” is given at p. 676, and will be found in the Tonstal Register, fol. 143. (See the Addenda; also the Appendix to vol. v., note on p. 443.) The Proclamation is followed by the long list of Latin books which Foxe presently gives; but in the margin of the Proclamation itself the following list is written: “*Libri in Vulgari lingua in partibus ultramarinis impressi, et ad hoc Regnum Angliæ delati per nefandam sectam Lutherianam Editi. The New Testament in English. The wicked Mammon. The Disputation between the Father and the Son. The obedience of a Christen Man. The Supplication of Beggars. The Revelation of Antichrist. An introduction upon Powles Epistle to the Romans. Liber qui de veteri et novitio Deo inscribitur. Piæ precesiones. Œconomia Christiana. Item alius liber qui de sepultura missæ Rythmico sermone vernaculo compositus est. The sum of Scripture. Mattens and Evensong. VII. Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations in English. An Exposition upon the 7th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. The Chapters of Moses called Genesis. The chapters of Moses called Deuteronomy. The Matrimony of Tyndale. David’s Psalter in English. The Practice of Prelates. Hortulus animæ in English. A B C against the Clergy. The Examination of William Thorpe. The Supper of our Lord, quod est contra sacramentum altaris.*”

The third of the foregoing list, “The Disputation,” &c., was translated by Roye from the German, and printed with a Prologue of his own in 1526.

The full title of the eighth of the foregoing works is as follows:—"De veteri et novitio Deo, de veteri et nova lege doctrinaque, sive origo idolatriæ, Hartmanni Dulichii." (Von der Hardt's *Autographa Lutheri aliorumque*, vol. i. p. 101.)

The eleventh of the list was a Satire on Wolsey and the monastic orders, called sometimes "Rede me, and be not wrothe," and denounced as "The burying of the Mass:" it was composed by Roye and Jerome, two Greenwich friars, and printed at Strasburgh about 1527: Sir T. More, when writing his "Dialogue" in 1528, was well acquainted with it: Wolsey was exceedingly stung by it, and did all in his power to destroy the work. A second edition of it was printed at Wesel in 1546, which transfers to the whole prelacy the charges originally designed only for Wolsey. It is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 1.

Page 669, line 12. "*De conjugio*," &c.]—The Edition of 1563 calls Reissenbusch "monachus Lichtenbergensis," which last words being manifestly out of construction with "Wolfgangum Reissenbusch," are dropped in all subsequent Editions. The Register, however, says "Monasterii Lichtenbergensis." "præceptorem" is put in from Von der Hardt's "*Autographa Lutheri aliorumque*," vol. i. p. 130, where the full title is thus given: "De conjugio episcoporum et diaconorum, ad venerandum doctorem Reissenbusch, monasterii Lichtembergensis præceptorem, per Johannem Bugenbadium Pomeranum, Witteb. 1525." One of Luther's Epistles is addressed to him, styling him "Utriusque Juris Doctori, Præceptori in Lichtenberg, ordinis St. Antonii," &c., dated Witteb. March 17, 1525. (Luth. Op. Witteb. 1558, tom. vii. fol. 505.)

Page 669, line 27. "*In Epistolam ad Romanos*," &c.]—The full title of this book is, "In Epistolam ad Romanos Andreæ Knopken, Costerinensis, interpretatio, Rigæ apud Livonos prælecta, ubi is pastorem agit Ecclesiæ, cum præfatione Johannis Bugenbadii Pomerani, 1524." Von der Hardt's "*Autographa Lutheri aliorumque*," Brunswigæ, 1690, vol. i. p. 200.

Page 669, line 11 from the bottom. "*Ejusdem libellus de differentia stimuli carnis Satanae*," &c.]—This seems to form a portion of the volume entitled "Commentarii de Prophetia," &c., according to the list of Lambert's Works given in Schelhorn's "*Amœnitates Literariæ*," tom. iv. p. 386, and in the "*Miscellanea Duisbergensia*," edited by Gerdes, Amstelod. 1734, tom. ii. p. 556, and is not a separate volume, as the list in Foxe might seem to make it.

Page 670, line 16. "*The New Testament . . . came forth in print about A.D. 1529.*"—If Foxe intended by this that Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was first printed in 1529, he is much mistaken, as it first issued from the press at Worms in 1525 (see note on p. 667, and Appendix to vol. v. note on p. 119). But it is probable that he only meant to state the fact of Tyndale having been the first to translate and print the New Testament in English, as introductory to the ensuing anecdote relative to an occurrence in the year 1529; he probably took the anecdote from Hall, who introduces it in much the same way, thus:—"Here is to be remembered, that at this present time [19 Hen. VIII. 1529] William Tindale had newly translated and imprinted the New Testament in English, and the Bishop of London not pleased with the translⁿ thereof, debated with himself how he might compass and devise, to destroy that false and erroneous translⁿ (as he said)." (Hall, Lond. 1809, p. 762, 21 Hen. VIII., immediately after the account of the Congress of Cambray.)

Page 670, line 21. "*At Antwerp, where the bishop was.*"—This determines the period about which the events related in the text took place. Tonstal, More, and Dr. Knight attended the Congress of Cambray, for settling the treaty of Madrid between Henry, the Emperor, and the French king. That Congress broke up August 5th, and Tonstal and More took Antwerp in their way home. It is of importance to observe, that at the same time and place (Cambray) a separate treaty was agreed upon between Henry and the Emperor, Tonstal, More, and Hacket (English Envoy at Antwerp), being the Commissioners, for securing the continuation of traffic for merchants between the two countries, and forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran books on either side. (Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 316.)

Page 671, line 4.]—Joye, alias Gee, alias Clark, a native of Bedfordshire, a Scholar and Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He was in trouble with Bilney

and Arthur in 1527 (see note above on p. 622, line 6 from the bottom), when he fled from persecution and resided at Strasburgh, whence he came to Barrow early in 1532. He made and published Latin translations of the Psalter, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. He edited Tyndale's Testament, published at Antwerp in August 1534. He also printed an Exposition of Daniel, from Melancthon and others. He died in England, 1553.

Page 671, line 25.]—Richard Necton, probably the same as Robert Necton, who was apprehended and examined about May 1528 (see Strype's Memorials, book i. chap. 8), the brother of Thomas Necton, sheriff of Norwich, when Bilney was burnt; see p. 652.

Page 671, note (1). "*More, in his Preface against Tyndale.*"—Sir Thomas, in the work alluded to—"The Confutation of Tyndale's Answere, made by Syr T. More, Knyght, Lord Chancellour of England; prentyd at London, by W. Rastell, 1532."—when mentioning some who had abjured, names "Richard Necton, which was, by Constantine's detection, taken and committed to Newgate, where except he hap to die before in prison, he standeth in great perill to be ere it be long, for his falling again to Tyndale's heresies, burned. And thus it seemed, by the manner of George Constantine, while he was here in prison, that he so sore did forthink his errors and heresies, and so perceived the pestilent poison of them, that he thought it better that such as were infect therewith, might be, by the means of his detection, amended, and with the loss of his body the soul cured, than both twain cast away," &c. Preface, signature C c. (See vol. vii. p. 27, respecting Constantine.)

Page 671, line 12 from the bottom. "*A compendious old treatise.*"—The original of this treatise is contained amongst the MSS. of Archbishop Parker, presented to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (see Nasmith's *Catalogus Librorum MSS.* &c. p. 333), and is assigned by Archbishop Ussher to the beginning of the fifteenth century. See "*Hist. Dogmatica de Scripp. vernaculis,*" p. 164. See more in the Addenda.

Page 672, line 22. "*Morrow,*"—*i. e.* Morning; the original sense of "*Morrow.*"—*Todd's Johnson.*

Page 673, line 22. "*Cisterciensis,*" or "*Cesterciensis*" (at p. 675)]—is probably a corruption of "*Cestriensis,*" referring to Ralph Higden, Monk of Chester, who wrote *Polychronicon*, and died in 1363.

Page 673, line 9 from the bottom. "*Also Richard, the heremite of Hampole.*"—"*Richard Rolle, an eremite of the order of St. Austen, and lived an heremite about four miles from Doncaster, in Yorkshire, in the reign of Edward III. A.D. 1340.*"—*Lewis, Hist. of English Translations of the Bible,* pp. 12, 13.

Page 675, line 22 from the bottom.]—On the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, see Bishop Walton's *Prolegomena*, ss. 9, 19; and Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii.; and *suprà*, vol. i. 155.

Page 675, line 8 from the bottom.]—Foxye reads, "to this man *Atleta,*" and "his daughter;" and, two lines lower, "*Demetriadis:*" these are so manifestly wrong, that they have been altered on the authority of Jerome himself; the references, however, do not agree with the printed works of Jerome.

Page 676, line 28, and note (2).]—See the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 679, line 5. "*As are above recited.*"—See pp. 667—670.

Page 680, bottom.]—The Latin Edition, p. 127, says, that Bayfield was "*Hadleæ natus, monachus Buriensis, naturâ formidolosus, gratiâ autem fortissimus.*"

Page 681, line 6. "*Maxwell and Stacy.*"—See the note on page 585, line 33, and *suprà* p. 236 *bis.*

Page 681, line 12. "*One Dr. Ruffam.*"—In the Wolsey Correspondence, kept in the State Paper Office, vol. vii. No. 123, there is a letter from Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to Wolsey, dated Holborn, April 1st [1528], which mentions a seditious and Lutheran Sermon having been preached at Oxford by Dr. Rowham, a monk of Bury. This is, doubtless, the Dr. Ruffam mentioned here by Foxye; and it seems probable that Dr. Barnes resorted to Bury for religious conference with his friend; and that Dr. Ruffam came to be of the same mind with Dr. Barnes on the subject of religion.

The following are Bishop Longland's words in the above-mentioned letter :—
 “Ther is a moncke of Seint Edmundsbury called Doctor Rowham whiche
 preched quarta Dominica Quadragesime att Seint Peters in Oxon, the mooste
 seditious sermone that ye have herd of, in rayling ayenste your Grace and
 Byshopes for this sequestration of evyll prechers; maynteyning certayn
 opynions of Luther, comfortyng erronyous persones in their opynions, sayng
 Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, &c. applying itt to bold them in the
 same; with many other inconvenyent and unfyttyng wordes in his said ser-
 mone. Whiche I fear he hath & will doo moche hurte; whose sermone
 I send nowe unto your Grace: itt is that that is wryten in Englishe. Albeyth
 he didde speke many moo evill things then be ther wryten, as the best of the
 Universite will prove: and they have bound hym by oothe to drawe his saide
 sermone as nighe as he can as he spake itt, and bryng itt in by a day. How-
 beyth I feare he will not abyde the aunswere, but will rather flee his way.
 Wherefore your Grace shuld doo a mervylous good deade streight to send for
 hym to Bury that he may be forth comyng to his aunswere when your Grace
 shall commaund.”

Dr. Ruffam seems afterwards to have recanted, for at vol. v. p. 531 he appears
 as preaching at the burning of Kerby and Clarke; he was, however, struck
 dumb by Kerby's reasoning, which may be well accounted for by his guilty
 conscience.

Page 681, line 16. *Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin.*—This
 was probably Erasmus's Latin Testament, published in 1516. It was very
 instrumental to Bilney's conversion (see p. 635). It is curious to contrast with
 this passage of Foxe the opinion said to have been subsequently expressed by
 Barnes of the superior value of Tyndale's English Testament, as compared with
 the Latin. John Tyball stated, April 28th, 1528 (see Strype's Memorials,
 book i. chap. 8, and Appendix of Records), that about Michaelmas 1526
 Barnes sold him a New Testament in English, and at the same time “did
 liken the New Testament in *Latin to a cymbal tinkling and brass sounding.*”
 The other two books given to Bayfield by Maxwell and Stacy, were not printed
 till 1527; but the interposition of Barnes to rescue him out of the monastery
 prison at Bury, which is presently mentioned, must have preceded Christmas
 1525 (see the note next following this): we must therefore consider Foxe as so
 far anticipating a somewhat later period in Bayfield's career. Bayfield himself
 tells us, November 11th, 1531 (see p. 683), that he had read these two books,
 with others, within the two years previous, *i.e.* since November 1529, and the
 English Testament before that.

Page 681, line 23.]—Dr. Barnes's interposition to rescue Bayfield from the
 monastery prison, must have happened before Christmas 1525; when Barnes
 preached the sermon at St. Edward's, which caused his apprehension soon after;
 and there was no subsequent period at which Barnes could have interposed for
 Bayfield's release, in the manner described by Foxe. This throws back the
 commencement of Bayfield's intercourse with Barnes to the beginning of 1523.

Page 681, line 29. “*And so conveyed him beyond the sea; Dr. Barnes
 being then in the Fleet.*”]—Barnes was in the Fleet half a year, from Feb. 11th
 to August, A.D. 1526.

Page 681, line 32. “*And sold all their works, and the works of the Germans,
 both in France and in England.*”]—Foxe here, in a few lines, describes Bay-
 field's proceedings during five years, *i.e.* from 1526 to 1531. It may be useful
 to the reader to collect the various notices of his movements during that period.
 It appears from vol. v. p. 43, that he was in London Sept. 13th, 1527; and
 from the evidence of Robert Necton (Strype's Mem. book i. ch. 8) we learn,
 that Bayfield was still in London and purchased two English Testaments about
 Christmas following: we learn from his Articles (p. 682 of this vol.) that he
 was accused before Toustal and abjured previous to April 25th, 1528 (?), after
 which he fled over the sea, and appeared again before the bishop June 20th:
 it would appear also from his own statements (pp. 683, 684) that he brought
 over books June 1530, Nov. 1530, and April, 1531: after which he was betrayed
 and apprehended.

Page 681, line 31.]—William Smith was a tailor, and got into trouble for
 harbouring Bayfield: see *infra*, vol. v. p. 38.

Page 682, line 6.]—For the original information by Edmund Peerson, on which these proceedings were grounded, see *infra*, vol. v. p. 43.

Page 683, line 27. “*Fourth Article.*”]—The Editions of 1570, 1576, read “4 Article.” One would rather have expected to read “third Article:” the Editor has not been able to discover the original record of Bayfield’s trouble in the Tonstal Register or the Foxian Papers, and cannot therefore collate.

Page 686, line 32. “*John Lambert, mayor of London.*”]—In a list of the lord mayors of London given in Maitland’s Hist. of London occurs Sir *Nicholas Lambard* A.D. 1531, who was sheriff in 1526; and the sheriffs of 1531, according to the same authority, were Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam.

Page 687, line 17 from the bottom. “*The first year of our consecration.*”]—Cuthbert Tonstal was translated from London to Durham, Mar. 25th, 1530. John Stokesley was installed Bishop of London, July 19th, 1530: but it is stated in Richardson’s note to Godwin, that the license of his consecration was not granted till November 26th.

Page 688, line 17. “*Was iii quarters of an hour alive.*”]—This is the statement of the first Edition; the following ones read “ii quarters.”

Page 689, line 21.]—The reader should be apprised that this extract from the Edition of 1563 continues as subjoined: in the subsequent editions of Foxe’s work, the substance of the subjoined passage will be found applied to James Bainham (see top of p. 702 of this volume): “Until the time that he had uttered to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before the congregation in those daies, in a ware-house in Bowe lane, where the parson of Hony lane, preacher and a doctor of divinitye, had preached at his conversion. Immediately the next Sunday after, he commeth to S. Austen’s with the New Testament in his hand in English: the obedience of a Christen man in his bosome, and stode up there before the people in his pewe. There he did declare openly with weping teares that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgove him, and to beware of hys weakenesse, and not to doo as he did. For he said, if I should not tourne again unto this truthe, having the New Testement in his hand, that this God’s word wold dampne him body and soule at the day of judgment; and there he prayed every body rather to die by and bi, than to doo as he did. For he would not fele such a hell again as he did fele not for al the world’s good. And immediately was apprehended and caryed to the Bishop of London, and lay in the Lollard’s tower, until the time he was carried to Newgate, and so into Smithfield to be burned, and died a glorious martyr.

“Nowe that we have briefly dyscoursed the historye of his life and conversation, here followeth the whole proces,” &c.

The parson of Honey-lane alluded to in the above passage was, as appears from Tyndale’s Works (vol. ii. p. 201, Lond. 1831), “Dr. Robert Forman, or Ferman, or Farman.” He is the person intended (says Tyndale) in Sir Thomas More’s *Dyalogue*, boke 4, chap. xi. He had “not only taught and wryten and covertly corrupted dyvers lyght and lewd persons, but also had bought grete number of the bokys of Luther and Wyclyfe, Husse and Zuynglyus, and such other heretyques, and of many one sorte dyvers bokys to be delyvered as he coud fynd occasyon, unto yonge scolers of the universytees, such as he thought of youth and lyghtnes most lykely to be sore corrupted.” So Sir Thomas, and much more, fol. cxxxii. *verso*.

It appears from Strype (book i. chap. 8), that Robert Forman, S. T. P. Rector of All Saints, Honey-lane, was examined and suspended by Tonstal, for having and keeping Lutheran books in his possession, Thursday, March 19th, 1528. See the note on p. 632, line 18.

Page 693, line 11. “*This verse of the Anthem.*”]—A noted Antiphon, attributed by some writers to St. Bernard: see Daniel’s *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ii. 321, who remarks, “Sane hæc Antiphona inter omnes *Marianas* primum obtinuit locum et plurimam sibi tulit assentationem. Gregorius IX. Pont., cum in Fridericum imperatorem inveheretur, hanc *Mariæ* salutationem ubique et ab omnibus feria Sexta decantari præcepit; Frid. Blondus Decad. 2, lib. 7, idem narrat de Cœlestino IV.”

Page 694, line 12. “*Parish of Chelsea.*”]—The edit. of 1563 goes on, p. 490: “There beyng present the forsayde Sir Thomas Moore, Rycharde Foxford,

doctour of bothe lawes, Nicolas Wylson, batchler of divinitie, George Broune, batcheler of divinitie, Priour of the covent of the order of saint Augustine in the universitie, Sampson Michael, doctour of decrees, John Jude, Walter Marsh, and Sebastian Hyllarie, learned men, and maister Roper and Dauncie, gentlemen, and also Richarde Gresham and Edwarde Altam, shryves of the cite of London, and me Mathewe Grefton register of the acts, the shryves received," &c.

Page 694, line 18.]—As this account of Randall in the English edition a little swerves from the Latin, and is obscure in some places, some extracts are given from the Latin. It should be observed, also, that in the *Latin* edition this account stands *immediately* after that of *Richard Hun*, which explains some expressions otherwise obscure.

"Jam et historiae hujus affinitas in memoriam me revocat alterius cujusdam Joan. Randall, affinis mei, in quem occulta quorundam malitia haud dissimilem valde lusit tragœdiam Cantabrigiæ, in collegio cui Trinitatis præfetur cognomentum, anno 1526. . . . Habuit tutorem Vuicrum, pro more ætatis illius . . . vixdum annum egressus vigesimum . . . Non pertinebat historiola hæc ad temporum horum numerum: sed quum nullo modo prætereundam ob rei non inutilem memoriam existimarem, tum ob historiae similitudinem nulli loco accommodatius quadrare videbatur." (Latin Edition, Basil, 1559, p. 121.)

Page 694, line 5 from the bottom.]—The extract from the Edition of 1563 should have been continued as follows:—

"Nowe to returne to the order of our hystorie, we will prosecute those thinges orderly, which we have determined.

"THE STORIE OF A CERTAINE OLDE MAN OF BUCKINGHAM SHYRE.

"I have founde in a certaine place mention to be made of a certaine olde man, which for eatyng of Bacon in the Lent (dwelling in the countie of Buckingham) was condempned to the fyre and burned, in this yeare of our Lorde, 1531. As touchinge his name and other circumstances whiche pertaine unto the true setting fourth of the histories, we cannot fynde or understande any more. Notwithstandyng I have thought good, not to passe over this matter with silence, for the memoriall of the man hymselfe, albeit I know not his name." (Foxe, Edit. 1563, p. 490, cols. 1, 2.)

Page 695, line 7 from the bottom. "*Spilte*."]—There is an instance of the word so used in the *Festyvall* fol. cli. recto, ed. 1528:—"So on a tyme as men were in grete peryll and lyke to *be spylte*."

Page 696, line 20.]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 617, line 31.

Page 697, line 1. "*A Letter of Bishop Tonstal*."]—This is given in Wilkins iii. p. 712, *sub anno* 1527, dated March 7th; "anno consecrationis nostræ sexto," which fixes it to the year A.D. 1528, for Tonstal was consecrated Oct. 19th, 1522.

Page 697, line 32. "*And lest you should strive*," &c.]—The original Latin runs thus:—"Et ne Antabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua illorum nœnias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri libros, ex quibus hæc opinionem monstra prodierunt." (Regist. Tonstal. London, fol. 138, and Wilkins, iii. p. 712.)

Page 697, note (1).]—"Indicat vox fuisse quosdam, qui sic hostem adverum invaserint, quemadmodum leo pro catulis dimicans clausis oculis insiliit in venantium agmen." Adagiorum Erasmi Epitome (Oxon. 1666) p. 586.

Page 700, line 1.]—"Gee" is "Joy" in Edition 1563: see the note on p. 671, line 4.

Page 703, line 1.]—"The 22d day" is altered into "20th" in all Editions after the first.

Page 704, line 8 from the bottom.]—The following affecting narrative of an interview between Bainham and Latimer in Newgate is from the Foxian Papers, Harleian MSS. No. 422, folio 90:—

"Concerning Mr. Latymer's comunicacion with Mr. Baynham in the dungell of Newgate."

"It ys to be noted y^t after Mr. Baynham was by the Bysshoppe condempned & comitted unto the seculer power to be brent, & so imediately after his condempnation lodged upp in the deap dungen in Newgate redie to be sent to

the fyer, Edward Isaac of the parishe of Well in the Countie of Kente & William Morice of Chipping Ongar in the Countie of Essex Esquires, & Ralph Morice brother unto the said William, being together in one company, mett w^t Mr. Latymer in London. And for that thei were desyrous to understand the cause of the said Baynham's condempnation, being to many men obscure & unknown, thei entreated Mr. Latymer to goo w^t them to Newgate to thintente to understand by hym the verie occasion of his said condempnation & otherwise to comfort hym to take his death quietly & paciently. When Mr. Latymer and thother before named, the nexte daie before he was brente, were come down into the deap dongell where althinges there seemed utterly darke, there they founde Baynham syttyng upon a couche of strawe w^t a boke and a wax candell in hys hand praying & readyng therupon : and after salutacions-made Mr. Latymer beganne to common w^t hym in this sorte. Mr. Baynham we here saie that youe are condempned for heresie to be brent : and many men are in doubt wherfore ye shold suffer : and I for my parte am desirous to understand the cause of your death, assuryng you that I do not alowe that any man sholde consent to hys own death ones he hadd a right case to die in. Lett not vayne glorie overcome you in a mather that men deserve not to die [for] ; for theriu you shall neither please God, do good to yourself nor your neighbor; and better y^t were for you to submit yourself to the ordynaunces of men than so rashelie to fynyshe your lyf without good ground. And therefore we prairie you to let us to understand y^e Articles that you are condempned for. I am content, quod Baynham, to tell you altogether. The first Article that thei condempne me for ys this ; That I reported that Thomas Beckett sometyme Archbysshopp of Cant' was a Traiteur, & was dampned in hell yf [he] repentyd not, for that he was in Armes againste his prince as a rebell, provoking other forren princes to invade the realme, to the utter subvertion of the same. Than saied Mr. Latymer, where redde you this. Quod Mr. Baynham, I redde it in an olde hystory. Well, said Mr. Latymer, this is no cause att all worthie for a man to take his death upon, for it maie be a lie as well as a true tale, and in suche a doubtfull matter y^t were mere madness for a man to peril his life. But what else ys laied to your charge? The truth ys, said Baynham, I spake against purgatorie, that there was no such thing, but that yt pyked mens purses; and against satisfactorye masses; which I defendyd by the authoritie of the Scripture. Marie, said Mr. Latymer, in theis Articles your conscience may be so stayed, that you maie seme rather to die in the defence therof than to recant both against your conscience and the Scriptures also. But yet beware of vaynglorie, for the devill wilbe redie nowe to infecte you therwith when you shall come unto the multitude of the people. And than Mr. Latymer dyd animate hym to take his death quietlie and pacientlie. Baynham thanked hym hartilie therefore. And I likewise, said Baynham, do exhorte you to stand to the defence of the trewth, for you that shalbe left behinde hadd nede of comferte also, the waie being so dangerous as y^t is; and so spak many comfortable wourds to Mr. Latymer. At the longest Mr. Latymer demaunded of hym whether he hadd a wif or no? With that question Baynham fell a wepyng. What, quod Latymer, ys this your constancie to godwarde? What mean you thus to wepe? Oh sir, sayd Baynham to Mr. Latymer, you have nowe touchted me very nygh. I have a wif, as good a woman as ever man was ioyned unto. And I shall leave her nowe not onelie withoute substance or anything to lyve by, but also for my sake she shalbe an opprobrie unto the worlde, and be poynted at of every man on this sorte, Yonder goeth heretiques wif, and therefore she shall be disdayned for my sake, which ys no smalle greif unto me. Marie sir, quod Latymer, I perceyve that you arr a veraie weake Champion, that wilbe overthrowen w^t suche a vanytie. Where arr become all those comfortable wourds that so lat you alledged unto us, that shold tarrie here behind you? I mervaile what you meane. Ys not Almightye [God] hable to be husband to your [wif] and a father unto your children yf you comitt them to hym with a stronge faith? I am sorie to see [you] in this taking, as though God had no care of his, when he nombreth the heares of manys hedd : Yf he do not provide for them, the faulte ys in us that mistrusteth hym : It [is] our infidelitie that causeth hym to do nothing for ours. Therefore repent you Mr. Baynham for this mistrusting of Almightye Gods goodnes, and be you sure, and I do most firmelie beleve, y^t if you do comitt your wif w^t a stronge faith unto the governance of Almightye God, and so die therin, that within theis ij yeares peradventure in one yere she

shalbe better provided for as towching the felicitie of this world, than you w^t all your policye colde do for her yourself, yf you were presently here : and so w^t suche like words expostulatyng w^t hym for his feble faith, he made an ende. Mr. Baynham calling his spiritts to hymself moste hartelie thanked Mr. Latymer for his good comforte and counsaile, saying playnely that he wold not for moche good but he hadd come thether to hym, for nothing in the world so moche troubled hym as the care of his wif and famylie. And so they departyd."

The uncertainty which Latimer mentions above as prevailing, respecting the exact grounds of Bainham's condemnation, gives a point to the speech which Foxe in the text represents him as making at the stake.

Page 704, line 5 from the bottom.]—"And," *i.e.* if—"he were ready." (Todd's Johnson.)

Page 705, line 2. "*And so forward he went to the stake, on May-day, at afternoon.*"—The reader will observe a contradiction between this date and that assigned in the preceding page, which gives "the last day of April" as the date of Bainham's burning. It is probable, from Foxe's having dropped this whole passage after 1563, that he found he was inaccurate in saying "May-day," as well as in the date of Pavier's death, toward the bottom of this page: see next note. The original account is not in Tonsal's books, or the Foxian MSS. The error, if error there be, may have arisen from some person's having mistaken "May-day *Even*" for the *Evening* of May-day. It is observable that in the affecting account just cited from the Harleian MSS. Latimer's interview is said to have been on "the nexte daie before he was brente."

Page 705, line 7 from the bottom. "*The next year after.*"—Foxe says here, "the next week after:" but at vol. v. p. 66 he says, "the next year following," which is correct; for the Editor has learned from the office of the Town Clerk of the City of London, that William Paver was elected 20th June, 1514, and was succeeded by Thomas Ryshton 3d May, 1533; and as a Town Clerk is indispensable to the progress of the city business, the interval could not be long between Paver's death and Ryshton's election.

Page 706, line 8 from bottom. "*That ten miles.*"—"Amongst all our old writers *that*, as well as *it*, is applied by them indifferently to plural nouns and singular." H. Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, p. 343, edit. 1810.

Page 707, line 8. "*Sir Thomas Rose.*"—He was parson of Hadley, in Essex: he got into trouble: an account of him is given vol. viii. p. 581

ADDENDA.

Page 115, line 18.]—Add after “stream” “[that is, baptism];” line 27, read “Boetes;” line 4 from the bottom, after “gainstand” add “[such as the heresy of Arius and the like];” line 2 from the bottom, after “beasts” add “[signifying four Evangelical Popes].” The above are all taken from “Onus Ecclesiæ,” cap. 65, § 1—5. Last line, “lake;” the “Onus Eccl.” has “latus,” but in Wolfii Lect. Mem. I. 55, edit. 1671, it is “lacus.” Note (1), in “Onus Eccl.” cap. 65, we have “Scripturâ” for “Scripto.”

Page 126, line 15 from the bottom. “*Year above written.*”]—The following extract from the first edition (pp. 373, 374) contains some matter omitted in later editions:—

“Within shorte space after, aboute the year of our Lord 1510, one Thomas, a priest of Norwich, being disgraded from his priesthood, was burned in the village of Eckeles. After his disgrading, whiles he was yet in prison, being abused by the councel and perswasion of others, he was lead away from his formar sentence and determination. Wherefore for penance sake, as it is said, he went to the fire to be burned, upon sharpe hardeles made of thorne.

“Also in the next yere following, which was the yeare of our Lord 1511, was convented also Joan Baker, of the parish of S. Margarets, in Newfishstreet, of London, for holding certeine articles as follows:—

“That she had declared to the Parish Priest of Bow, that the crucifix was not to be worshipped, nor revered, and that she was sorry that she had gone to so many pilgrimages, as to Saint Savior and other, seing they wear but mamots and false gods; and that she could hear a better sermonde at home in her house, then any priest could make at Paulles crosse; and for that she saide the Lady Yong died a Martir. And that Sampsones wife was punished for saing the truth, and that there shal never Priest come but one; and that the Pope hath no power to give any pardon for the salvation of man’s soule. For these, she was constrained to abjure before maister Thomas Hedde, commissary to Fits-James the bishop of London.

“Not much after the same time, Thomas of Bungay, a man of great and reverent age, was burned at Norwich, because that in xiiii years before, he had not received the sacramente, utterly abhorring the Popish kinde and sorte of administration.

“About the yeare of our Lord 1512, Pope of Eye, being also an old man, which exercised weving in the towne of Eye, about like quarel of the sacrament was put to deth, with like kind of Martirdom.

“After whom a certeine man named Peake, about the same time, at Ipswich a town in Suffoleke, was punished by like death, because he had given one of the sacrament cakes unto a little dogge, and the dogge was caste into the same fire with him and burned; which dog, as sone as he saw brought unto him, laughing and mocking at their folly, he said that they did the dogg great wronge, because he had not bene abjured before, for it was the maner then in England, that heretikes might be pardoned, if thei did repente after their recantation; but after the seconde tyme, there woulde no pardone serve.”

Page 157, note.]—Some of these fillings up are taken from an edition of the “Summa Angelica” of Angelus de Clavasio (Paris, 1519), near the beginning.

Page 161, lines 6 and last.]—The “Catalogus Testium Veritatis,” edit. 1608, col. 2085, reads, “Si sit catholicus Papa, non judicat ullus;” middle, the same authority reads, “Addas suspensum casum,” &c.

Page 202, line 8 from bottom. “*Within his danger*”]—*i. e.* within his power. See vol. vii., note in Appendix on p. 441, and vol. viii., note in Appendix on p. 505. The word is so used here, in remarkable contrast with its ordinary use in the line before, “without danger.”

Page 207, line 11. “*And Wickliff’s Wicket.*”]—“Thus” (writes Christopherson) for oughte that anye good charitable man can do, they will not leave their groping, till in conclusion they percease stumble upon some peevish *wicket* such one as Wielife made for his Church, when he had forsaken the Church of Christe. And then thinke they themselves well spedde, and believe that that is the true dore.” (“Exhortation against Rebellion,” printed by Cawood, 1554.)

Page 238, middle. “*The five wits, bodily and ghostly.*”]—The senses of the body and the soul. “The v ynward wyttys: mynde; understandynge;

reson; wylle; ymagnacion. The v. outward wytty: heryng; seeing; smellyng; tasyng; felyng." From a MS. "Hore B. V. sec. usum Anglia," written about 1250.

In Chaucer's Tale we find:—"Thou hast not defended thy self sufficiently ayenst their assaultes, and their temptacions, so that they have wounded thy soul in 5 places, that is to saie, the dedly sinnes that ben entered into thy herte by thy five wittes." Works, p. 154, edit. 1721. Thus again, in the "Hore B.V. Marie," printed in 4to. at Paris, 1527, we have (fol. cexiiii.) in the Forme of confession:—"Ferthermore I have synned in myspendige of my v. wyttes, that is to say, i syght," &c. See more in Nares' Glossary.

Page 246, middle.]—Dr. Wordsworth has printed in his Eccles. Biography, vol. i. p. 435 (London, 1839), a life of Colet compiled from Erasmus's Epistles, from which several notices are here extracted. 1. Erasmus states that Colet was younger by two or three months than himself, who was born 28th October, 1467. 2. Erasmus states that Colet commenced in Arts before he went abroad. 3. That he was under thirty years of age when he began to expound publicly St. Paul's Epistles at Oxford, having then no degree in divinity; at which time Erasmus became first acquainted with him. This would be about June or July 1497. 4. He was made D.D. and Dean of St. Paul's in May 1504.

Page 246, line 27. "*Dean of Paul's; where he accustomed much to preach.*"]—Dr. Wordsworth has printed a portion of an Old English translation of a Latin sermon, preached by Colet before the Convocation in 1511.

Page 247, line 3.]—Fitz-James died Jan. 15th, 1522. (Godwin, Rich.)

Page 247, line 31. "*The king was in preparation of war against France.*"]—Erasmus says, in Wordsworth, that "the king had made preparation to march after Easter against the French:" this identifies it with the year 1512, in which year Henry was bound by treaty to invade Guienne some time in the month of April (see Rapin), and Easter fell that year on April 11th. (Nicolas's Tables.) That treaty, however, was not observed; Henry did not actually cross the Straits into France till June 30th, 1513, in which year Easter fell on March 27th.

Page 248, line 3. "*In the Garden.*"]—Erasmus states that this happened at Greenwich; and that the garden was that of the Franciscan monastery, founded by Henry VII. in 1486 for a warden and twelve brethren. Standish was one of the monks there. The conference lasted an hour and a half.

Page 255, line 16 from the bottom.]—Foxe might well hesitate to bestow more attention on the "speculations" of these saints, if the following be a true picture of one of them, which modern Romish writers are not ashamed to hold up to the admiration and imitation of the faithful, especially of nuns: "Our readers, if inclined to hear more of this celebrated saint [Catharine] and her superhuman austerities, may procure her life at the small charge of one penny (in vol. xvi. of Duff's Young Christian's Library), in which young Christians may learn how St. Catharine in her *childhood* consecrated her virginity to God by a private vow. How she refused to be married at twelve years of age. How she lived on boiled herbs, without sauce or bread, and wore a large iron girdle, armed with sharp points, from fifteen years old. How the devil filled her imagination with the most filthy representations. How, for a long time, she sucked and dressed an infectious cancer, and served an old woman named Toccoa, infected with leprosy, and how she died at the age of thirty-three, and had her body buried at Rome, and her skull kept in the Dominican church at Sienna, and at last, in 1461, was canonized by Pope Pius II. for all her virtues!"—*The Catholic Layman*, 1856, p. 15.

Page 269, last line. "*Lieger*"—for "legate" is used also by Fuller, Church Hist. cent. XVI. book ix. sect. 1. § 45.

Page 362, note (1).]—See Schelhorn's *Amanitat*, Lit. iv. 362, for some extracts from Lambert of Avignon, who was an intimate friend of Castellan. See also Gerdes's *Miscellanea Groningana nova*, tom. v. pars ii. pp. 490, 495.

Page 382, line 12.] *Persevaldus Bellinghemius*, Brugensis, natus *Cæcus*; ce dernier mot *ayant* donné lieu par un Galimatias des plus risibles, au Traducteur, ou au Correcteur, de forger ce chimérique *Coccus*. Ce *Bellinghemius*, quoi qu'aveugle né, avoit bien appris les Belles-Lettres, et les avoit longtems enseignées, tant à Paris au Collège de Maître Gervais, que dans un des Collèges de

Louvain. Voiez *Sanderus de Brugensibus Eruditione claris*, et les Bibliothécaires Belges au mot *Persevaldus*. Aucun d'eux ne dit le moindre mot de sa triste fin. Aussi ne leur est elle nullement honorable. Marchand's *Dict. Historique*, tome i. p. 228. See the note next following this.

Page 458, line 7 from the bottom. "*N Encenas.*"—The Christian name ought to be *Jayme*. "Gerdes calls him *Nicolas Enzinas*, probably misled by the letter *N*, put before his name in the *Acciones et Monum. Martyrum* (f. 151 a), which merely intimates that the writer of the article was ignorant of the Martyr's Christian name." (McCrie's *Hist. of Ref. in Spain* p. 180.) The translation of the New Testament by his brother Francisco, alluded to by Foxe on the next page, "appeared under the following title, *El Nuevo Testamento . . . traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana por Fr. de Enzinas, &c.* Then follows the dedication to Charles V., to which are added four Spanish coplas. The imprint at the end of the work is, *Acabose de imprimir este libro en la insigne cibdad de Enveres en casa de Estevan Mierdmanno, a 25 de Octubre; MD. XLIII.*" M. Crie p. 194.

The account, with its attendant circumstances, of his imprisonment and liberation, is included in an exceedingly rare small volume, *Histoire de l'Estat du Pais-Bas, and de la Religion d'Espagne par Fr. Du Chesne* [à Geneve] 1558, which is itself a translation from a Latin original, printed at Antwerp, 1545. There are a few extracts in Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, i. 227—8, and the entire is given in the 7th volume of the *German Martyrology of Rabus*: (see Gerdes's *Florilegium Lib. Rar.*, p. 110, ed. 1763.) Enzinas is in fact the direct authority for the accounts in Foxe, pp. 381—2.

Page 473, middle.]—"Buccianico" is for Foxe's "Buccianus." See McCrie's *Hist. of Reformation in Italy*, p. 305, edit. 1833, and Moreri, v. *Caraccioli*. The letter terminates differently, and (no doubt) more correctly, in the *Histoire des Martyrs*, fol. 846, edit. 1619: "J'ai entendu qu'en la mort ils se sont assez bien reduits a la S. Religion et à l'obeyssance de la S. Eglise Romaine." This is consistent with a Romish pen.

Page 474, note (1).]—In addition to the works referred to in this note and the Appendix, may be mentioned "Histoire de l'Execution de Cabrieres et de Merindol, particulièrement déduite dans le Plaidoyé qu'en fit l'an 1551, par le command du Roy Henri II. et comme son Advocat General en cette cause, Jacques Aubery [mentioned at p. 503], Ambass. extraordin. en Angleterre l'an 1555: à Paris, 1645."

Page 586, line 12.]—"Michael Lobley." See Appendix to vol. v. note on p. 38.

Page 586, 2nd col. line 14. "*John Petit alias Petye.*"—This John Petit, according to Strype's MS. authority (Memorials, book i. chap. 28), was "one of the first that, with Mr. Frith, Bilney, and Tindal, caught a sweetness in God's word. He was twenty years burgess for the city of London." Strype goes on to state, that Sir. T. More, suspecting him of heresy, one day called unexpectedly at his house at Lion's Key, then called Petit's Key, with the Lieutenant of the Tower, and sent him off to the Tower, where he was very hardly treated, but at length released; soon after which he died of the ill-usage, he had received. He lay in the Tower (adds Strype) at the same time that Bilney did, and lodged underneath him. "And so much favour he obtained from the underkeeper, that sometimes by removing a board he allowed them to dine and sup together, and to cheer one another in the Lord, with such simple fare as Papist charity would allow them. And before this, when John Frith was in the Tower, he came to Petit's Key in the night, notwithstanding the strait watch and ward by commandment. At whose first coming Mr. Petit was in doubt, whether it was Mr. Frith or a vision, no less doubting nor otherwise than the disciples were, when Rhoda the maid brought tidings that Peter was out of prison. But Mr. Frith shewed them that it was God that wrought him that liberty in the heart of his keeper, Philips: who, upon the condition of his own word and promise, let him go at liberty in the night to consult with godly men. And this was the same good keeper that granted Petit and Bilney the liberty aforesaid." There is a difficulty about the chronology of the foregoing account, for Frith's imprisonment must have been *after* that of Bilney. The probability is that Bilney's name has been introduced here by mistake for that of some other person.

Page 586, line 27. "*Divers others, of whom we have no certain time or year expressed*"—On a comparison of the ensuing list with vol. v. p. 448, it will be evident that these persons were persecuted under the Act of Six Articles, or about that time. John Goodale, last but one in the list, was servant to Doctor Forman, parson of All Hallows, Honylane. See a letter of Cuthbert, Bishop of London, dated March, 1528, among the Garret Papers at the end of the Appendix to vol. v., in which Goodale is mentioned. But the occasion here referred to was probably of ten or twelve years later date. See also, in the Appendix to vol. v., a Petition of John Goodale to Cromwell as Lord Privy Seal for release from confinement.

Page 592, line 33. "*The drumslades struck.*"—Add the following: "trumpets and bagespypes, and drousselars and flutes." Jan. 4, 1552, in H. Machyn's Diary, p. 13: explained by the Editor, "*rather dronsse-lars, a kind of tabor or kettledrum, usually written dronslade or dromslade.*"

Page 620, line 17. "*Thomas Arthur*"—appears from the University Register to have been made B.A. 1512, M.A. 1516. According to the Bishop of Ely's (West) Register, fol. 83, 84, he was ordained Subdeacon at Ely, March 7th, 1516—17; and on the same day, or that day year (for the Register is rather obscure), he was ordained Deacon at the same place. The same Register, fol. 19, 20, shows that he became fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Feb. 5th, 1518, on the presentation of Bishop West himself.

Page 620, middle. "*Master Thistell of Pembroke-hall.*"—See Fuller's History of Cambridge, for a high character of him as a divine and lecturer. He was made fellow in 1514. He was one of the twenty-seven delegates to discuss the question of the King's marriage in Feb. 1530, and one of the twelve learned men from Cambridge to examine printed books, May 4th, 1530. (See Lamb's Collection of C. C. C. C. MSS. London, 1838, pp. 20, 27.) Crome and Latimer were joined with him on both occasions, also Shaxton on the last. (See vol. vii. p. 505.)

Page 620, line 32. "*Master Soud.*"—William Sowode, or Sowde, or Norwich diocese, of C. C. C. C. was admitted B.A. 1508, M.A. 1511; Master of his college about Mids. 1523; Vicar of Maddingley on the presentation of Mr. Edward Fowke, to whom the college made over the presentation for that very purpose, 1526, and Rector of Landbeach 1528; died Nov. 29th, 1544. (Dr. Lamb's Edition of Master's Account of C. C. C. C. pp. 74—84.)

Page 640, line 8. "*Are always carping.*"—The first edition reads "carping," the rest "barping:" "'carpyn, or talkyn,' *Fabulor—garrulo*: Palsgrave gives the verb, 'to carpe. Lydgate; this is a farre northen verbe, *cacquetter.*" See Prompt. Parv., and Mr. Way's note: see also Halliwell. Bilney's Latin is, "*humana semper crepant:*" see above, p. 760.

Page 642, line 26.]—It seems pretty certain that Bilney had resumed his public labours in various places a considerable time before his last farewell to Cambridge; for besides the evidence of Lawrence Staples, that he was "at Greenwich six weeks before his attachment," trafficking in prohibited books, the following notice of him occurs in the Acts of Convocation (printed in Wilkins, iii. 275): "*Tertio die mensis Martii [1531] articuli nonnulli pro examinatione Mag. Crome, Latymer, et Bilneye, proponerantur, qui 18 sequente hujus mensis die repetiti sunt. Sed ulterior deliberatio eorum in aliud tempus dilata est.*" It would appear from this that his proceedings had been such, as to attract the notice of the authorities March 3rd, 1531. A passage in Foxe's Latin Edition, p. 124, implies even that he resumed his public labours not very long after his abjuration: "*Interim Bilneus, Arthurus, Godfridus Lomus, et Garretus abjurare coguntur, quicquid contra autoritatem Pontificis Rom. et fastum disseminassent. Quanquam id Bilnei conatus nihil repressit, sed inflammavit magis: qui adeo nihil remisit de suo predicandi studio, ut postea in majorem eruperit vehementiam, adversus corruptelas pontificias. Sed fit plerumque communi bonorum conditione, ut in praelaris fere conatibus semper se immisceat Satan aliquis, virtuti invidens atque obstrepens. Itaque dum in sancto hoc versatur curriculo eximius pietatis præco, ut omnes ad salutem attrahat, in ejusmodi incidit quosdam, qui ei exitium moliebantur, inter quos præcipuus erat T. Morus, et episcopus Norwicensis, Ricardus Nixus," &c.*

The following extract from Sir T. More's preface to his Answer to Tyndale

(Works, p. 349) is to the same effect: "After diverse sermons which he had after his abjuracion and against the prohibicion given hym upon hys abjuracion, made in sundry secrete corners, and some also openly, whereof the bishop yet because he heard of none heresy therein had forborne to lay the disobedience to his charge; he went unto Norwiche, wher he had infected divers of the citie before, and there beyng secretly kept by a certain space had in the while resorte unto an anresse, and there begun secretly to sow his cocle, and brought unto her divers of Tindalles books, and was there taken in the doynge, and the bookes after founden aboute another man, that was convaing them thence." Perhaps this passage may rather refer to his proceedings in Norfolk, after quitting Cambridge.

Page 654, line 14.]—William Warner was admitted of C.C.C.C. 1513; he became D.D., and read lectures on St. Paul's Epistles at Cambridge, as Colet had done at Oxford. (Parker's Antiqu. Brit.) He became Fellow of his College 1545. (Master's Account of C.C.C.C. Edit. Lamb, p. 316.)

Page 656, line 24. "*A certain priest, called Sir Henry Conjurer.*"—This individual is mentioned in a MS. in C.C.C.C. published by Dr. Lamb in his "Collection," &c. London, 1838, p. 12: "Mem^m that in the yere of our Lord 1527, D. Edmundes, m^r of Peter College, being then Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, the said D. Cliffe attempted to call before him one Sir Henry of Bernard Ostell, commonly called Sir Henry the Conjurer: for a certaine fact of incontinence charged upon him as done without the teritorye of the university the saide Cliffe proceeded against him and did excommunicate him; which thing was complained of to the Vice-Chancellor, and the said D. Cliffe charged with perjury for infringing the liberties of the university." (See note on vol. vii. p. 451.)

Page 656, bottom.]—The account of Fish begins thus in the Edition of 1563, p. 448: "Maister Symon Fyshe, born of a noble stock, a gentleman of Graies inne, one of a tal stature. A xxxvi yeaere a goo the fyrst yeaer after he came to London to dwell there was a certeyne playe made by one Maister Roo, of the same inne, gentilman, &c."

Page 657, line 16. "*One Master Roo.*"—Dr. Lamb, in his "Collection of MSS. from C.C.C.C." p. 9, has printed "*Oratuncula Magistri Roo ex Collegio Regali, cum illuc venerat cardinalis Wolseus A^o. 1520.*"

Page 662, middle. "*Hane they not gotten.*"—"Hane" for "have." See for examples, vol. iii. p. 129, middle, and Wycliffe's version of Mark ix. 38.

Page 664, line 26. "*A certain of masses.*"—The Paston Letters furnish two instances of this idiom: "I trust to your good fatherhood that ye will let me have a *certayn* of your bullocks," vol. i. 169, edit. 1840; and in vol. ii. 56, "The mayor and citizens of Norwich were wont to have a *certayn* of men in harness;" meaning a portion or selection: but the context will lead to the proper explanation of the word, which should always include an idea of *limitation* in the particular subject treated of.

Page 667, line 10 from the bottom. "*A great number more of other books in like manner prohibited.*"—

The same "right convenient" system was adopted, it appears, in the *Netherlands*, and at about the same date. "The 22nd day of this month" (writes a correspondent of Sir Brian Tuke) "there is a publicasion doen in the Emperors name through all this country of Brabant, that all the new Testaments translated in French, Douth or Inglys, shall be brought to the Justice Lands, to be *bournyth*, within the 25 day of November next coming, upon greet payns every man for him, and that from hence forward is commanded no more such eretyk bookes to be written, copied or inprimyth, ne reddyth, nether kept public, nether secretly, upon like payns: and if there be any man that sustenys heresy he shall be justyssyth with the swerd; and if any woman be fauty, to be quick bride, cast, and couched in a pit under the gerde; and that if there be any man found that has been aforetime aqwysyth and pardont, that tornys again to his errors, he shall be *bournd without any farther delay*; with many other good articles contenyng in the said publicasion, right convenient for the exaltation and increase of the holy Catholic faith, and for the extirpation and anychyllacion of the false heretics intentions and opinions.—Fro Brussels

27th day of October, 1529, entver and faithfully your own John Hackett." *State Papers*, vol. vii. Henry VIII. p. 210. See this document more at length in Brandt's *Hist. of the Reform in the Low Countries*, vol. i. p. 57—8, and renewals of it in subsequent years, p. 59, and particularly p. 82, in 1544.

Page 671, line 12 from the bottom. "*A compendious old treatise.*"—“In the time of Archbishop Arundel, and therefore compiled between 1399 and 1414, appeared a treatise in defence of the vernacular version of Scripture, in which some of the passages in the Latin tract mentioned above are introduced. No more than a fragment of this treatise is preserved in its original form, and this only in MSS. of the 16th and 17th centuries. The entire treatise in a somewhat modernised form, and with interpolations (as for instance the notice of Bishop Fleming's death in 1431) was printed, probably at Tyndale's instigation, by Hans Luft, at Marlborow in the land of Hessen, in 1530; and reprinted in England by R. Banckes, under the title of *A compendious, &c.*” Preface to the *Wycliffite Versions*, Oxford, 1850, p. xxxiii. See also Dibdin's *Ames*, iii. 257.

Page 676, line 28. "*Mention has been made,*" &c.]—See before, p. 667 line 9 from the bottom, and the note thereon in the Appendix.

Page 676, note (2).]—This note is a translation of the marginal note in the Tonstal Register, fol. 143, where the Proclamation is given, thus headed:

“A Proclamation for resistryng and withstanding of most dampnable heresies sownen within this Realme by the disciples of Luther and other heretykes perverters of Christ's religion.”

And the margin reads thus:

“Ista proclamatio proclamata fuit per totum Regnum Angliæ Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo xxix^o et Anno Regni Regis Henrici octavi xxi^o.”

Another marginal note immediately follows:—“Nota quod ista proclamatio erat facta vigore cujusdam statuti editi tempore Henrici quarti nuper regis Angliæ prout patet in Registro Johannis Kempe, nuper London. episcopi, Anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo xxij fol. xv. et xvj.

This proclamation was again made in 1511 or 1542: see infra vol. v. p. 443, Appendix, and the Bonner Register, folio 38, where this proclamation occurs, sentence for sentence, and with only a few trifling verbal differences: it stands in the Bonner Register just before Bonner's Injunctions of 1542.

Page 682, line 9. "*That he had.*"—In this, and all the following items, the first edition speaks in the second person—“That you have been,” &c.: II. “That you be a priest,” &c.

Page 684, line 21.]—Insert after “Bayfield,” from the first edition, “otherwise called Somersam, monke of S. Edmonde's Bery, in the dioces of Norwich.”

Page 689, line 27.]—The first edition reads, “was brought before him by my Lorde's porter, his keeper, into the consistory, &c.”

Page 722, note on page 181, line 26.]—The Editor has found the Process against John Browne of Ashford in the Warham Register, folio 179; from which it appears, that he was first brought before the Archbishop and his assessors at Lambeth Chapel, May 8th, 1511; again, May 12th; and finally, May 19th, when he was sentenced as a relapse to be delivered to the secular power, he having (according to his own confession) been abjured “before my lord Morten, Cardinal and Archebishop of Cant' about St. Bartholomew tyde was xij years past, for holding ayenst the sacrament of thaultar and confession and going to pilgrimages, and he bare a fagot for his penaunce.”

Page 755, note on page 622, line 7.]—The meaning of “*judicialiter*” is shown in the sentence pronounced on John Brown, May 19th, 1511, that he should be delivered to the secular power as a relapse: “postquam nonnullos errores. hereses, &c. coram Joanne Morton Cardinali et Cant' Archiepiscopo predecessore nostro, *Judice in eâ parte competente, in judicio, in formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ, manifestè et solempniter abjurasti.*” (Warham Reg. folio 180.) When, therefore, Bilney said “non tamen judicialiter,” he did not mean to extenuate perjury in any case, but merely to show that he was not as yet in the eye of the law a proper subject for its extreme penalty.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

THOMAS BILNEY, MARTYR,

&c.

—◆—

N.B.—Wherever square brackets occur in the following pages, the matter included between them has been written, and afterwards erased from the original.

I.

AMONG the Records in the Public Record Office, Rolls House, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to Statute 1 & 2 Vict. c. 94, to wit, among the Miscellaneous Papers of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, Second Series, No. 1889,¹ it is contained as follows:—

Anno Dni. 1531. Augusti. xvj^o.
Thomas Bylneye nowe delyuerd
vnto the seculare power, vnto
the redarys.

Page 1.]

Grace be with yowe & peace from above
From god oure father & chryste or true love.

God, that ys faithfull and true in all hys wurdys, and wholye in all hys wurkys, Blyssed be the name of hys maieste for evyr, saith by hys chosen vessell, and wholie Apostyll pawle that vnto them that love hym, and are called of purpose, all thyngs are turnyd to good, and wurke for

psal. cxliiij^o.
psal. lxxj^o.
Roma. viij^o.

in somoche that there synnys the beste, [yea trulye all thyngs,] are turnyd to there moste avayle gostlye, [to the chosen chylder of god,] thurugh the great mercye of god, whiche dysposyth all things swetelye, and wurkith greate things and incomprehensyble, [thyngs,] and merveyllys with owt numbyr. He turnyth the verye synne of his electe and chosen (Blyssed ys that man

Sapien. viij^o.
Job. vi. ix^o.
Augustinus in
libr. confession.
psal. lxiij^o.

oh lorde, whom thu haste chosen & taken to thye mercye) to a gostelye profyght and comforte of them and other of hysse, While theye when god openyth there eyes

themselvys, thurugh suche synnes, are brought to the vertue of mekeness, and povertye of the spryte, to the knowleche of god & of them selfe. to mo'nyng & weylyng for there synnys to pytye and compassyon towarde there neyghburs, to mercye, to fastyng to preyo' and almesse dedys. That thurugh synne almyghtye god wurkith in vs his chosen, mekenes,

Page 2.]

witnessith the wholye prophete Dauid seyng. Wele ys me oh lorde, that thu haste mede me lowe & meke, that I maye lerne th[^y]e meanys where bye thu makiste thyne, rightwyse in thie syght. howe & by what meanys god makith his childern rightwyse in hys sight teachith bothe petyr, pawle, and John in all there wrytyngs, but speciallye pawle in hys epistle to the Romaynes in this wyse. The rightwysenes of god, where bye he makith vs rightwyse, cumyth by the faith and beleve that we have in Jesu christe, to as manye and vpon as manye as beleve in hym. For all, none excepte, have synned, and have nede of the glorye of god, but theye are frelye iustifyed and made rightwyse thurugh hys grace, by the redemptyon whiche ys in christe Jesu, whom god hath

leve all thys
owte.²
psal. cxviiij^o.

Rom. iiij^o.

them selvys, when it pleasith god to open there eyes, are brought

Page 3.]

(1) No. 1888 contains a copy of this document.

(2) "So it is drawn and striken in ye copy yt bilney made wt his own hande & wrytyn leve all yis out." (No. 1888, page 2, marginal note.)

(3) In No. 1888 the third page ends here, and the fourth begins with—

(4) this line, which reads in continuation of the first page of the original.

<p>J petri. v^o.</p> <p>Luce. j^o.</p> <p>Danielis. iij^o. Judith. xiiij^o. Hester. viij^o. j Re. xvij^o. Iest. viij^o. Exodi. vij^o. Genes. xij^o. Mathei. vo. [Page 4.</p> <p>Igit et gentibus deus penitenciam concessit ad vitam. Act. xj^o. Gala. ij^o. Deut. xxvij^o. psalmo Cxvij^o.</p> <p>Mat. vo.</p> <p>Gal. j^o. [Page 5.</p> <p>Accursed, y^e ys ne suffer the paynes due for oure cursyd levyng. vpon ye crosse, a derh apeyatyd vnto cursed people Deut. xxj^o. gal. ij^o.</p>	<p>thurugh the knowleche of there synnys, to meknes and poverte of the sprete. Nowe vnto the meke ys god evyr redye to geve grace. The wholye Apostell petyr to witnesse where he seith. Se that ye have mekenes of harte faste roted in yow, For god withstondith y^e prowde, and gevith grace to the meke. The moste blyssed vyrgyn & mother Marye, fylled with the wholye goste berith recorde of the same seyng in that moste swete & hevynly songe Magnificat, God my savioure hath deposyd and plukkyd downe the myghtye from there seats and hath</p> <p style="text-align: center;">so</p> <p>exal'tyd the meke. So deposyd he prowde Nabugodonar kyng of Babylon, the myghtye captayne Holofernes, the prowde & high myndyd Aman. And exal'tyd y^e humble man Daud, the meke man Mardocheus, with Moyses, Joseph & manye other. So gracyouse ys almyghty god vnto the meke. And [v] of them that are, thurugh knowleche of them selvys power in spryte, what seith our sauour christe? Blyssed are the power in spryte, for therys ys the kyngdom of hevyn. More ovyr thurugh knowleche of oure synnys, god, (thurugh Jesus chryste, by whome he gevith vs a'll thyngs, & with owte whome we can doo noo thyng, not onys thynke a good thought) bryngith vs to repentaunce, to mornyng & welyng for oure synnys, to hunger and thurste for rightwysenes, And so where we thurugh oure synnys were accursyd (For accursyd are all those that kepe not the vtermoste poynte of goddys lawe saith saynete pawle Moyses & Daud, yea almyghty god by them) god of hys infynyte mercye, for the tendyr love & favor that he hath evyr had to hys dere sone, and vnto vs for hys sake, hath taken awaye from vs hys curse, and enduyd vs with manyefold hevynlye & spual blyssygs thurugh Jesus Christe, whiche seith Blyssed are thei that morne, for thei shalbe comfortyd, Blyssed are thei that hunger and thurste for rightwysenes, for thei shalbe fulfilled. Thus turnyth god oure synnys, thurugh Jesus christe, whiche gave hymselfe a raansom for vs & oure synnys, (O right mervelous merchaundyse, who evyr harde of anye lyke?) to oure rightwysenes. In so moche that where was moste abundaunce of synne, there was moche more abundaunce of grace, but not of oure deseryng, o thu enemye of grace, and of the crosse of christe, whose god ys thye bellye, not of or deseryng, what then o blyssed apostle? thurugh Jesus christe. oure savio^r, oure redemar, and redemption, oure peace, oure rightwysenes oure holynes, oure paschal Lambe oure manna, oure high pryste, or advocate, oure bedeman, oure brother, oure comherytour, oure light oure life everlastyng god and man blyssed mut he be [for] of all his creaturys in hevyn yerth and vnder them for evyr Amen. Thus turnyth god oure father, oure curse, thurugh Jesus christe, whiche was made <i>accursed</i> (Abhorre not y^e wurdcs of god) for our cursyd levying, to oure blyssyng. Wherefore, lete vs crye owte in owre hartys, with the blyssed Apostle saynete paule, seyng. Blyssed be god the fa-¹ Ad ephc. j^o.</p>
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II.

Among the Records, &c. No. 1890,² it is contained as follows:—

Grace vnto vs and peace be multiplyed
By knowleche of god and chryste that for vs dyed
Grace be with vs mercye and peace
From god oure father and chryste our harts ease.

vj Co., j.

Blyssed be god the father of oure lorde Jesus Christe, whiche is the father of mercyes and the lorde of all comeforte, whiche confortyth vs in all oure affliction and trobull, soo, that we are habyll to conforte them

(1) No. 1888 ends with this word in full, thus "fader," and proceeds with a copy of No. 1890. (Pages 6--20 are blank.)

(2) No. 1888 contains a copy of this document.

that are in anye trobull thurgh the conforte, where with we are confortyd of god. For as the afflictions of christe (for oure afflictions are hysse afflictions, O wunderfull conforte) As the afflictions of Christe doo growe & increase in vs, evyn soo thurgh Christe growth & increasith oure conforte, inwarde ioye and solace Dyd not the Apostellys departe from there examynacon with great ioye that theye were thought wurthy of god, to suffer anye reprove payne or shame for y^e swete name of Jesu, whiche hadde sufferd so moche for there sake? Pawle and Sylas caste in to preson, and putte in to stokks at mydde nyte preysed almyghtye god. doying in dede accordyng to hys owne teachyng & wrytyng. For vnto the Romaynes thus he wrytyth We reioyse in trobull knowyng, that trobull bryngith furthe pacyence, and pacyence causyth provyng or felyng, And felyng causith hope. Wherefore the holye Apostell seyncte Jamys confortyth them that are in trobull seyng. Take it my brothern for grete and singulare ioye and gladnes, when ye fall in to dyuerse tentacons knowyng this thynge, that the tryeng of yo^r faithe bryngeth furth pacyence. But lete pacyence have hyr perfyte wurke of charyte wyth hyr, which charyte ys pacyente & curteys. pacyent in sufferyng mekelye, gentill and curteys in doying good for evyll, in preyng for hyr enemyes. For where as we rede in holye scrypture, that the holye sayncts semyd to be sumtyme owte of charyte, bothe in sharpe, fynose, & hastye wurdys, and also in cruell dedys, yt was in goddys cause and for goddys honor, whiche ye wholye sayctys when they sawe dysteynyd or blasphemyd, anone they enflamyd w^t the fyre of love, were in suche an Agonye, that sumtyme theye slewe & kyllyd, with fyre and swerde, the seyncts of y^e olde testamente, w^t materiall fyre and swerde, As Helyas, Moyses, Samuel. Matathias. [w^t] Phinees, with other, but all thys was done in goddys querell, and not w^t owt hys wurde & commandement, but evyr in there owne [c] wrongs & iniuryes [there moste] theye were moste meke, softe, pacyente & gentill. evyr doying good for evill, preyng for there enemyes. Dede not Moyses wysse him sylfe to be rasyd owte of y^e booke of lyfe, excepte he myght obteyne mercye for the people? The sayncts of the newe testamente in lyke maner, induyd with the same grace, in godds cause & honor were allweys fervent & whote, redye to kyll & burne, but not with fyre of faggts, nore yet w^t swerdys of stele, for that belongeth to the seculare power, but with the swerde of the spryte, which is¹

Matthei. 25.

Actuum ixo.

Malach

Actys. vo.

Actys. xvj.

Actys. xvj.

Actys. xvj.

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III.

Among the Records, &c. No. 1887, it is contained as follows :—

This ben the wordes openyd & declarid by Thomas Bilney at the place of his execucon callid the Lollardez pitte without Bisshops gate of the Cite of Norwich to the people gatherid & present to see the same execucon.—as to the [knowledge of &] remembraunce of Edward Rede of Norwiche.—And as far as he coude bere awaye.

Good christen people I here sey that the iiij orders of freres be put in blame for my deth. and that thei shuld be the occasion thereof and that

(The words in italic are added by another hand, and three words struck out.)

(1) Both the original folio sheet, No. 1890, and the quarto copy, No. 1888, end abruptly thus. The latter (which includes both No. 1889 and 1890) is thus noted at the beginning :—

This is the very true copye of A boke which Thomas Bilney made & wrytte w^t his own hande whiles he was in prison in the gildhall of the Cite of Norwich Afr he was delyurd vnto the seculer power which boke was delyured atte [this] the day of his deth, which Copye is sent to my lords grace the Duke of Norff Atte his comandement by the Maier of Norwich

the almes of the people is withdrawen from them for my trouble. I exhört & prey you to be good to them & to extend your charitable almes to them. for it is not thei that put me to deth. And where as that the lady Ankeres of the blak freres is put in grete trouble and surmysed that she shuld be an heretike and that I shuld teche & instructe her with heresyas as well by bookes as otherwise. Good cristen people here I take my deth upon it that I doo knowe her but for a full good & vertuous woman. I beseeche god to preserue her in her goodnes. And I know non heresy in her nor I neuer taught her heresy. I wold god there were many more so good lvyng in vertue as she is both men & women. And where as I was sworne not to preche withoute licens Afterwardys I thought I myght preche without licens of myn ordinary and in so doying to comytte non offence before God to preche the worde of God where as amongs the people lakked preching notwithstanding myn othe. And in that I have broken such comaundements as the Judges of the lawe haue comaunded me to obserue. I am penytent & sory for it and desire you to prey for me And I advertise you to be obeydent vnto your superyour Judges beyng in auctorite of what estate or Condicion soeuer thei be spiritual or temporall. And where as I haue seid if Pope or Busshop or their lawes doo curse me by their power & by that I am accursed outwardly and not accursed before God. I exhört you to fere the sentence of the Church & to be obeydent. And in that thyng that I haue disobeyed I am sory & aske God mercy and all Christen people, and I prey you to prey for me. Also good cristen people it hath ben seid that I shuld sey I beleve not ecclesiam Catholicam. Here I proteste before God that I haue euer belevid & doo beleve ecclesiam Catholicam. and in that I haue euer had my most cumfort and haue at this tyme. Although that at oon tyme sith I being in trouble & in wekenes was promysed to speke withoute inpechement shuld vnadvisedly sey that I beleve not ecclesiam Catholicam. as it is now. vsed. If I did so sey I seid not well and I was then taken at the worst. for if I myght have ben harde to the eend of my tale. it shuld apperid that my beleve is & hath euer been ecclesiam Catholicam. and therupon I take my deth. And he then exhorted all the people to beleve stedfastly ecclesiam Catholicam Shewyng auctoritees of Scripture sondry & many to move the people in the feith of Crist seyng with high voice. Credo ecclesiam Catholicam sondry tymes. Also where I have seyed that Crist did neuer forbidde preestes to haue wives I leve & remytte that to Master Doctour my Gostly father & other Doctours to dispute in Vniuersitees after my deth notwithstanding that. I haue seid & doo sey that virginite and chastite is gretly to be preyssed & is accepted of God to be gretly meritorious. the seid Bilney then giving many good exhortacions to provoke cristen people to chastite & shewing vnto the peolpe diuers Auctoritees of Scripture to fortifye the same & shewid what graces God gaf to theym that lived chast for the love of God. Furder the seid Bilney seid. good cristen people it hath been reportid that I haue spoken ayenst abstinence. I assure you I neuer thought but that abstinence & fasting is grete plesure to God & a very mean to bring a man in the favour of God. I wold (seyd he) that the prelat & men of dignitees & especially thei of the spiritualtie wold live in abstinence more than thei doo & take example of our Mastir Crist for Crist himself fasted fourty dayes. and therupon declarid moch mater preyssing abstinence and fasting Resyting the abstinence of many holy persons that ben Seintez in heven. and exhorted all the people to Joy in fastyng for the love of God. and shewid many myracles which God did be caus of abstinence and withdrew many punysshmentz wherwith he shuld hau striken & punysshed the people if fastyng had not ben vsed.

1531

The burninge of Thomas
 [Beln] Bylneye at
 Norwech And the accusacons
 againste
 [of] Reade maior of
 Norwech by Doctor Pellis

(Indorsed by a
 less antient
 hand, which
 title seems to
 relate to the
 other documents
 also.)

IV.

Among the Records, &c. No. 1884, it is contained as follows :—

Nono die Novembris A^o regis xxiiij^o. John Curatt of Norwiche being Sworn by the Lord chuncel^or Sayeth that apon the same daye that Thomas Billney shuld suffre his deth, this deponent being desirous to
se
[speke_A with] the same Bilney on the same daye came in the mornyng

[of the same daye] vnto the Chappell of the p_Ason (where the same Thomas Bylney was and there hadd hard masse And so this deponent there commonyd and talkyd with the same Bilney. how he was right glad to se hym so penytent.) And so after suche commonycacon hadd Doct^or Pellis came in [v] to the chappell, And there the same Doct^or Pellys and one Doct^or Warner toke the same Bylney vnto the Aulter and there talkyd secretly with the same Bylney. What they commonyd this deponent can not tell. And this deponent doth remembr shortly after the said commonycacon the same Bylney delyuerd vnto the same Doct^or Pellis

certeyn books whiche the same Bylney had written than being in p_Ason, Whiche books one Edward Rede than being Mayer desyred to se [the*] *Page 2.] And so the same Rede had the said books to se, and so when he had the same books he said how he wold keape theym still forsomeche as the same Bylney hadd written theym. Syns the tyme that the same Bylney was delyuerd. vnto the Laye power. and Temporaltie. And so the knowledge
same Rede to this deponents_A deteyneth and kepith the same books still.

And so the same Rede [talkyng] wt dyuers other Aldermen of the Citie talking wt Bylney this deponent went and talkyd with Doct^or Pellis. on the other syde of the same chapell. moving and exorting the same Doct^or Pellis to exorte & cause the same Bylney to publishe and declare vnto the common at the place of execucon suche opynions and errors as he had hild before tyme, sayeng how it shuld be very expedient and profitable vnto the people so to be. With the whiche the said Doct^or Pellys said vnto this dep^t thus, Bicause ye saye so ye shall se what I have don, and with that plukkid out of his bozom A bill . . wherein was conteigned A Reuocacon of certeyn errors & opinions whiche the same Bylney had holden* Whiche bill the same Doct^or Pellis [did] hadd showed vnto the same Bylney before) as the same Doct^or Pellis said vnto this deponent thin A while after
and so with _A [that] euery man departyd. *Page 3.]

And after when the same Bilney was brought to the place of execucon the same Rede than being Mayor sent for this deponent & other to go wt hym to the execucon of the same Bilney. And so this deponent went wt the same Mayor to the same place And ther approchid as nere vnto the same Bilney as he cowde. and so stode so nere the same Bilney, that he myght well here euery word that the same Bilney did speak there at that tyme. So that when the same Billney did declare vnto the people [in] the Reuocacon of his opinions, speakyng of fasting, Saying that he knew hym self that he erryd when he preachid ageinst fasting, Bringing in & [declaryd] declaring the historie of Judith, and dyuers other histories and Auctorities of scripture.

And so when the said Bilney had said his mynde vnto the people, the same Bilney came toward the stake, where Doct^or Pellis being there toke out the same bill [out his bozom] the which he had shewid this deponent before in the chappell, Sayeng vnto Billney. Thomas. here is a bill ye know it well ynough, ye saye truthe M^r Doct^or quod the same Billney. And wt that the same Billney red openly the same bill. Which this Page 4.]

deponent bothe hard and sawe, Saving that in the latter ende of reding of the same bill this deponent was constraynyd to stope to amend his [shoo] shoo and so by thoccaseion therof this depon hard not the conclusion & ende of the same bill, but the same Bilney did rede it all owt. Which bill the same Docto^r Pellis [hath] had ageyn to this depon^ts knowledg All whiche this deponent knoweth to be true for somoche as when the same Billney redd the same bill this deponent stode by the same Billney, neuer departing while the same Byllney Lyved. * * * *

[Page 5.

And so upon the Sondaye after Michelmas daye last past at after dynner. The same Rede being Mayer commaundid this deponent and dyuers other persons suche as he supposed to be at the Burnyng of the same Billney, to come & assemble at the counsaile howse of the Town of Norwich. Where the same Mayer and dyuers other persons being there assemblyd The same Mayor spake openly in thiswise, Brethern so it is. I must shortly goo vp to the parliament, where I am suer I shalbe inquiryd of concernyng the deth of Billney, Wherefore I wold desire youe all to knowe yor myndes therin. And that I myght haue A testimoniall signed wt yor hands. & sealyd wt the town Seale so that I myght testefie and verefie the truthe therof And sayd further how he wold that every man shuld wright that he knew and bring it in. And said further asfor my parte ye shall Se what I haue* Written, and wt that drew out a bill of papir out of his bozom conteynyng the circumstance of the dethe of Bylney Which bill touchid the truthe therof in every poynt. saving there was noo mencion made in the said [M] Mayeres bill, that Bilney did rede any bill of Reuocacon delyuerd vnto hym by Doctor Pellis. And [th] so this deponent told the same Mayer that his said bill was not perfectly true, for the cause abousaid To the whiche the same Mayer said, [W] speaking vnto this deponent, why wold you saye that Billney redd any suche bill of Reuocacon? To the whiche this deponent said, ye [mat] mary Sr or ells I were to blame. knowing that I knowe for bothe sawe hym and hard hym reding suche a bill. With the wiche the Mayer being very angry & movid said how this deponent was a false and vntrue [me] man and not worthy* to come amongs any honest company. wt many other high and opprobrious wordds, Saying. that this deponent said vntruly and that no man there wold so saye Sayeng also how a testimonyall shuld be made though this deponent said naye.

[*Page 6.

And so the same Mayer being movid & displesid wt this deponent, commaundid hym tappare before hym at the same place on Wednesdaye next after, ther to answer to suche things as shold be than layd ageinst hym. At wiche daye. this depon^t. said vnto the same Mayer that he there for dyuers causes
 coud not be_A. And upon that the same Mayer swo_Are [by the ma] that he shuld_A abide in prison vntill that daye. and so [co] after at the request and Mayer

Na he remem-
breth not he
spake [not] soo
word for word.

[*Page 7.

causes concern-
yng the Citie
for the ordering
of certein money
by quetliith by
Mr tyres Testa-
ment

instance of suche persons as were ther. the same_Arelessid his said commaundem^t and assigned this deponent to appiere the saterdaye after. And so this deponent did. And ther nothing layd ageinst him.

[Signed] bi me John Curat

no thing

[Page 8

And so neuer syns the same Mayer wold call this deponent. to any maner of counsaill of makinge of any testimoniall of the premisses. if any such be maide.

[Page 16.

(Indorsed) Concernyng
the examinacon
of Curat of
h
Norw_Aiche.

V.

Among the Records, &c. No. 1885, it is contained as follows:—

Theaminacon of Mr. Rede of Norwiche.

Page 1.]

Edward Rede of Norwyche sworne the
xxv daie of Nouembr in the xxij yere
of the king that now is.

Page 3.]

Deposith and saiethe as touching the booke that bylney wrytt him self in prison to that he saiethe how he hathe the same booke in his Custody and keping. And acording to the Duke of Norffis commandm^t this deponent sent vpp vnto the same Duks Grace the very true copie therof.

As touching the bill of reuocation that Doctor Pellis had written and devised. This deponent saiethe how he seing the same bill in Doctors Pels hands in the [Chapp] Chapel of the Gyld Hall of Norwyche desieryd the same Doctor Pells to see the same byll, and so wt that the same Doctor pels did Rede that same byll vnto this Deponent as farr as this Deponent dothe remember Wiche byll conte[i]nyd[th] [the R] A Revocation of certain opinions and herises that the same Bilney had hild as the same Doctor did Allege by the same byll.

[But wither the same Bilney did [h] euer hold eny such opinions as (Cancelled.) apperyd to be by the same bill of reuocation this Deponent cannot tell.]

And further this deponent saiethe how that he and diuers of his britherne of the same Citie of Norwyche being present at the burnyng of the same Bilney Harde the same Bylney make vnto the people ther then present a good and a Godly exhortation. And after that donne this deponent sawe the same Doctor [Plls] Pellis take a byll vnto the same Bilney But what bil yt was this deponent cannot tell Nor yet whot whas conteinyd therin. But this deponent saiethe how the same Bilney did looke vpon it. and as fer as this deponent cowlde perceue and se. The same Bilney dyd Rede the same byll or els part of it softly to him self.

For this deponent saiethe how he cowlde not here Bilney rede the same bill or any parcell of yt. And yet this deponent stode very nere him being and standing wthin a person or twoo of the same Bilney. And further this deponent saiethe how that when Bilney had red softly the same bill or parcell of yt as it apperyd to this deponent that the same Bilney so dyd. The same Bilney then declared openly to the people hys mynd [therin. Touching the same bill]. Wiche matter for so moche (Cancelled.) as to this this deponents (parceyving and vnderstanding did not declare in all poynts the same bill. whiche this deponent had seen and hard before of Docto^r Pellis being in the chappll aforsaid. This deponent therefore as nere as he cowlde bere and conceyue in his remembraunce did afterward put in wrytyng. Whiche doth appere by a bill of the same drawn by this deponent & delyuer[e]d vnto the clerck of the Counsaile.

And aft^r the dethe of bilney the same Doctor Pellis came vnto this deponent and brought him a byll of Reuocation of certein Articles that bilney shuld have revokyd at the time of his Dethe, and desieryd this deponent to haue yt exemplified vnder the town Seale wich bill this deponent toke of the said Doctor Pellis and saied how he wold look vpon yt. And saied yf it did agre wt a drawght that this deponent had made and drawne acording to the truethe as fer as he had borne awaie. That then he wold be content to helpp him as much as laye in him to haue yt exemplified under the Townes Seale. And aft^r this deponent assemblyd diuers of the Aldermen and brithern of the Citie that wher then present at the burnyng of the same Bilney. And ther shewd them thentent and mynde of the same Doctor Pellis and so wt that caused the same byll that this deponent had Receuyd befor of the same Doctor to be Redd. And aft^r yt was opinly Rede this deponent w^t diuers of the said Aldermen and bretherne said how they thowght that the same byll did not

in all things word for word agrey to ther vnderstanding w^t the reporte and declaration that bylney did make at the time of his dethe. And therfor diuers of them wold not agree to the exemplifieng of the same byll. And so therw^t this deponent desiered euery man ther present to bring in writing the very truth of the Declaracon of the matt^r as fer as they had perceuid and borne awaie.—To thintent the trouth might appere when so euer it shuld please the Ks counsaile to Send for it.

[Page 6.]

And apou that diuers of them said vnto this deponent in this maner we vnderstond how ye haue made a remembraunce of that matt^r wherfor w[h]ie praie you that we maie here yt. And apou that. The remembraunce that this deponent had made and writtin was opiny redde. w^t the wych diuers of them was content and saied how yt was according to the truth to their knowlege. And saied how to that byll they wold be content to put to their hands.

And aft^r that this deponent spake to one Curate one of the Aldermen their meruciling that he wold [not] wryght nothing concernyng the same matt^r for so much as he was so good a penneman. To whome the same Curate answeyrd and saied how he wold set no penne to the booke except he myght se that same bill that Doctor Pellis did deliuer vnto Bilney at the time of his dethe. And w^t that this deponent saied vnto him. Mary hier is a Copy therof as Doctor Pellis hath promysd me apou his trouthe and honesty. asfor that quod Curate I wiil belieue no man so well as my self. for I know that same bill amongs a C. Bills. And so this deponent couid not cause the said Curate to make any drawte concernyng the same matt^r nother according to Doctor[s] Pellis booke. nor yet to none other.

[Signed] per me Edward Rede.

[Page 7.]

The same Mr. Rede being further examinyd by the Lord chunclor^t the first daye of Decembr. A^o. regis xxij.

Sayeth that he thinkith and supposith. that the bill that [the bill] Doctor Pellis did take vnto Billney at the tyme of his dethe was rather to be the bill of reuocacon that this same Mr Rede had seen & red before of the same Doctor Pellis in the chappell of the yeldhall of Norwiche then otherwise the trothe therof he can not testifie.

Being further axed be vertu of his othe whither the same bill that Doctor Pelles brought after the deth of Billney to be exemplefied, was the same bill that the said Doctor Pelles. did rede to this deponent in the said chapell, He Sayeth to this how he can not suerly tell.

Sayeth: how the bill that he delyuerd vnto the clere of the counsaill. was of his owen devise and drawyng, Saving the preface and superscripcon of the same bill. whiche a nother man drew the same, whome he dothe not now remember And sayeth how he had noo mans counsaile or advise about the same bill. And that ther is. to his knowledge neuer a copie of the same bill. but only * oone [delyuerd by this deponent]. Which copie this deponent left w^t his Deputie at Norwiche at his comyng vpp hither to London. And saith how he delyuerd a nother copie of the[r] same bill unto oone [Willm] Mere, Whiche copie [had ageyn] this depot^t had agein and so hath in his kepyng.

[Page 8.]

Item the same Rede sayeth how there be ij other billes made by oone Grue Aldreman & one of them made by the Vndershrif Mere.

[Page 9.]

And as touching the words of Curat that this deponent shold saye that he was a false man & not worthy to be amongs any honest men and that A Testimonial shuld be made though he said naye, as apperith by the examinacon of the same Curate.

To this the same Rede saith that he doth not remember that he so said or spake so to the same Curate. But he sayeth that vpon the debating amongs the Aldermen for the bill that Doctor Pellis delyuerd to this deponent to be exemplefied [Th] how he spake to the same Curate as he hath deposid before, And desiryd the same Curate to declare amongs thcy m his remembrance touching the trouthe, and vpon that Curat said

how that Bilney red openly the bill that Doctor Pellis toke hym. And after ward the same [red] Curate said that he wold not Swere that billney declaryd the same bill openly to the people that Doctor Pellis toke [hym] to the same billney allthough the same [billney did not rede the same] Curate did here the same billney rede the same bill. And vpon that this depot askyd the same Curat what he ment therby saing that his tale apperid ij sundry wayes. Wherwith the same Curate said, Take it as ye woll & make what definicon ye lyst, for I woll explaine it not other wise.

And for that the said Curate was so obstinate and so obscure & wold not be playne, This deponent said vnto the same Curate, how that it be comyd euery Alldreman to be true & playne and sayd to Curate, ye do in this matter as ye have iiij^{or} or v yeres [pl] past wt certen mony that Mr. Tery gave for the relief & comfote of the poore people of the Citie. To whome ye be executor And the Mayer for the tyme & the Alldermen have many tymes yerely requyryd the same mony to be ordred according to the will and testament of the same Tery and ye have allwayes aunsweryd sinistrelly. And as for any other words this deponent doth not remember that he hadd but referrith hym self to the Alldremen that were then present.

And sayeth that notwithstanding that the same Curate [was] hath not syns be called to counsaile, yet the same Curate myght have comen if he had list, & maye whan he woll. For he sayeth how the Mayres officers gyve warnyng to the Alldremen & other to come to counsell w^tout the knowledge of the Mayer.

The first d . . . of December, in the xxij yere of the reigne of King Henry the viijth. Page 11.]

Rede sworne and examyned byfore my Lord Chancelor the day and yere abouewritten saieth that the bil that Doctor Pellis toke vnto the said bilney of Reuocacon at the tyme of his dethe. [saiethe] rather to be the [true] byl [of Reuocacon that] the said [Doctor Pellis deliuered] red vnto

the said red. that the said Doctor Pelles red to [hym] in the chapel of yeldhall then otherwise

he hath bene axed by virtue of his othe[e] whether the bil that Doctor Pelles brought after the dethe of the said bylney . to be exemplified was the same bil that

he redd to Rede [before his burnyng] in the said chapell he saieth he came not surely tel.

to
that was deliuered [by] the clerke of the counsaile
that shoulde have bene exemplified

by rede

The bil of exemplificacon was drawn [of] hym self wt oute counsaile [or not].

Item that there is neuer a copy of the same but oon that he left wt his deputie. At Norwiche to his knowledge.

there is

Item [he hath] as he supposeth ther billes made by ou [Drue] Alder the other by the vndershrive. the wrote h . . . self.

(Indorsed) The bookes | concernynge
Rede of | norwiche.

Page 12.]

VI.

Among the Records &c. No. 1886, it is contained as follows :—

Edwardus

(First Sheet.)

In Primis. interrogetur M [Johes] Reed Maior Ciuitatis Norwici. vtrum præsens erat in Iudicio tempore examinacionis Thome Bilney. nuper declarati pro Relapso in Heresim, per Doctorem Pellis Judicem in hac parte competentem.

2 Item interrogetur vtrum præsens erat tempore dicte examinacionis quando prælibatus Thomas Bilney. nullum certum dare voluit Responsum quibusdam Articulis cuius pretexto ejus Responsum Judex admittere noluit.

Edwardus

3 Item Interrogetur an ille idem [Johes] Reed Maior Antedictus insurgendo publice dixit Judici sedenti pro Tribunali hec verba vel in effectu consimilia. viz Sur me thynke you do hym wronge. or ellis you do not weli w^t hym y^t you wull not admitte hys answir as he dothe speke or make vnto you. Cui Judex Respondebat, Maist. Mayer yor wyll nor hys wyll may not Rewle y^e wyll of y^e lawe. But the wyll of y^e lawe must Rewle yor wyll. and his wyll bothe. And the wyll of the lawe is y^t he muste make certum Responsum, And not equivocum et ambiguum Et ex hoc Judex fecit plures libros adduci in Iudicio et Revolui et legi publice.

4 Item Interrogetur an dictus Thomas Bynley. viue vocis oraculo ibidem in Iudicio appellauit ad Serenissimum dominum Regem dicendo, I appele vnto ye Kyngs grace, And M Mayer I charge you y^t you take me away from y^e Judge that I may prosecute myn Appele w^t all lybertie afore ye Kyngs grace.

5 Item Interrogetur antedictus Maior. vtrum ipse publice asseruit prælibato Judici sedenti in Iudicio. provt sequitur vel in effectu consimilia. Sur me thynke I am now charged w^t hym. And me thynke now I muste neds take hym from you.

6 Item Interrogetur an ex dictis Antedicti Maioris certe leues persone tunc et ibidem excitabantur dicere domino Maiori. dicendo provt et quemadmodum dixerunt viz Maist^r Mayor you are bownd to take hym away.

7 Item Interrogetur an Doctor Pellis Recipiebat quasdam Scripturas de Thoma Bilney in Capella carceris quas idem maior publice asseruit se voluisse habere Ad cuius Importunitatem dictus Thomas Pellis deliberavit eandem Scripturas dicendo M. Mayer it Reather becomethe me to haue them than you in this mater.

8 Item Interrogetur vtrum audiuit Thomam Bilney publice dicentem in Iudicio Antedicto Doctori Pellis Judici suo dicendo Sur do you yor oflyce I am content, And I wull be more Rewled by you than by all this hiole company because you have trewly handeled me.

9 Item Interrogetur vtrum Doctor Pellis sepius requirebat prælibatum Maiore mad denunciandum ei tempus execucionis Thome Bilney. ad illum finem. vt admoneret Thomam Bilney ad reducendum Populum. quem offendeat ad viam veritatis. et fidem Catholicam.

10 Item Interrogetur vtrum idem Maior significauit eidem Doctori de Tempore execucionis prædicte vel non.

11 Item Interrogetur an vnquam videbat vel audiuit Renocacionem Thome Bilney conscriptam et conceptam in Capella Carceris.

12 Item Interrogetur vtrum Doctor Pellis deliberavit huiusmodi Schedulam Thome Bilney in loco et tempore execucionis.

13 Item Interrogetur vtrum publice dictus Thomas Bilney. alta voce legebat vel non.

14 Item Interrogetur vtrum Thomas Bilney post lecturam huiusmodi Revocacionis deliberavit eandem schedulam antedicto Doctori Pellis.

Item Interrogetur vtrum Thomas Bilney immediate post degradacionem coram toto populo alta voce revocauit errores suos. hortando populum

vt obedirent deo et ministris Ecclesie. et ministris Juris. Et vtrum tunc et ibidem submisit se determinacioni Ecclesie Catholice, Et vtrum tunc et ibidem genibus flexis coram toto populo petijt beneficium absolucionis a sententia excommunicacionis in ipsum late Authoritate Sanctissimi in Christo patris Pape Moderui, Et a sententia Canonis et A sententia excommunicacionis late in illum Authoritate Reverendi patris Epi Norwic Et vtrum tunc et ibidem Doctor Pellis publice ipsum absoluebat ab ipsis excommunicacionibus et Restituit Sacramentis Ecclesie.

The answers of Edward Reed merchant Maior of Norwiche made vnto certeyne articles put in agaynst him by Doctor Pellis the fyfte day of December anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo. 31. by S. Thomas More Knyght Lord Chauncellor of England. (Second Sheet.)

He saith that he was present as often as he was desyred by Doctor Pellis the iudge.

To the second article

He saith that upon a certeyne answer made by Thomas Bylney there was betwene the iudge & Bylney ye and nay, but how they concluded he can not tell.

Being demanded of the thirde article he desyreth to have respyte to make answer there vnto.

To the fourth

He confesseth this article to be true.

To the fyfte article.

He denieth that he dyd say to the Chauncellor as it is conteyned in the article, but he saith that he said thus or words of lyke effecte, Maister Doctor ye knowe that the Kyng hath a new title gyven hym by the clergy and ye were at the graunting of it, of what effecte it is I knowe not but ye knowe. And therefore ordre yo^r selfe so that ye may be my discharge and yo^r owne to. I am content to take hym yf he owght to be the Kyngs prisoner.

To the syxte

To this article he answereth that he remembreth it not.

To the seventh

He agreeth this article to be true except the word importunitie.

To the eight

He saith that he remembreth not this article.

To the ixth

He confesseth that Doctor Pellis dyd desyre hym, but he denieth that Doctor Pellis told hym the cause why.

To the xth

He saith that he gave the shiriffs commaundment to gyve hym warnyng but he wotteth not wether they dyd it.

To the xjth

He confesseth this article to be true.

To the xijth

He confesseth that he gave hym a byll but he wotteth not wether he were that same byll or not.

To the xij article

He saith that he did not here Bylney rede the byll, but he sawe hym loke upon it, and if Bylney did rede it he redd it softly.

To the xiiij

He saith that he can not tell.

To the xv article

At the repeticion of this article he saith that there be dyuers poynts in it which he remembreth not, but he can tell that Bylney dyd knele downe and humbly desyred absolucion, And he remembreth that Doctor Pellis gave hym absolucion, but he remembreth not that he dyd submitte hym to the determinacion of the chirch, but he thinketh that he dyd.

Also he doth not remembre that Bylney dyd there revoke his errors nor that he dyd exhorte the people to obey god, the ministres of the chirch & the ministres of the lawe.

(Signed)

Also he saith that he thinketh that Bylney dyd at that tyme desyre to be howseled but he remembreth it not perfaytely.

Be me Edward Rede.

PROCESS AGAINST BILNEY AND ARTHUR, A.D. 1527.

(From the Tunstal Register, folio 130 verso.)

ACTA HABITA ET FACTA in quodam hereseos negocio contra magistros Thomam Arthure in sacra theologia et Thomam Bylney in legibus bachelarios, coram Reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino, domino Thoma, miseracione divina tituli sanctæ Cecilie sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbytero cardinali, Eborac. Archiepiscopo Angliæ primate Ac apostolicæ sedis etiam de latere Legato, in domo capitulari ecclesiæ conventualis sancti Petri Westmonast. xxvijmo die mensis Novembris, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxvij^o, Indictione prima, Pontificis sanctissimi in Christo patris et Domini nostri Domini Clementis divina providentia hujus nominis papæ septimi Anno Quinto, Assistentibus eidem Reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino, domino Willielmo, permissione divina Cant. Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primate et Apostolicæ sedis legato, Ac Reverendis in Christo patribus et dominis, dominis Cuthberto London. Johanne Roffen. Nicholao Elien. Johanne Exon. Johanne Lincoln. Johanne Bathon. et Wellen. Henrico Assaven. et Johanne Carliolen. respective episcopis, Ac nonnullis aliis venerabilibus viris tum theologis quam Jurisperitis tunc ibidem præsentibus et circumstantibus, sequuntur: præsentem me Matheo Grefton notario publico Actorum scriba.

IN PRIMIS, viz. missa de Spiritu Sancto ad sursum altare dictæ ecclesiæ conventualis Sancti Petri Westmon. per Reverendum patrem Johannem Exon. Episcopum celebrata, verboque dei per Reverendum patrem dominum Johannem Lincoln. Epum. in lingua vulgari publice proposito, dictus Reverendissimus pater dominus Thomas Legatus de Latere antedictus ad dictam domum capitularem cum magna caterva tam spiritualium quam temporalium eum comitante processit. Ac deinde dictus Reverendissimus pater Legatus de latere antedictus judicialiter et pro tribunali ibidem sedens, assistent. eidem ut prefertur prefatis Reverendissimo ac Reverendis patribus, prefatos magistros Thomam Bylney et Thomam Arthure in judicio coram eisdem produci fecit. Quo facto prefatus Reverendissimus pater Legatus hujusmodi primo et ante omnia publice interrogavit eundem magistrum Thomam Bylney, utrum publice vel privatim in concionibus ad populum disputacionibus familiariter sermone opinionem Lutheri aliasve ab ecclesia reprobata ecclesiasticis diffinicionibus contrarias aut dissentientes docuit vel predicavit; ad quod quidem Interrogatorium sic objectum prefatus magister Bylney respondebat quod scienter nullas opiniones Lutheri aliasve opiniones orthodoxæ fidei contrarias docuit aut predicavit. Item prefatus Reverendissimus pater interrogavit eundem magistrum Thomam Bylney, an olim præstitit juramentum coram eodem quod nullas Lutheri opiniones predicaret recitaret et defenderet sed easdem ubique impugnaret; respondet quod præstitit Juramentum hujusmodi, non tamen judicialiter. Quibus Interrogatoriis sic ministratis et responsionibus ut premittitur factis, prefatus Reverendissimus pater prefatum magistrum Thomam Bylney de plene et fideliter respondendo articulis sive erroribus per eum tam in Civitate et dioc. London. quam in dioc. Norwicen. aliisque locis assertis et predicatis absque alicujus falsitatis intermixtione, veritatisve omissione aut qualificatione, per venerabilem virum magistrum Brianum Higdon, decretorum doctorem decanum ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Eborac., tactis per eum sacrosanctis dei Evangeliiis, jurari fecit: quem sic juratum Idem Reverendissimus pater super articulis et erroribus hujusmodi seriatim publice expositis examinavit; ac deinde examinatione dicti Mag. Bylney facta et completa sepedictus Revmus. pater ad examinationem prefati M. Thomæ Arthure, tunc in judicio presentis, ac modo et forma quibus supra per præfatum M. Brianum Higdon decanum antedictum de mandato dicti Revmi. patris ad Sancta dei Evangelia Jurati, de et super articulis et erroribus per eum tam in civitate et dioc. London. quam aliis locis eisdem convicinis, cum assistentia dicti Revmi. patris Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi ac aliorum Reverendorum patrum superius nominatorum, processit.

Quibus sic gestis prefatus Revmus. pater judicialiter (ut premittitur) sedens quendam Ricardum Foster laicum per prefatum M. Briannum Higdon modo quo superius Jurejurando onerari fecit: quem sic Juratum prefatus Revmus. pater Interrogavit, an domino Thomæ More militi olim dixerat in sacramento altaris non esse verum corpus Christi: ad quod Interrogatorium respondebat negative. Et tunc idem Revmus. pater assignavit ei ad deliberandum consulendum et informandum animum suum plenius usque in meridiem ejusdem diei, et tunc ad redigendum responsum suum in scriptis ad Interrogatorium hujusmodi. Et deinde eodem die post meridiem completa penitus examinatione dicti M. Thomæ Arthure prefatus Revmus. pater in dicta domo capitulari, assistens, sibi ut prefertur prefatus Revmo. et Revdis. patribus, ex officio recepit in testes in præsentia prefati M. Bynley quosdam Johannem Hogkyn ordinis fratrum prædicatorum per totum regnum Angliæ priorem provincialem, Galfridum Julles, et Richardum Jugworthe ejusdem ordinis, sacre theologie professores, necnon Willielmum Jeket generosum dominum, Wilm. Nelson presbyterum, et Thomam Williams laicum, super articulis et erroribus per eum assertis et predicatis tam in dioc. London. quam dioc. Norwicen.: quos idem Revmus. pater in præsentia dicti Magri. Bynley, omnibus amicitia odio favore preceve aut precio aliisque similibus corruptionis generibus postpositis et semotis, absque alicujus falsitatis intermixtione seu veritatis alienatione seu omissione in forma jurandi testem, tactis per eos et eorum quemlibet sacrosanctis Dei scripturis, Juramento oneravit, ac negocium hujusmodi de die in diem usque in finalem expeditionem ejusdem prorogavit. Quibus sic factis idem Revmus. pater ex eo quod aliis arduis negotiis hujus Regni Angliæ et Reipublice utilitatem (ut asseruit) concernen. adeo esset impeditus quominus ulteriori examinationi negotii hujusmodi interesse potuit, igitur omnibus viis et modis judicialiter procedendi contra quoscunque tam clericos quam laicos de et super heretica pravitate seu hereseos crimine suspectos notatos diffamatos, necnon contra omnes et singulos scripta scedulas libellos vel opuscula a Martino Luthero edita et translata, dudum auctoritate domini Leonis decimi et sedis apostolicæ dampnata et rejecta, habentes tenentes laudantes legentes sive prædicantes aut approbantes sive defendentes; testes quoque et alia probationum genera ad eorum malicias convincendas damnatasque eorum opiniones detegendas recipiendi admittendi et in forma Juris Jurandi et examinandi; notarios quoque et locum quemcunque deputandi; omnesque et singulos culpabiles inventos juxta Juris exigentiam et canonicas sanctiones corrigendi puniendi et reformandi eosdemque ad abjuracionem per eos in debita juris forma faciendam compellendi, aut si res ita exigerit potestati seculari committendi et liberandi; dictum quoque inquisitionis negocium super heretica pravitate, cum omnibus et singulis suis Incidentibus emergentibus dependentibus et connexis, discutiendi terminandi et finaliter decidendi; præfatis Revdis. patribus Cuthberto London. Johanni Roffens. Johanni Lincoln. Johanni Exon. Nicho. Elien. henrico Assaven. Johanni Bathonen. et Johanni Carliolen. respective Episcopis, Ita quod tres eorum ad minus ad invicem judicialiter sedeant, vices suas commisit; dicto Revdo. patre London. Episcopo protestante et allegante se Jure etiam suo ordinario secundum debitum officii sui contra delinquentes in dioc. sua velle procedere, juxta juris et sacrorum canonum exigentiam.

VICESIMO OCTAVO die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo septimo in capella infra edes Revdi. in Christo patris domini, domini Ricardi Norwicen. Episcopi, juxta Charyng Crosse, London. Revus. pater London Epus. judicialiter sedens, assistentibus sibi Revis. patribus Epis. Nicholao Elien. et Johanne Roffen. ex officio suo in præsentia Mi. Thomæ Arthure recepit in testes M. Johannem Darell in legibus bacch. et Gawinum Wilkenson, artium magistrum, in testes super articulis et erroribus predicatis per eum in ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Wolchurche ac contra eundem datis et ex officio ministratis: quos quidem Reverendus pater omnibus corruptionis generibus semotis absque alicujus falsitatis commixtione seu veritatis omissione oneravit Juramento tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangeliiis de fideliter deponendo &c. et in præsentia Magistri Arthure. Et deinde dictus Revus. pater London Epus. de consensu dictorum Revdorum. patrum assumpsit nos Zachariam Dawtre et Matheum Grefton notarios publicos in Registrarios et actorum scribas; et oneravit nos Juramento de fideliter exercendo officium notariatus in conscribendis actis hujus inquisitionis, negocium hereticæ pravitatis tam quoad

eum quam alios de heresi suspectos concernentibus. Et deinde facta examinatione dicti Mag. Arthure per dictos Revdos. patres unacum Reverendo patre Henrico Assaven. Episcopo, super quibusdam interrogatoriis, dictus Reverendus pater London Epus. monuit M. Arthure in vim Juramenti sui præstiti ne unquam revelaret examinationem suam aut responsiones suas ad dicta interrogatoria factas nec aliquam partem eorundem. Quibus sic expeditis idem Reverendus pater London Epus. judicialiter sedens de consensu Episcoporum superius nominatorum ex officio recepit in presentia Mri. Thomæ Bylney magistrum Ricardum Mabot sacræ theologiæ professorem, et dominos Willielmum Covyn et Ricardum Nele, presbyteros, in testes super articulis et erroribus predicatis et assertis per eundem M. Bylney, et ab eis interrogandos: quos Idem Reverendus pater de simili consensu omnibusque corruptionum generibus penitus semotis Juramento oneravit in præsentia ejusdem M. Bylney. | Et postea de consensu Episcoporum supradictorum denuo oneravit nos Zachariam Dawtre et Matheum Grefton notarios publicos de fideliter exercendo officium notariatus ut supra, in præsentia ejusdem M. Bylney. Et assumpsit nos in actorum scribas et Registrarios ut prius.

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verso.

SECUNDO DIE mensis Decembris in loco supradicto Reverendus pater London Epus. unacum Reverendis patribus Johanne Lincoln. Nicholao Elien. Joanne Roffen. et henrico Assaven. respective Epis., ob reverentiam Reverendissimi domini Legati de latere committentis, assumpserunt in se onus Commissionis ejusdem Revni. patris apud Acta existen., et decreverunt, &c. Et dictus Reverendus pater London Epus. decrevit tam Jure suo ordinario quam virtute commissionis hujusmodi in dicto negotio procedendum. Quibus sic gestis idem Reverendus pater, cum consensu Episcoporum hujusmodi, in præsentia dicti Magtri. Thomæ Bylney recepit in testes Willielm. Wasse, Willielm. Cade, Willm. Nelmys, et Thomam Dayly de Wylllesdon, necnon dominum Georgium Jacson, priorem ecclesiæ parochialis Sancti Stephani Ipswici, fratrem Johannem Briger, ordinis fratrum minorum, et Johannem Semer, super articulis et erroribus predicatis et assertis in dioc. Norwicen. necnon dominos Gabrielem Halehed et Willm. Dowlyng capellanos super articulis et erroribus predicatis in ecclesia paroch. sancti Magni London, ac Johannem Dery Johannem Sheperd Johannem Ingman et Radulphum Taylor de Newyngton dictæ dioc. de et super articulis et erroribus predicatis per eum in ecclesia parochiali de Newyngton predicta; quos idem Reverendus pater ut supra in præsentia Mri. Bylney oneravit Juramento, omnibus odio favore amore &c. postpositis. ET DEINDE eisdem die et loco, coram Reverendis patribus dominis Cutberto London. Johanne Lincoln. Johanne Roffen. Johanne Bathon, et Wellen. ac henrico Assaven. respective Episcopis judicialiter sedentibus comparuit personaliter Magister Thomas Arthure, et lectis ac recitatis publice articulis contra eum ministratis, ad primum respondebat negative: ad secundum respondebat et fatebatur se dixisse contenta in Article. Ad tertium respondebat quod talia vel similia sensu dixit. Ad quartum respondebat et fatebatur se dixisse verba in sensu similia. Exceptit, quod non fecit mentionem de tyrannis. Ad quintum fatetur quod dixit hujusmodi verba, declarando in concione sua quod quilibet Christianus est sacerdos offerendo sacrificium laborum, et si murmuraverunt contra ordinem sacerdotalem murmurant contra seipsos. Ad sextum et septimum respondebat negative: ad octavum respondebat et fatebatur se dixisse. Quibus responsionibus sic factis et recognitis, Idem Mr. Arthure eosdem articulos et errores contra eum ministratos et per eum publice confesos revocavit reprobavit et dampnavit, Ac se sponte judicio et correctioni ecclesiæ submisit; præsentibus tum ibidem venerabilibus viris Magro. Galfrido Wharton, decretorum doctore dicti Reverendi patris London Epi. vicario generali, et Roberto Ridley sacræ theologiæ professore, Johanne Tunstall clerico, Ac Magistro Radulpho White notario publico, Ac Thoma Dowman et Willmo. Westway literatis, ac aliis in copiosa multitudine congregatis.

TERTIO DIE mensis Decembris in loco supradicto, coram Reverendis patribus dominis Johne Lincoln. et Henrico Assaven. Epis. judicialiter sedentibus, Reverendus pater London Epus. in exonerationem conscientiæ suæ (ut asseruit), postquam dictus Magister Bylney sæpe et instanter requisitus ad ecclesiam redire noluit, nequid sibi transmissum ab eodem celaret, realiter exhibuit apud nos notarios publicos in præsentia Magistri Bylney quasdam literas sive Epistolas, cum scedula in una Epistola earundem implicita, et alteram epistolam in modum libelli plicatam, in sex foliis contenta, quas omnes et singulas

exemplificari et Registrari et originales sibi retradi mandavit et jussit in præsentia dicti Magtri. Bylney, petentis copiam earundem, et nos notarios antedictos juramento oneravit super fideli custodia exemplificacionis et Registracionis Earundem.

Folio 131. QUARTO DIE mensis Decembris in domo capitulari sancti Petri Westmon.
repeated. coram Reverendis patribus dominis Cuthberto London. Nicho. Elien. et Johanne Roffen. judicialiter sedentibus comparuit Magis. Thomas Bylney; quem Reverendus pater London Epus. benignè post varias et nonnullas salutiferas exhortaciones et admoniciones ei factas Interrogavit, an Sponte hereses suas et errores hujusmodi abjuraret et ad unitatem ecclesiæ rediret: qui respondebat se velle stare conscientiaæ suæ. Et deinde Reverendus pater London Epus. de consensu dictorum Reverendorum patrum, necnon Johannis Lincoln. et henrici Assaven. Episcoporum, ex officio in præsentia dicti Magistri Bylney publicavit dicta testimia, quoad eum productorum; et pro publicatis haberi ac publice legenda fore decrevit: quæ Ego Matheus Grefton publice legi in præsentia Mri. Bylney. Et deinde adjuncto eiisdem Reverendo patre Bathon. Epo. dictus Revdus. pater London Epus. monuit eum quatenus deliberet secum an velit ad unitatem ecclesiæ redire et opinionibus suis renunciare, et jussit eum abire in loco remoto ad deliberandum secum: qui sic recessit per dimidiam horam: deinde ipso Mro. Bylney comparente dictus Reverendus pater London Epus. denuo interrogavit, an voluit ad ecclesiam redire: qui respondebat Fiat justitia et judicium in nomine Domini. Et iterum admonitus et exhortatus ut superius, dixit ut prius Fiat Judicium. Interrogatus, an sciat dicere causam quare pronunciarum non debeat pro convicto super heresi, respondebat Hæc est dies quam fecit dominus; Exultemus et letemur in ea. Interrogatus iterum, an sciat aut velit dicere causam quare declarari non debeat pro convicto de heresi: qui respondebat iterum FIAT JUSTITIA ET JUDICIUM. Deinde interrogatus per eundem Reverendum patrem fatebatur, se esse convictum super crimine heresis per testes: et tunc post habitam deliberacionem dictus Revdus. pater London Epus. viroto exuto sic dixit, IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI AMEN: EXURGAT DEUS ET DISSIPENTUR INIMICI EJUS; faciendo crucem in fronte et pectore suo. Et deinde de consensu expresso et consilio dictorum Reverendorum patrum dictus Reverendus pater viva voce pronunoiavit dictum Mrum. Bylney præsentem et præmissa videntem et audientem sub hac forma: Ego cum consilio et consensu omnium confratrum meorum præsentium pronuncio te Thomam Bylney super nonnullis articulis accusatum detectum et de heresi convictum, et ad reliquam partem sententiæ deliberabimus usque in crastinum.

QUINTO DIE mensis Decembris Anno Domini predicto in domo capitulari sancti Petri Westmon. coram Reverendis patribus dominis Cuthberto London Nicho. Elien. henrico Assaven. Johanne Bathon. et Wellen. et Johanne Lincoln. respective epis. comparuit Magister Thomas Bylney personaliter: quem Reverendus pater London. Epus. interrogavit, an adhuc ad unitatem ecclesiæ redire, ac recognoscere et revocare hereses et errores per eum predicatos et contra eum probatos, velit: qui quidem Magister Bylney respondet, quod non vult esse scandalo evangelio, et quod sperat se non esse separatam ab ecclesia, et dixit quod si multitudini testium creditur sperat se habere xxx bonæ vitæ testes contra unum contra eum productum: quos testes domini dixerunt seros venire, quia post publicacionem recipi de jure non debent: Bylney tunc allegante historiam Susannæ et Danielis, deinde Reverendus pater London Epus. post multas et varias bonas exhortaciones consuluit ei, ut ad unitatem ecclesiæ [rediret] et hereses suas abjuraret, et præmisit præfatum Magistrum Bylney ut in aliquo loco secretiori iret ac ibidem cum amicis suis deliberaret usque ad in horam primam post meridiem ejusdem diei.

POST MERIDIEM ejusdem diei loco predicto coram Reverendis patribus Cuthberto London. Nicho. Elien. Johanne Lincoln. henrico Assaven. Epis. judicialiter sedentibus comparuit personaliter Magr. Thomas Arthure: quem Revdus. pater London Epus. denuo interrogavit, an adhuc velit ad unitatem ecclesiæ redire ac hereses et erroneas opiniones recognoscere et revocare et easdem abjurare, et judicio et correctioni ecclesiæ se submittere: qui quidem Magr. Arthure respondit et negat se errasse, et quod non vult se submittere nisi cum fuerit sibi demonstratum per sacram scripturam vel alias quod articuli per eum predicati sint erronei et heretici: quod tunc libenter vult se cum omni humilitate submittere et eosdem articulos revocare: et deinde ipse Arthure

petiit copiam articulorum sibi decerni, et dominus decrevit copiam articulorum de quibus cupiebat convinci et responsum eorumdem.

EODEM DIE post meridiem loco antedicto coram eisdem Reverendis patribus unacum Reverendo patre Johanne Bathon. et Wellen. Epo. judicialiter simul sedentibus comparuit personaliter Magr. Thomas Bylney; quem Reverendus pater London Epus. iterum interrogavit, an velit adhuc redire ad ecclesiam et revocare et recognoscere hereses at opiniones erroneas et eas abjurare et se submittere: qui respondit et sperat se non esse separatum ab ecclesia et petiit locum et tempus ad producendum testes reprobatorios contra testes contra eum productos. Item interrogatus iterum per eundem patrem Reverendissimum, an velit redire ad dictam ecclesiam catholicam, ipse Bylney respondit, [quod] hoc docto et probato sufficienter quod est convictus, tunc vult se submittere et redire: ac denuo petiit terminum ad producendum testes reprobatorios: sed aliud responsum dare non vult isto die, ut dicit. Deinde dominus habuit aliquantisper deliberacionem unacum Revis. patribus, semoto Mro. Bylney; Ac postea comparente dicto Mro. Bylney, dominus denuo interrogavit an velit abjurare hereses et eisdem renunciare: qui respondit et petiit terminum assignari ad producendum testes reprobatorios. Iterum interrogatus idem respondit ut superius. Deinde dominus de consensu dictorum patrum decrevit, dictam petitionem tanquam contra jura non esse admittendam nec audiendam. Iterum interrogatus an velit abjurare, respondit quod non; et petiit terminum ad consulendum illis in quibus fiduciam bonam habet, quid sit sibi faciendum. Iterum interrogatus an velit redire (ac eundem rogavit instanter ut rediret) ad ecclesiam; alioquin dicit, ut oporteret legere sententiam. Deinde Dominus Bylney petiit quatenus dominus concederet ei inducias usque in crastinum diem, ad deliberandum an velit hereses de quibus infamatur abjurare. Dominus concessit eidem Bylney quatenus aliquantulum secum deliberet cum magistro Dancaster, et ipse Bylney petiit terminum ad deliberandum usque in crastinum cum Magistris Farman et Dancaster, et casu quod Dominus nolit petita concedere dixit quod voluit appellare et in vocem appellacionis prorumpere. Deinde iterum atque iterum admonitus dixit FIAT JUDICIUM ET JUSTITIA. Quibus ut præfatur hinc inde gestis, dominus ad petitionem dicti Bylney, qui unam tantum noctem petiit, ex benignitate sua concessit eidem duas noctes ad deliberandum secum unacum Mro. Dancaster viz. usque in diem Saboti usque ad horam nonam ante meridiem, et tunc ad plene et determinate respondendum quid intendat facere in ea parte viz. an velit ad unitatem ecclesiæ redire et hereses abjurare an non.

DIE SEPTIMO mensis Decembris Anno et loco predictis coram Reverendis patribus Cuthberto London. Johanne Lincoln. et Henrico Assaven. epis. judicialiter sedentibus comparuit personaliter Magister Thomas Bylney, quem Reverendus pater London Epus. interrogavit, an velit nunc redire ad gremium et unitatem ecclesiæ et recognoscere et revocare heresim et errores super quibus detectus accusatus et convictus existit: qui respondebat, quod cum esset jam per Magistrum Dancasterum et alios amicos persuasus ut ad ecclesiam rediret, vellet libenti animo ad gremium Ecclesiæ redire et se cum omni humilitate submittere, sperans quod Reverendi patres mite et sincere cum eo agere vellent in abjuracione et penitencia. Deinde petiit quatenus liceret sibi perlegere abjuracionem: quod Reverendus pater London Epus. ei concessit, ut plene dictam abjuracionem per se in loco secretiori videret atque perlegeret, ac deinde responderet quid facere in ea parte velit: quam abjuracionem dictus Magister Bylney secum secretè habuit, ac eandem vidit et legit ac cum eadem ad dictos Revdos. patres rediit. Ac iterum per dictum Reverendum patrem London Epum. interrogatus, quid intenderet in hac parte facere: qui tunc interveniente et præsentè Johanne Bathon. et Wellen. Epo. publice et aperte respondebat coram astantibus et Deo, quos in testes vocabat, quod libenter velit abjurare et quod non intendit hoc facere aliquo metu mortis vel penæ alicujus. Deinde humiliter lachrimando petiit veniam quod sic perperam male et contumaciter in Ecclesiam se gessisset ac eam offendisset. Qui Reverendi patres misericorditer, quantum in ipsis esset et sibi peccatum esset, remiserunt et condonarunt. Quibus sic factis, deinde statim idem Magr. Bylney tactis sacrosanctis per eundem Evangeliiis revocavit recognovit et abjuravit, et juravit, et se submitit humiliter, prout continetur in scedula abjuracionis quam publice tunc ibidem legebat alta voce, et eandem subscripsit et consignavit signo sanctæ crucis ac eandem, Reverendo patri London Epo.

porrexit. Qui Reverendus pater eundem magistrum. Bynhey a sententia excommunicationis absolvit, ac eundem, præstito primitus (ut præfertur) juramento corporali de penitendo, juri et sacramentis ecclesiæ et congregationi fidelium restituit, prout continetur in schedula absolutionis quam idem Reverendus pater tunc publice legebat, ac deinde penitentiam salutarem hic sequentem injunxit, videlicet quod idem Bynhey maneret in carcere in loco per Reverendissimum dominum Legatum deputando, donec idem Reverendissimus dominus Legatus vel alius suus ordinarius pro tempore futurus illam partem penitentiæ relaxandam duxerit, et quod non celebret publice coram populo missam donec sit in hujusmodi carcere, sed solum sibi secrete, et quod nunquam de cetero publice concionabitur aliquo loco aut ecclesia nisi fuerit sibi specialiter sede apostolica aut per Reverendissimum patrem aut ordinarium suum indultum et licentiatum: præterea quod crastino die ante processionem in ecclesia cathed. Divi Pauli London fiendam nudo capite cum fasciculo lignorum precedat humiliter et penitenter, ac facta processione ante pulpitum in quo fiat concio in cemeterio Divi Pauli aut alibi ibidem cum hujusmodi fasciculo stet, et a principio usque ad finem expectet.

DIE SEPTIMO Decembris Anno et loco predictis coram Reverendis patribus Cuthberto London, Johanne Lincoln, Henrico Assaven, et Johanne Bathon, et Wellen. Epis. judicialiter pro tribunali sedentibus comparuit personaliter Magister Thomas Arthure, quem Reverendus pater London Epus, interrogavit, quid velit respondere de et super articulis sibi objectis, et an velit persistere in opinionibus suis, an velit redire ad unitatem ecclesiæ. Qui sic interrogatus respondebat, quod nuper ultimo die judiciali respondebat ex quadam mala passione; de quo dolebat et penitebat: et iterum interrogatus ab eodem Reverendo patre, an velit redire ad ecclesiam et opiniones revocare; qui respondebat quod vellet libenter, et petiit videre et legere abjuracionem. Deinde ipso Magistro Thomæ Arthure sufficienter et abunde per dictum Reverendum patrem London Epum. docto et instructo de heresi et erroribus suis per sacrosanctam ecclesiam alias condemnatis, Idem Reverendus pater interrogavit an aliquid velit dicere contra rationes et auctoritates sacræ scripturæ et sacrorum canonum, quos ipse Reverendus pater aperte et publice eidem Magistro Thomæ Arthure tunc ibidem ostendebat allegabat demonstrabat, et apertis libris docuit contra articulos per eundem Arthure assertos et predicatos: Qui tunc Magister Arthure respondebat quod bene et sufficienter sibi esset per dictum Reverendum patrem satisfactum et doctum de suis erroribus et heresibus, quas dicebat se libenter velle revocare et se judicio et correctioni ecclesiæ submittere, ac post multas et varias doctrinas per Ipsum Reverendum patrem adductas et recitatas: et ipse Mag. Arthure publice professus quod dolebat et penitebat, quod ultimo die juridico sic erraverat et motus esset ac quadam mala animi passione locutus esset: quare petiit veniam, dicens quod libenter velit hereses suas perversos errores et opiniones revocare recognoscere et abjurare et correctioni ecclesiæ se submittere. Interrogatus an velit hoc sponte et non mortis metu vel cruciatus corporis facere, ipse Arthur respondit, quod non aliquo metu penæ aut mortis hoc intendebat (ut superius dixit) viz. revocare recognoscere et abjurare; prout tunc ibidem facto revocabat recognoscebat et abjurabat, ac jurabat tactis per ipsum sacrosanctis evangelii prout continetur in scedula abjuracionis quam tunc et ibidem publice legebat et eandem suo nomine propria manu subscribebat ac signo crucis consignabat, ac deinde eandem dicto Reverendo patri porrexit: deinde idem Reverendus pater London Epus, eum magistrum Thomam Arthure, præstito ut præfertur juramento de penitendo &c., a sententia excommunicationis majoris absolvit ac ipsum sacramentis ecclesiæ et congregationi fidelium restituit, prout in scedula absolutionis per ipsum Reverendum patrem lecta continetur. Ac eidem Magistro Arthur sequentem penitentiam injunxit, viz. quod crastina die dominica ante processionem in ecclesia Cath. Divi Pauli London nudo capite cum fasciculo ligno in humeris precedat, ac deinde ante pulpitum crucis sancti Pauli in cemeterio ibidem, vel alibidem in ecclesia ibidem, cum hujusmodi fasciculo stet et expectet a principio conscionis usque ad finem, et quod in publico coram populo per xxx^{ta} dies non celebret missam sed secrete sibi si velit, præter crastinum diem in quo neque secrete neque aperte coram populo celebrabit. Præterea idem Reverendus pater injunxit, quod nunquam posthac coram populo concionabit publice vel privatim, nisi de expressa licentia sedis apostolicæ et ordinarii loci cujuscumque sub quo ipsum degere contigerat.

INTERROGATORIA super quibus examinentur Mr. Thomas Arthure in sacra theologia bacc. : et Thomas Bynley in legibus bacc. : et eorum uterque. Super quibus omnibus et singulis prefati Magr. Arthure et Thomas Bynley, fuerunt et sunt tam in Civitate London. et dioc. ejusdem, quam in universitate Cantabrigiæ ac alibi, apud bonos et graves diffamati.

AN ex animo credant juste et pie dampnatas esse Lutheri Assertiones quas Episcopus Roffen. impugnat, et ipsum Lutherum cum suis asseclis impium esse et execrabilem hereticum.

AN ex animo credant concilia universalis et constitutiones ecclesiasticas semel receptas necdum abrogatas, etiam propter conscientiam non solum ob metum, esse ab omnibus servandas.

AN citra crimen hereseos credere liceat, beatam virginem deiparam non perpetuo virginem mansisse.

AN credant leges pontificias utiles esse necessarias et ad pietatem provehentes, nec sacris scripturis repugnantes, nec quoquo pacto abrogandas aut comburendas, sed ab omnibus potius plurimum Reverendas.

AN credant ecclesiam catholicam seu universalem errare posse in fide, et quam censeant illam ecclesiam catholicam, sensibilem scilicet aliquam et digito monstrabilem, an spiritualem tantum et Intelligibilem soli Deo cognitam.

AN putent Imagines sanctorum in templis satis christiane locatas esse, ac adorari oportere a vere christianis.

AN citra fidei Jacturam et hereseos ullam notam credere possimus, animas Petri Pauli beatæ virginis ac aliorum divorum esse aut non esse in celo, nec ullum adhuc de animabus defunctorum habitum judicium.

Folio 133.
Isti articuli non ministrantur.

AN festa et jejunia ab ecclesia instituta et recepta possit aut debeat privatus aliquis suo arbitrio et sola libidine citra peccatum et contumaciam non servare.

AN prelati et Epis. et Regibus quemadmodum et parentibus divino precepto teneamur obedire.

AN credant ecclesiam recte et pie ad sanctos defunctos precaciones aliquas dirigere.

AN solum Christum precandum putent, nec crimen esse hereseos, si quis contendat sanctorum neminem nostris precibus pulsandum.

AN putent omnes vere christianos equo et eodem jure esse sacerdotes, et omnes accepisse a Christo claves ligandi et absolvendi, si spiritum dei assequuti sunt; Et solos tales, sive laici sive sacerdotes sint.

AN ex animo credant fidem esse posse absque operibus et charitate.

AN credant magis ex fide esse ut populus oret lingua vernacula, quam literata et ignota; imo an laudent preces in aliena lingua.

AN mallent missas et evangelia publice in ecclesia legi in vulgari lingua, quam literata et latina.

AN laudent pueros solum doceri precationem dominicam, non etiam salutationem aut simbulum.

AN deridendas putent particulas illas ligneas, quibus passim utitur, vulgus.

AN censeant totam scripturam sacram verti debere in linguam vernaculam, idque magis ex utilitate populi fore quam ut nunc legitur.

AN vellent organa musica et cantus vocales ab ecclesia dei auferri.

AN credant pertinere ad pontifices ut quenquam vinclis et carceribus coerceant, aut ullam habeant potestatem coercivam aut corporalem.

AN credant piam esse constitutionem ut nemo in aliena diocesi concionetur, absque literis commendaticiis et potestate ab Epis. impetrata.

AN putent vota religiosorum et privatas particulares religiones ex dei spiritu primum constitutas, nec ullo modo pugnare cum vero et libero christianismo.

AN credant orandum esse pro mortuis. AN credant purgatorium esse. AN potius neutrum credere teneamur ex necessitate fidei, sed liberum sit sic credere aut non credere citra ullum dispendium.

AN credant philosophiam moralem et naturalem, aliquid conducere ad melius intelligendum scripturas, aut ad explicandum aut defendendum fidei veritatem.

AN credant Indulgentias pontificias potius rejiciendas quam amplexandas.

AN sit contra doctrinam Christi et apostolorum, christianos quoquo modo contendere in Judicio ut sua sibi restituantur.

Folio 133
verso.

AN omnia credant ex necessitate futura, et salvacionem et dampnacionem; et nichil omnino esse in nostro arbitrio.

AN Deum authorem putent malorum, tam culpæ quam penæ.

AN censeant aliquas esse posse virtutes morales citra gratiam christianitatis, An potius figmenta sint quas Aristoteles commentus est virtutes.

INTERROGANDI SUNT an missam soli celebranti prodesse putent: An ritum nunc missandi libere quisquam pro suo arbitrio, et citra fidei jacturam, aut omittere aut mutare possit.

AN hereticum et sediciosum censeant docere populum, illis esse liberum decimas dare sacerdotibus aut aliis quibuslibet pauperibus.

AN Christianus esse putent tollere a templis sanctorum Imagines, quam permittere ut illic maneant deaurentur et honorentur.

AN Christianum esse putent, ut concionatores cohortentur homines ad peregrinationes et veneracionem Reliquiarum.

AN tu Thomas Bylney citatus in causa heresis ad comparandum coram Reverendissimo patre dno. Thoma Cardinali Eborac. sedis Apostolicæ a latere legato, ante diem comparicionis tuæ, non dum purgatus de hiis pro quibus citatus eras, verbum Dei populo publice in diversis ecclesiis Civitatis et dioc. London viz. in ecclesiis Elenæ et sancti Magni Civitatis Ejusdem, et in ecclesiis de Wyllesdon Newyngton Kengyngton et Chelsey extra urbem, absque licentia sufficienti Epi. London aut cujuscumque alterius predicaveris.

Margin of folio 132 verso and of fol. 133.

Sequuntur alia interrogatoria in vulgari, non tamen ministrata.

Is it not an heresie to beleve, there is no paynfull place of purgatory beside heaven and hell, for soules departed and not perfectly purged in this worlde?

Is it not heresie to teache or to beleve, that pilgremages to the temples and reliques of holy martires and other sayncts is not a worke of the self good and also meritorious, if it be don for the honour of God and good sayncts?

Is it not a laudable and meritorious thyng to worship god and sayncts, and an heresie to dampne oblations made in the honour of God and good sayncts?

Is it not an heresie to teche or to beleve, that men may at their pleasure breke the constitucions of holy church and of holy fathers, as fastyng dayes, holy dayes, matens, masse, and suche, without any grudge of conscience or dedly synne?

Is it not an heresie to teache or to beleve, that a man be saved though he refuse at all tymes to be confessed secretly at any prests hands, but only confesse hymselfe to God?

Is it not an heresie to say and beleve, that the sacraments of holy church doth bryng no grace to them that takyth them Acordyngly?

Is it not an heresie to beleve, that the very flesh and bloode of Crist is not in the sacrament of thaulter, or that the very bred and wyne remayneth after the consecracion?

Is it not an heresie to say and hold, that no reverence owght to be don to the Images of sayncts?

Is it not heresie to say and teche, that men owght to pray to no sayncts in heaven nor for no dead men?

Is it not heresie to say, that men deservyth no thanke of God if they observe all the ceremonies of the church, nor no blame shall have or commytt any synne if he kepe never on of them: quod est diffinitive damnare ceremonias?

Is it not heresie to beleve, that ther is no jeperdie nor harme to be dewly acordyng to the canones excommunicat by the pope or byshop?

Si neget haec esse heretica, interrogetur an hereticum sit non audire ecclesiam; quod si tribuat, necnon pro heretico habebitur qui predicta non esse heretica fatebitur, utpote ecclesiam et concilia recusans audire habeatur: si ista concedat esse heretica, jubeatur ut illa clare et manifeste exprimat populo.

Vide responsa horum viz. Bylney et Arthure in libro papiri ϕ in anno domini hic annotato.

Folio 133 verso resumed.

ARTICULI et errores magistri Thomæ Bylney predicati sive asserti in ecclesia paroch. sancti Magni Civitatis London in hebdomada Penthecostes Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxvij^o, super quibus omnibus et singulis dictus Thomas Bylney tam infra dictam Civitatem quam alibi apud bonos et graves graviter infamatus existit.

IN PRIMIS he said, pray yow only too God and to noo saynts rehersyng the latyne. And whan he came to Sancta Maria ora pro nobis, he said Stay there: negat.

ITEM he said, cristen men owght to wurshipe God only, and no saynts: negat.

ITEM. he sayd, cristen peple shuld set upp no lights before the Images of saynts, for sayntys in heven nede noo light and the Images have no yes to see : negat.

ITEM he sayd, that lykwyse as Ezechias dystroyed the brasen serpent that Moyses made by the commaundement of God, even soo shuld kynges and prynces now a dayes dystroy and burne the Images of saynts sett upp in churches and other placys : negat ut ponitur.

ITEM. he sayd, good pepole I exhorte yow in God, that if prysts be of yvylle conversation or will not applye ther lerynge, that yow helpe them not but rather let them starve then gyve them any penny : negat ut ponitur.

ITEM that the sayd Bylney uppon thes premysses and other errores and heresies was before and at that tyme gretly diffamyd notyd suspected, both within the cytie and dioc. of London [as within the diocese of Norwiche and the universitee of Cantebrige, emongs good and faithfull cristen peple, and thereuppon hath ben detectyd before Judges ordinary competent in that behalffe. Folio 134.

ARTICULI et errores Mri. Thomæ Bylney, predicati sive asserti in ecclesia paroch. de Wyllesdon London dioc. in hebdomada Penthecostes Anno dni. millesimo quingentesimo xxvijo, super quibus omnibus et singulis idem Thomas Bylney in parochia de Wyllesdon et aliis vicinis et circumvicinis apud bonos et graves graviter infamatus est.

IN PRIMIS he sayd that the Jewes wold have becom chrysten long agoo but for idolatry usyd by cristen men, as offeryngs of candells wax or money to Images of stockes and stones standing in churches or chapellys. Respondit non occurrere memoriae an dixerit ut objicitur, et petit terminum ad deliberandum : quod si ad memoriam reducere non possit, paratus erat stare depositionibus testium et quasi a se dictum agnoscere quod illi testificabunt.

ITEM he sayd the prests take away the offryngs to suche Images, and give them to hooris and dyd hang them abowght there neckys, and after that tok them fro them and dyd hange them ageyn uppon the Images.

ITEM he sayd that sum men say that Reliques and Images born about sum tyme doo speke : but if any of them doo speke, it is the devylle that spekith in them and not God.

ITEM. he sayd that gooyng on pilgremages was nowght, and that no man shold use it, for it were better not : And that rather he shold tary at home and gyffe sumwhat in almose.

ITEM he bad the peple, offryng to owre Lady of Wyllesdon whiles he preched, cum down frome offrynge and doo there dewtye and leve ther vayne devotyon, sayinge that the fawte was in the curatts that wold not teche them oderwyse.

ITEM he sayd that if a man were confessyd after a Remembraunce of his synnes, one paternoster were as good as gooyng to Rome on pilgremage.

ITEM he sayd that owre Lady of Wyllesdon was a common baude.

ITEM he sayd Mary Magdalen was a stewyd hoore ; howbeit sche turnyd afterward to grace.

ITEM he sayd there that he shold be shent for saying as he had don, but he caryd not for ytt.

ARTICULI et errores mri. Thomæ Bylney predicati sive asserti in ecclesia paroch. de Newyngton London dioc. in Ebdomada Penthecostes Anno Dni. millesimo quingentesimo xxvijo, super quibus, &c. Folio 134 verso.

IN PRIMIS he prechyd and exhorted the peple that they shold pray only to God, and nether to our Lady saynt Peter saynt John nor any other saynt in heven, for if any man had nede none of them coulede helpe them but only God.

ITEM he sayd there, yow doo not well to goo on pilgremage to our Lady of Walsingham Ipswiche or Wyllesdon or to any other place and there to offre, for they be nothing ells but stockes and stones. Therefore it were better to tarry at home and pray to God there.

ITEM he sayd to the peple there prescut, take away those candellis that yow set before theis Images, ye ar fools, ye make them youre godes and they can doo nothing for yow.

ARTICULI sive errores predicati per M. Thomam Bylney in ecclesia Christi in villa de Ispiswiche Norwicen. dioc. 28^o die mensis Maii anno domini 1527^o.

SEYNG that oure Savioure Christ ys oure mediator betwene us and the father, what shold nede us to speke to any seynt for Remedye, to Christis inferior. Wherefore to make suche peticyon to any but to oure sayvoure Christe, trustyng thereby to have remedye, dothe injurye to the blode of Christe and difformythe oure Savioure Christe, lyke as if a man shold take and stryke of the hed and sett yt under the fote and the fote to set above.

MAN is so imperfect, that in no wyse he can meryte by his own dedis.

THE commyng of oure Savyoure Crist was long desired, and by dyverse and many profetts was prophceyed that he shold come. But John the baptyste plusquam propheta, whiche did not only prophceye but with his fingar shewyd Ecce Agnus Dei, Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. Then if this were the very lambe whych John dyd demonstrate and shewid, qui tollit peccata mundi, what ingerye is this to oure Soverane Chryste, that this bull to be buryed in the cowle of saynt Francis shold or may remyt iiij parts of penance! What is lefte to oure Savyoure Criste, qui tollit peccata mundi? This I wyll justyfie to be a greate blasphemye ayenst the blode of Christe.

BEFORE this tyme the peple hath been begiled by false prechours prechyng for luker of money and not for the helthe of mannys soule; to whom good frendes geve yow no more credence, for yow have long been begylyd and seduceyd by them; but gyve good peple credence to me and to suche as I am, whiche comythe for no luker of youre moneye but only to preche the gospell of our Saviour Christe. Loo here ys the new Testament and here ys the olde. These be the Swordys of our Savyoure Chryste; whiche I will teche and shew to yow, and nothyng else. For I doo see that the grace of oure Saviour Chryste growethe amongst yow, that my preching is great pleasure and comfort to yow; whiche greatly rejoceth me, that yow be so glad and diligent. I desire yow therefore all of perseverance.

Folio 135.

THESE cccceth yerys there hath ben no good pope nor in all tyme past that we can fynde but L, for they have nether prechyd ne lyved well conformably to there dignytie. Wherefore tyll now they have borne the keys of symonie to open menys purses and cofers, and used there auctoritie for luker of money. Ayenst whome good perpole we must preche and shew to you, for we cannot come to them: itt is grete pitie they have foreslaundered the bodie of oure Savyoure Cryste.

THE PEPLE hath used folishlye of late pylgremages, whiche for them had been better to byn at home.

MANY hath made certayne vowis whiche be not possible for them to fulfill, and they nothing meritoryouse.

THE prechers before this hath been Anticrists; and now it hath pleased owre Savyoure Criste to schew there false errors and to gyve a nother waye and maner of prechyng of the holy gospell of Christe, to the comforte of youre soules.

I TRUSTE that there shall come and will other besides me, whiche shall shew and preche to you whiche is the very trew gospell of our Savioure Christe and the mynde of holy fathers; whereby ye shall be browghte from these errors wherin yow have byn longe seduceyd, for before this there hath ben many that hath slaundered yow and the gospell of owre Saviour Criste; of whom spekes oure Savyoure Mathei vj^o qui scandalizavit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credunt &c.

Abjuratio
M. Thomae Byl-
ney in le-
gibus bae-
calaurci.

“ In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Bylney, prieste, before you, right reverent father in God, Lord Cuthbert, bishope of London, my ordinary and diocesan, and commissary to the moste reverent father in God, Lord Thomas, of the title of Saynt Ceyley prist Cardinall, archbishope of Yorke, primat of England, Chancellor of the same, of the See apostolique Legate de latere, together with you reverent fathers, Henry byshop of Saynt Asse, John byshop of Lyncoln, and John byshop of Bathe, lykewise commissaries lawfully deputed, confessing and knowledgyng the trew catholike and apostolique faith of holye church, intend by the grace of God hereafter ever to persever and abide in the trew doctrine of holye church, and doo detest and abjure all maner of heresies and articles followyng, whereupon I am now diflamed, noted, vehemently

suspected, and convicted; that is to say, that men shuld pray onlye to God, and to no sayntes. Item, that Christen men ought to wurshipec God and no saynts. Item, that Christen men ought to set upp no lyghts before images of sayntes. Item, that men doo not well to go on pylgrimages. Item, that man in no wise can meryte by his own dedys. Item, that myracles dayly shewyd be wrought by the devyl by the sufferance of God. Item, that no pope hathe suche power and auctoritie as Peter had, except he be of lyke puritie of lyfe and perfection as Peter was. And in theis articles, and all other, I here expressly consent unto oure mother the holye church of Rome, and the apostolique doctrine of the same, and bothe in mouthe and harte make knowledge, that whosoever hereafter teche, preche, or affirm, any of theis Articles, or any other heresies, contrary to the determynation of the holye church, is worthy to be excluded from the communion of the same. And in case I hereafter do teche, preche, hold or affiirme, any of theis articles, or any other heresies, contrary to the determynation of holye church, whiche by the grace of God I intend never to doo, then I shall submit myself to the correction of my ordinary, accordyng to the holye canons; and for theis my trespasses and offences I desyre you of penance, whyche I promise by these holy Evangeleis and contents of this booke by me bodilye touched, truly to doo, observe, and fulfil. In witness wherof, to this my present abjuration I have subscribed my name with my hand and set to the signe of the crosse."

Iste Thomas postea die Sabbato xxvi Augusti, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxxj, combustus fuit Norwic propter heresim et relapsum in eandem.

ARTICULI et errores Mri. Thomæ Arthure, predicati sive asserti in diversis locis et temporibus infrascriptis, Super quibus &c.

Folio 135 verso.

In ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Wolchurch Civitatis London in die sanctæ Trinitatis Anno Dni. millesimo quingentesimo xxvij^o.

IN PRIMIS he exhorted the peple in his prayers, to pray specially for those that now be in pryson for preching the trew gospell of God.

ITEM he sayd, that thought men be restrained to preche now a days, which is ayenst Godes lawes, yet I may preche—First by thauctoritie of my Lord Cardinall, for I have his license. Secundarily by thauctoritye of the Universitie. Thirdly by the pope. Fourthly by thauctorytie of God wher he sayd, Euntes in mundum predicate evangelium omni creaturæ; by the whiche auctoritie every man may preche; And there is nother byshope nor ordinary nor yet the pope that may make a law to lett any man to preche the gospell.

ITEM whan he spake of the lawes, he browglt a symylytude of Crosses sett upp ayenst the walles in London that men shold not pisse there. That whether there were on crosse or few moo, men did Reverence to them and pissed not there. But whan there was in every corner. A crosse set, then men of necessite were compellyd to pisse uppon the crosses. Soo lyke maner, when there [were] but a few holy and devoute lawes in the church, then men were aferd to offend: then afterwarde they made many lawes for there Advantage; and suche as were pecunyall they doo observe them, And those that are not pecunyall they doo call them palea, and regardethe them not. And so now a dayes there ar so many lawes, that whether a man dothe yll or well he shall be taken in the lawe.

ITEM he sayd, good peple, if I shold suffre persequation for the preching of the Gospell of God, yet there ys seven thousande moo that will preche the gospell of God as I doo now. Therefore, good peple good people (quæ verba sepius quasi lacrimando iteravit), Thynke not yow that if theis tyrannes and persequators put a man to dethe for prechyng the gospell of god, That he ys an heretycke therefore, but rather a martyr.

ITEM he sayd, that every man ye every layman is A pryst; and theruppon he made a declaration, whiche peraventure dyd not satisfiye every man there present.

ITEM the sayd Thomas Arthure in the parishe church of Walden and other placys ther about did preche to the people, that they shold pray to no saynts in hevyn but onlye to god almightie; and they sholde use no other mediator for them but criste Jhesu our Redeemer onlye.

ITEM he preched there, that they sholde wurshipp noo Images of sayntes, which were nothyng but stockes and stones.

ITEM the sayd Thomas Arthure dyd preche uppon Whitsondaye last within the Universitie of Cantabrighe suche or lyke wordes and senteneycs; That a

bachelor of dyvynitie admytted of the universitie, or any other person havynge or knowynge the gospell of god, sholde goo fourthe and preche in every place and let for no man [of] what estate or degre so ever he were. And if any bishope did accuse them for so dooyng, There cursyng shuld turne the harme of there selfys.

Folio 136.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Thomas Arthure, priste, Bachelor of Dyvinitie, of the diocese and jurisdiction of London, accused and detected of suspicion of heresie, openly knowledge and confesse before yow Right Reverent father in God lord Cuthbert Byshop of London my ordinary and diocesan, and commissary to the most reverent father in God lord Thomas of the title of Saynt Cecyle, prist Cardinall, Archbyshope of Yorke, primat of Englonde, Chauncelor of the same, of the Apostolique See Legate de latere, to gether with yow Reverent fathers, lordes henry bishop of Saynte Asse John bishope of Lyncoln and John bishope of Bathe and Wellys, likewise commissaries lawfully deputed, That I erroneouslye and dampnably contrary to the determination of oure moder the holy churche have sayd and openly prechyd affyrmed confessyd defendyd and mayntened, That a bachelor of dyvinitie admytted of the universitie, or any other person havynge or knowynge the gospell of God, may goo forthe and preche the gospell in every place, and let for no man. And if any byshop did accuse them for so dooyng, the cursyng shal turne the harme of there selfys. And that there ys nother bishop nor ordynary nor yet the pope, that may make a law to let any man to preche the gospell. Also in lyke maner I have sayd and openly prechyd confessyd and mayntayned, That if a man be put to dethe as an heretyke for prechyng the gospell, he is not therefore an heretyk but rather a martyr. Also I have slaunderously and sedyciously sayd and prechid and confessed, That there ar so many lawes in oure mother the holye churche now a dayes, that whether a man doo ylle or well he shalbe taken in the law. The whiche my erronyouse sayngs prechinges and confessions as hereticalle dampnable slaunderouse false and seditious, with there defenses and mayntenaunces of the same, in speciall, with all other heresies in generall, before almighty God and yow my ordinary in this honorable audyence I voluntarily and gladly as a trew penytent person returned from my heresies unto grace utterly renounce forsake and abjure. Promyting, and I promysse faithfully, unto almyghtie God oure foresayd mother the holye churche and unto you my foresayd ordinary, and swere by theis holye Evangelies and contents of this book here by me bodylye touched, that from hensforthe I shall never retorne ayen to the sayd heresyces or any other damnable heresyces and opynions, and nevermore favor folow defend reherse affyrme or mayntayn them contrary to the determyuaton of oure moder the holye churche, nor hide concele or kepe close any suche heresies and damnable opynions nor there auctors nor fautors in tyme to come, nor be conversaint or famylyar wytyngly with any person or persons suspect of heresy. But assone as I shall know any suche persons or their fautors, I shall truely and faithfully detect them with there heresies and there opynions to there ordynares for the tyme beyng without any delay. Submytting myself mekely lowlye and penitently to oure moder the holye churche and your correction, beyng contryte and sorve; and desire penance for my sayd offences and trespasses in this behalf. Whiche I promyse by the vertue of my othe suerly to doo observe and fulfyll. In witnes wherof, to this my presente abjuratyon I have subscribed my name with my hand and set to the signe of the crosse.

Abjuratio
mri.
Thomæ
Arthure
in sacra
theologia
baccala-
urii.

LETTER FROM THOMAS BILNEY TO THE VICAR OF DEREHAM
IN NORFOLK, EXHORTING HIM TO TAKE CARE OF HIS
FLOCK.

(From the Parker MSS. in CCCC, Vol. 340, No. 14, p. 281.)

Good maister vicar I hartely commend me unto you: hertely also thankyng yowe for your kynd token & manyfold benefyts shewed to me in tymes past, for the wych I am not hable to recompense yowe, but he shall for whose sake ye doo such thyngs. Syr ny trust ys that yt nedyth not that any man & moch lesse I shuld exhort yowe to yowr dewtye, that ys to preache the word of God unto your flokke; for I trust ye doo yt dyligently of your owne accorde, knowyng that ye are bownd so to doo both by the auctoryte of the prophets of chryste and also hys apostles, as yt aperyth evydently in many places of both testaments wherin many tymes the curats are callyd pastores, as Ezechaelis xxxiiij^o ca^o. & in the xxxij^o ca^o. of the same prophet, where God speketh ad speculatores. Item Hieremie xxij^o & in many placis of Esaie. In the newe testament the x chapter of John. Item Johnis ultio. Item Actorum vicesimo, ubi sanctus Paulus alloquitur omnes curatos dicens, Attendite vobis et universo gregi in quo vos Spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos ad regendam ecclesiam dei quam acquisivit sanguine suo. Item j^a Petri quinto. Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Christi &c.—et cum venerit pastor princeps recipietis immarcessibilem gloriæ coronam. Loke the concordance upon the word pastores, and there ye shall see more auctorytie wherbye yt shal evydently appere unto yowe in what case the curats of Englund do leve, qui pascunt semetipsos with the profyts of their benefyces, sed non pascunt gregem verbo dei. Ideo minatur illis deus Ezehaelis xxxiiij^o eternam damnationem, dicens, Væ pastoribus &c. Master vicare, meliora sunt vulnera amici quam fraudulenta oscula inimici. Proverbiorum xxvij^o. Of a truth these sayngs pertheyne specyally unto bishoppys, quibus væ est nisi evangelizent j^a ad Corintheos ix^o. But yet they also bynd curats that take cure of sowle under the bisshoppys, as the forsayd place of the xx chapter of the Acts doth testyfy, wher saynt Powle calleth playnly presbyteros episcopos et superintendentes. God of hys goodness hath geven yowe such grace in your lyvyng & conversation, quod lucret lux tua coram hominibus ut videant opera tua bona et glouificent patrem celestem. Wherfor ye no doubt of myght edyfy more with one syngle sermon, then another (by whose lyfe the flokk are not moved) shuld with many clerkly & curiose sermones. Nam regnum dei non est in sermone sed in virtute. Ther ys none that doo moore good then theye that esteme themselves unhable: abscondisti haec (inquit) a sapientibus et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis et humilibus. Howe symple ys the sermone wherwith Peter convertyd so many thousands! Actorum ij^o. Dyd not Jonas convert y gret cyte of Ninive unto repentance with these fewe wurd, adhuc quadraginta dies et Nivee subvertetur! Yt ys not the wurd, but God wych wurketh in hys wurd: Neque qui plantat est aliquid (inquit Pau. 1^a ad Corinth. iij^o), neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat deus. Lete the prechar be the temple of God & speke the word of God, and noo dowbt of that God wyll wurke wyth hys wurd: Verbum meum (inquit Esaie lv^o) non revertetur ad me vacuum. Non vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis: Matth. x^o. Ego (inquit Exod. iv^o.) ero in ore tuo doceboque te quod loquaris. chrystshewith wherin the Summe of prechyng stondest, Marci primo: penitete (inquit) et credite evangelio, et appropinquabit regnum celi. It ys impossible that a good man that leveth after hys techyng (as I verely cownt yowe) shuld speke the wurd of God in vayne, though yt were but every Sundaye one sentence of the gossell: Exempla gratia—Fryndys, our Savyour Chryst sayth in the gossell of luce the xiiij chapter. Nisi penitenciam egeritis, omnes peribitis. Wherfore amend your lyves yff yowe wyll be savyd.—And another Sundaye, Sic deus dilexit mundum ut filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis qui credit in eum

non pereat sed habeat vitam eternam. Johnis. iij^o.—And on the iij^d Sondaye Anima quæ peccaverit, ipsa morietur. Ezechielis xv.—And on the fourth Sondaye Ego sum resurrectio et vita, qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit vivet. Johns xj^o Yff ye shuld saye no mor but every Sondaye this moch of the wurdes of God, & soo continue, noo dowght of that god wuld wûrk every daye in some of his elect; for he hath promysyd and can not be false in his promyse, that hys word shall never be spoken in vayne. Esaie lv^o. Oves (inquit) meæ vocem meam audiunt. Johnis x^o. Ite inquit et invenietis, solvite et adducite mihi. Matthei xxj^o. Item Johnnis ultimo, Mittite in dextram navigii rhete et invenietis. Miserunt ergo, & jam non valebant illud trahere præ multitudine piscium. Our Lord gyf yowe grace to remember that ys wrytyn Matthe. xxiiij^o: Quis (putas) est fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit dominus suus super familiam suam, ut det illis cibum in tempore? Beatus ille servus quem cum venerit dominus ejus invenerit sic facientem. Amen dico vobis quoniam super omnia bona sua constituet eum. And on the other syde, reed, good master vicar, that ys wrytten Matthei xxv^o de talentis: Inutilem (inquit) servum ejicite in tenebras exteriores. Illic erit fletus et stridor dentium. O master vycar, yff chryste shall saye in tremendo illo Judicio, Ite maledicti in ignem eternum &c. bicause thei fedd hym not in hys hungrye membres with materyall Brede, what shall he saye unto them wych of dewtye wer bund to fede the hungrye sowlys with hys word, and let them sterve for hungre. Vale for the massanger calleth. praye for me I besech yowe.

By your owne

T. B.

Thomas bilneye to the vicar of dereham in Norfolk.

LETTER FROM BILNEY TO HIS FATHER AND MOTHER.

(From the Parker MSS. Vol. 340, No. 22, p. 579.)

Bilneye.

Father and mother accordyng to my dutye I lowly comend me un to yowe, preyg yowe of your dayly blyssyngs certyfyng yowe that at the wrytyng of this byll (thankes be to God) I was as hayle and mery as ever I was in my lyff. And so I have ben contynually both daye and nyght (lauded be Jesus Chryst) ever syns the begynnyng of my Joyful vexation and mery trouble. In somuch that I never slept more sowndlye then I dyd in the mydes of my busyness. Thys I saye, father and mother, that ye showld tak no thought for me, but be merye and glad in allmyghty God, hertely thankyng hym for hys grace mercy and goodness toward me pore synner and hys most unworthy servant, whych of hys tender love toward me [he] hath always plentyfully shewed onto me, but especially in thys lytel storme and tempest reysyd agaynst me in hys merciful sufferanse, to trye and prove my lytel fayth and love toward hym and to porge my soule more clene from the dreggys of synne: yt was hys blessyd wyll that I showld be cast in to the fyer of trouble, that the rust of my soule should be the sonar somewhat avoyded and consumyd. In the whyche fyer of trouble he hath hetherto so preservyd me only of hys pure mercy, with owt my deservyng, and so quenehyd this fyer with the dewe of hys grace, that yt hath not scorkled one one (*sic*) her of my hede, but hath reyther kyndled such an het in my cold hart that I cannot chose but love God better then I ever dyd Except I wyll be wonderfully unkynd unto such a kynd father. We rede in the holy wrytyng of God, good father and mother, howe that iij yong men war bownd hond and fote and put in to a howge gret fyer, because thei wold not worshyp the golden ymag of kyng Nabuchodonosor, in to the wyche fyer the angel of God enteryd with them and so preservyd them in the myddes of yt, that one here of ther hede was not syngyd, but the

flam of the fyer braist out of the furnace by the the (*sic*) power of God and mowntyd up xlix cubytes above the furnace and brent as many of the kynges servantes as war abowght the kyndlyng of the fyer. So trulye suche as be cast in to the fyer of trobulatyon by kynges prynces or prelates be cause they wylnot be obeydent unto ther commawndmentes contrary to the commawndments of God, ar wont to be saffe and sownd in the mydes of the fyer. So that the lest here of ther hed doth no perysh, as chryst promysed to hys un to hys (*sic*) descyples, for the grace of God enteryth with them into the fyer and preserve (*sic*) them in the mydes of yt, and thought ther boddyes be brent to ashes yett ther sowl ys all safe and the more acceptable to God. And oftentyms thys fyer of trybulatyon brasteth howt of the furnace and burn (*sic*) hup them in sowle, and after thys lyffe in bodye also in the fyer of hel (yff theye do not repent wnyl thei lyve), that do kyndel thys fyer. Insomuche that the servants of God whyche be put in to the fyer care for nothyng so muche as for the forgyvnes and salvacyon of them that dothe cast them or cause them to be castyd in to thys fyer, thowe they dye ther. So prayd Stephan for them whych stonyd him to deth—ye so prayd our most marcyful savor Chryst for them that nayld hym uppon the crosse. And so many tymes the rather by menys of suche prayers the kyndlers, keepers, and mynystars of the fyer at the last be convertyd and turnyd to marvelous gret grace in god. So saynt poule which sometyme was a gret pursuer and enemy of chrystan puple and of chrystes feyth, consentyng to the deth of saynt Stephan and castyng in to the fyer of troble as many as he coud fynd belevyng up on Chryst, at the last thorowe the help and prayer of saynt Stephan he was convertyd and was made a gret pursuer with the feyt, the most valent and strong precher of Chrystes gospel—so myghty a thyng ys the marvelous wurkyng of God by the helpe of devout prayers. But I wold not (good father and mother) that ye shold thynk that I am put in to thys fyer of trybulatyon with ow my deservyng. I have deservyd thys and much more, for althowe I am not fawty (as I take God and my conscyens to recorde) in any heresy or errour that I have been accusyd of and don pennance for, or ever prechyd or favoryd prively or apertly ony opinyon contrary unto the determination and techyng of our mother holy chyrche (as I wyl answer at the daye of dome), yet for my neglygent and reklowe lyff and especyall in my youth, when I neyter knew God nor my sylf, I knowledge my sylf to have deserved moch more payne and troble then thys, and am redye by the grace of God with owt the whych we can do nothyng to suffer moch more yff yt be hys plesure. And ho ys ther that lyvyth so perfectly in thys world, but that deservyth moch more payne and troble then he sufferyth? truly I dare seye very fewe or none. The holy apostle Saynt John whych was most derly be lovyd to ower savior chryst was not ashamyd to numbere and compt hymself unfeynydly amonge synners, seyng Yff we shall seye that we have no synne we begyle our sylf and make god a liar. What than shal we saye of our selves whyche so grevoslye offend god and ower ney-burghs every daye, and owr inworde thought and dede? Whereas we be bownd under the peyne of Everlastyng damnation to love God above all thynges and owr neyburghs as our sylf, what shal we saye? truly that the best of us all, none exept—wer not the gret mercy of God howerly shewed upon hus for Jesus Chrystes sake that dyed for our synnes and never yett cesseth to cal unto hys father for mercy for hus, continually shewyng unto hym the prynt of the blessed wondes that he sufferyd for ower synnes in hys hondes hart and feet; war not this gret marcy purchasyd for hus,—the best of hus all war nothyng els but a fyer brond of hell. And thys wyl I prove by godys grace by the evident and playne wordes of God. The holy prophet Moyses and saynt Pawle also, whyche be to sufficient wytnesses, do saye that every man and woman be accusyd of godys owne mowth that do not observe and kepe continually every uttermost poynt of the lawe of God: but ther ys non lyvyng that so dothe allwaye observe all the commandementes of God: wherfor all, none exept, be accusyd of the ryghtwysnes of God and worthy to be damnyd. I saye not thys of myn own heed. Saynt Powle wytnessyth the same, seyng almyghty godys lawe hathe lokkyd and sparyd hupp all the world under synne, so that all ther mowthes be stopped, soo that thei cannot denye but that the best of them all ys deply in hys det and daunger: the chyld that ys borne thys nyght that never thought amisse ys damnyd owt of the blysse

of of (*sic*) heven, except yt be chrystenyd, thorowe the one syne of Adam wherby he damnyd hym sylf and all hys issue for ever. Insomuch that neyther our lady nor Saynt John baptyst could have cum to heven, except owre sayvour Chryst had openyd the gats by his dethe, and overcum the strong hold of the dyvell that kept all mankynd in captivite, and toke from hym the holy prophets & patryarches Adam and Eve, Abel, Abraham Isaac and Jacob, Moses and saie, hieremie and John with such other, wher of sum had ben ther presonars many thousand yeres, thynkyng full long for hes comyng. O good lord yff the chyld that ys borne thys nyght not chrystynyed enjoythe not the blysse of heven, yff the blessyd patryarches and prophetes could not for all ther holy lyvynge come thither; wherof sum war so obedyent unto the wyl of [God] that they war redy to kyll ther owne chyld, havynge no more, for the love of God; Som war sawd on sunder for prechyng the word of God; some war hedyd; What shall cum of hus most wrechyd wretchyd synners whyche have defyld and spotyed with innumerable prydes, wrathes, invyns, covetyes, glotonyes, slowthes, and lecheres, slaunderynges, lyes, sweryng, and ydell wordes, the whyte garment of Innocentie and clenness, whyche was dyed in the most presius water and blud trykelyd out of the syde of Chryst the derly beloved son of God and put on hus in ower baptyme? what shal cum of hus? trulye nothyng els but everlastyng damnatyon with the fends of hel in paynes intollerable with owt end, wher boylyng led fyer and bromston [are] but a part of the paynes that the damnyd persons shal ther suffer bothe in bodie and sowle with ow cesyng, as long as God shal be in heven. Thes peyns doubtles, father and mother, shal we suffer, as God threentythe in the Scriptures, except we unfeynedly repent us whyl we have tyme and space, and axe mercy for owre manyfowld synes whyche we have done synse the yeres of dyscrecyon agaynst the goodnes of God; that hath made us unto hys owne ymag and lyknes, and bowght us agayne from the thraldom of the dyvel nyther with gould nor yet with sylver (as Saynt Petyre saythe), but with the preciose blod of that most clen and Inocent lambe hys only dere son Jesu Chryst, owre Savyor; for hose passions sake yff we aske forgyfnesse of ower synnes, be they never so grevose, owre most merciful father in heven wyl not deny yt us; whyche ys always a thousand tymes mo redye to forgyve hus than we be to axe mercy and forgyfnesse, whye of owr Sylf cannot so moche as axe mercy with owt hys grace moveth our hartes and tonges ther on to. Let us therfor be sory for owr evyll synnes; with a full purpose no more to fall un to them, by Goddes grace, and to be playnly confessyd of them as sone as we may conveniently; or at the lest at tymes ordeyned by holy churche; and axe forgyfnesse; and no dowbt of yt we shal strait waye obteyne yt, yff we beleve stedfastly in the promys of almyghty God; as wytnessyth the holy Scripture of the prophet david, Seyng, I porposed in my hert to be confessyd un to my Lord God of my wretchyd lyvynge, and a none of hys Infynyt mercy he forgave me the wykydnesse of my synne: so excedyng ys hys mercy toward them that wyl aknowledge and confesse ther synnes, and ask forgyfnesse of them for Christes sake, and lyve a newe lyff, forsakyng by Godys grace ther olde; so that they wyl put ther hole hope & trust in Christes passion; dayly prayng with owr mother holy church the spouse of Chryst in thys maner: O Lord Jesu Chryst the son of the lyvynge God, put thi passyon crosse and dethe be twyxt thi judgement and owr sowles now and in the houre of our dethe, and grant hus blessyd Savyor whyl we be alyve mercy and grace, and after ower dethe forgyfnesse and rest. Amen. And thowe thes wordes be not wrytten in the Scrypture, yett these wordes must nedes be acceptable unto ower Savyor chryst, for they be the wordes of his spouse unto hom he saythe in holy wrytyng, be thy voyce sownd in myn eeres, for yt ys very swet & plesent unto me. ii^o Cant. To speke ageyne of hope, why shuldnot the synful sowle, lying up on the ded bed, hope and trust to be saved by the passion of chryst? beying he dyed for synners, as the Scrypture of God wytnessethe yn many places of bothe hes testaments, newe and olde, and especially in the newe testament, wherin he hathe bequethed unto repentant synners forgyfnesse of ther synnes & everlastyng lyfe, be ther synnes never so gret & never so many. O father & mother, this ys a gracijs testament; and that we showlde not doubte or be in drede of the payment of thes blyssyd legacies and bequestes, he hathe ratyfyed and made suer thys testament by hys dethe and sealyd yt with hys owne preciose

blod in the mownt of Calvarye. And more over for a gage of the same he hathe left un to us, in forme of brede & wyne, hes owne bodye & blod in the holy sacrament. Wold our Lord, that ye wold dispose yower self to receyve nowe in yowre age at the lest iiij tymes in the yere! I knowe sum devoute peple in Cambryg and other were, that use to receyve this most holy sacrament at every pryncypall fest: but yff ye be not disposed so to do by cause yowe wold not be have syngular a mong yower neyburghs, I exhort yowe (good father and mother) for chrystes sake, when ye here masse on the holy dayes or other days, or when ye here them ryng to masse, that ye wyl call to yowre remembrance the passyon of Chryst, howe gret paynes he sufferyd for our synnes; and howe precieuse thynges he hathe bequethed hus, remission of our synnes and everlastyng lyffe. Howe prove I thys? At the last soper that he made with his apostels & dyscyples on mandy thors daye, the nyght before, hes passyon, he toke the brede in to hys blyssed hondes, & blyssed yt & brake yt & gave yt un to hys dyscyples, sayeng; Take yowe this, And eate yt for this ys my very boddy that shall be betrayed for yower sakes. And in lyk maner, after soper he toke the cupp & blyssed yt & gave yt on to them sayeng Drynke of yt all, for ys (*sic*) the newe testament in my blode whyche shal be shed owt for yower sake and for many in remysson & forgyennes of synnes: wherfor as oft as ye shal do this, do yt in remembrance (*sic*) of me. Here ye see and here thys blessyd legat & bequest of forgyennes of synnes, and howe Chrystes commawndeth us to remember hys passion that he sufferyd for the forgyennes of our synes. When soever we here masse, yff ye stedfastly beleve the promysse of hym that made thys testament ye be doubtlesse the chylder of Almyghty God & heys of hys testament: and why showld we in any wyse waver or doubt of the forgyennes of our synnes, be thei never so many or grevose? for beyng sayth saynt Powle that the father of heaven hathe not sparyd hys own dere son but hathe gyven hym to dethe for hus all, howe ys yt possyble that he showld denye us any thyng? he hathe gyven hus hys owne sone, as the holy prophete Esaie saythe in this maner: A lytel babe ys borne for our sakes, and the son of God ys gyven un to hus, and hys lordshypp power and [*Cætera desunt.*]

END OF VOL. IV.

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