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The church historians of
England

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF
✓
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. V.—PART I.

*S*eeleys,

FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.

MDCCCLVII.

CONTENTS.

VOL. V.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK VIII.

PERTAINING TO THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING
OUT OF SATAN.

A D.		PAGE
1533.	The reign of HENRY VIII. continued.	
	The Story, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom, of John Frith	2
	The Sum of John Frith's Book of the Sacrament	7
	A Letter of John Frith to his Friends, concerning his Troubles, &c.	11
	The Sentence given against John Frith	14
	The Letter of John, Bishop of London, to certify the King of the Condemnation of John Frith and Andrew Hewet	16
	Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith	<i>ibid.</i>
	The History of the Persecution and Death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Vowel, alias Hoker	18
	The Pope's Curse with Book, Bell, and Candle	20
	The Matter between Gregory Basset and Thomas Benet	23
1528 to 1533.	A Table of certain Persons abjured within the Diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, with the Articles alleged against them	26
1531	William Tracy, Esquire, of Gloucestershire, with his Testament.	31
	The Table of Abjured Persons continued	32
1533.	A Note of Richard Bayfield above mentioned; with the Accusation of Edmund Peerson against him	43
1527 to 1533.	A compendious Discourse, comprehending the whole Sum and Matter concerning the Marriage between King Henry and Queen Anne Bullen; and Queen Katherine divorced	45
	The King's Oration to his Subjects	48
	Queen Katherine's Answer to the Cardinals	49
	The King's Oration to the Legates	51
	A Proclamation of the King, that nothing should be purchased from Rome	55
	The Oaths of the Clergy to the Pope and to the King	58
1534.	The Abolishing of the Pope out of England	65
	Certain Acts provided, concerning the Pope's Laws	66
	A Table of Degrees prohibited by God's Law to marry	67

A.D.		PAGE
1531.	An old Prophecy of the Fall of the Pope; an Act for the King's Supremacy, and a Proclamation for abolishing the usurped Power of the Pope	69
	The Oaths of Stephen Gardiner, John Stokesley, Edward Lee, and Cuthbert Tonstal to the King	71
	A Letter of the University of Cambridge, against the usurped Power of the Bishop of Rome	73
	The Book of Gardiner "De Vera Obedientiâ;" with his Reasons against the Pope's Supremacy	74
	The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester, prefixed to Gardiner's Book	78
	Notes on Tonstal's Sermon against the Pope's Supremacy	80
	Testimonies out of the Bishop's Book against the same	87
	Testimonies of Bishops and Doctors of England against the same	89
	The True Copy of a Letter of Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, to Cardinal Pole, proving the Bishop of Rome to have no special Superiority over other Bishops	90
1536.	The Oration of Sir Ralph Sadler, Ambassador to the Scottish King	103
	Message of King Henry VIII. to the French King, by his Ambassador, Dr. Edward Foxe, in defence of his Proceedings.	106
	Another Message from the same, by his Ambassador Stephen Gardiner	108
	The King's Answer to the French King's Request	109
	The Oration of the King's Ambassador before the Emperor in defence of his Cause	111
	The Life and Story of the True Servant and Martyr of God, William Tyndale; who, for his notable Pains and Travail, may well be called the Apostle of England in this our Later Age	114
	The Testimony of John Frith, in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning William Tyndale; with Tyndale's Supplication to the King, Nobles, and Subjects of England	130
	A Letter sent from William Tyndale unto Master Frith, being in the Tower; followed by another under the name of Jacob.	131
	The Death of the Lady Katherine, Princess Dowager; also that of Queen Anne, with her Words at her Death	134
	A Protestation in the Name of the King, the Council, and the Clergy of England; why they refused to come to the Pope's Council, at his call	138
1537.	The King's Answer to the Rebels in Lincolnshire	145
1538.	A Letter of Dr. Bonner, the King's Ambassador in France, sent to the Lord Cromwell, declaring the Order of his Promotions and coming up	150
	Another Letter from the same, complaining of Winchester; and also declaring how he was promoted, by the Lord Cromwell, to the Bishopric of Hereford	152
	A Letter of Dr. Thirleby to Heynes and Bonner	153
	A Declaration from Bonner to the Lord Cromwell; describing to him the evil Behaviour of Stephen Gardiner, with special causes why he disliked him	154
	The Oath of Dr. Bonner when he was made Bishop of London, together with Ecclesiastical Matters in 1536, 1538	162
	The Contents of a Book of Articles devised by the King	163
	The King's Injunctions, restricting the number of Holy-days: also Injunctions to the Clergy for the Reformation of the Church; with others	165
	The Sermon of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, on Good Friday, before the King at Greenwich, A.D. 1538; the Theme from Hebrews xiii.	171

A.D.		PAGE
1538.	Friar Forrest executed for rebelling against the King's Supremacy	179
	The History of the Worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson; with his Troubles, Examinations, and Answers, as well before Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops, as also before King Henry, by whom at length he was condemned to Death, and burned in Smithfield, 1538; also Articles laid to Lambert	181
	The Answer of John Lambert to the Forty-five Articles	184
	A Treatise of John Lambert upon the Sacrament, addressed to the King	237
	The Death of Robert Packington, with the Burning of Collins in London, and of Cowbridge at Oxford	251
	Putteden and Leiton, Martyrs	253
	The Burning of N. Peke, at Ipswich	254
	A Letter of King Henry to the Emperor, containing his Reasons for refusing to take part in the Council of Vicenza	255
	Certain Injunctions set forth by the authority of the King, against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also; with the putting down the Day of Thomas Becket	258
	The variable Changes and Mutations in Religion in King Henry's Days	260
1539.	The Act of the Six Articles; the Penalties upon them, with the Oath of the Commissioners	262
	Allegations against the Six Articles: and first of Transubstantiation	265
	The Words of Elfric, written to Wulfine, Bishop of Sherborne, against Transubstantiation	275
	Another Epistle of Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Wulfstane, Archbishop of York; in Saxon, with the English	276
	A Sermon translated out of Latin into the Saxon Tongue, by Elfric, against Transubstantiation, A.D. 996: followed by the English Translation	280
	Verses in praise of Berengarius	296
	The Words of the Council whereby Transubstantiation was first established	297
	The Second Article: of both kinds	299
	The Third Article: of Private Masses, Trental Masses, and Dirige Masses	302
	The Fourth and Fifth Articles: of Vows and Priests' Marriage	304
	The Epistle of Volusianus, Bishop of Carthage, for Priests' Marriage, translated from the Latin; with two Latin Epistles	315
	Answer to Anselm's Reasons against Priests' Marriage	336
	The Sixth Article: touching Auricular Confession	348
	A Copy of Philip Melanethon's fruitful Epistle, sent to King Henry, against the cruel Act of the Six Articles	350
	A Note out of an old Martyrology of Canterbury; also another.	358
	An Act against Fornication of Priests	359
1525 to 1540	The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of the famous and worthy Councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex	362
	The Effect and Contents of the Boston Pardons	364
	Cromwell's Oration to the Bishops assembled in the Convocation House	379
	The Archbishop of Canterbury's Oration to the Bishops, followed by that of Alexander Alesius, and of Foxe, Bishop of Hereford	380
	The Answer of the Bishop of London against Alesius	383
	The Story of one Frebarn's Wife longing for a piece of Meat in Lent	385

A.D.		PAGE
1540.	How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmer's Secretary . . .	388
	The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old Friends and Benefactors	391
	A notable Story of the Lord Cromwell and an Italian . . .	392
	Lord Cromwell's Words on the Scaffold; with the Prayer that he said at the Hour of his Death	402
	A Booke entitled "The Fantassie of Idolatric"	404
	Of the Bible in English, printed in the Large Volume: also of Edmund Bonner preferred to the Bishopric of London, by means of the Lord Cromwell	410
	The King's Brief for setting up the Bible; with a Letter of Edmund Bonner, for the execution of the King's Writ . . .	413
	The History of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, Divines	414
	The Story of Thomas Garret, or Gerrard, and of his Trouble at Oxford; testified and recorded by Anthony Dalaber, who was there present the same time	421
	Articles objected against Thomas Garret, some time Parish Priest, Curate of All-Hallows in Honey Lane	427
	The Life and Story of William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney, and Martyr of Christ	429
	The Story of Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, continued; with the Causes of their Martyrdom	430
	Winchester's Articles against Barnes	432
	The Protestation of Dr. Barnes at the Stake	434
	The Exhortation of Jerome to the People, and the concluding Protestation of Thomas Garret	437
	A Note of Three Papists, Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel, executed at this same time	438
1541.	A Note how Bonner sat in the Guildhall in Commission for the Six Articles: also of the Condemning of Mekins	440
	Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet, Martyrs, who suffered at Salisbury	443
	A brief Table of the Troubles at London, in the time of the Six Articles; containing the Persons presented, with the Causes of their Persecution	<i>ibid.</i>
	Certain Places or Articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's Sermons by his Adversaries.	449
	The Story of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in St. Paul's	451
	A Note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel .	452
	Thomas Bernard and James Morton, Martyrs; also Master Barber who recanted	454
	A merry and pleasant Narration, touching a false fearful Imagination of Fire, raised among the Doctors and Masters of Oxford, in St. Mary's Church, at the Recantation of Master Malary, Master of Arts of Cambridge	455
1542.	The King divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves, and married to the Lady Katherine Howard, his fifth Wife	461
	The King's Letter to Archbishop Cranmer, for the Abolishing of Idolatry; also a Proclamation concerning eating White Meats, &c.	463
1544.	The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor Men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Peerson, and John Marbeck, for Righteousness' sake, and for the Gospel . . .	464
	The Original of Robert Testwood's Trouble, with other causes of the same	465
	The Original of Henry Filmer's Trouble, followed by that of Anthony Peerson	470
	The Examinations of John Marbeck	474
	The Suit of Marbeck's Wife to the Bishop of Winchester, for her Husband	480

A. D.		PAGE
1544.	Other Examinations of Marbeck	482
	The Suit of Filmer's Wife, to the Bishops who sat in Commission, for her Husband	485
	The Martyrdom of Peerson, Testwood, and Filmer; with the manner of their Condemnation, and how they died:—also the sparing of Marbeck after he was sentenced to Death	486
	How all the Adversaries' Conspiracies were known	491
	An Answer to the Cavilling Adversaries, touching John Marbeck	496
1539 to 1541.	The Persecution in Calais, with the Martyrdom of George Bucker, otherwise called Adam Damlip, and others	497
	Part of a Speech delivered by Thomas Brook, in the Lower House, on the Bill of the Six Articles	503
	Master Hale, of Gray's Inn, in Reply to Brook	504
	The Story of William Smith, Curate; also the Trouble of John Butler, Commissary; and the Recantation of divers Calais Men	511
	A new Commission appointed and sent over to Calais, with the Second Trouble of Thomas Brook, William Stevens, and others	514
1544.	The Second Apprehension of Adam Damlip; with his Martyrdom	520
	The Story of a Poor labouring Man, and also of one Todd, a Scotchman, burned at Calais	523
	The Story of William Crossbowmaker, bearing a Billet in Calais; followed by an Example of Dr. London's Despite against the Gospellers, as also the Fidelity of a Matron to her Husband	525
	Qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles	526
1545.	The Recantation of John Heywood	528
	Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, Martyrs	530
	The Bill set upon the Town-house Door at Ipswich, the Night before they were condemned	533
1545 to 1546.	The King's Oration to the Parliament-House, with Notes thereupon	534
	The two Examinations of the worthy Servant of God, Mistress Anne Askew, daughter of Sir William Askew, knight, of Lincolnshire: martyred in Smithfield for the constant and faithful Testimony of the Truth	537
1546.	The latter Apprehension and Examination of the worthy Martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, before the King at Greenwich	543
	"The Confession of me Anne Askew, for the Time I was at Newgate"	545
	The Sum of her Condemnation, her Letter to the Lord Chancellor, and her Faith; with her Cruel Handling and Rack-ing after her Condemnation	546
	Anne Askew's Answer to John Lacels, followed by her Purgation, her Confession of Faith, and her Prayer	548
	The Martyrdom of John Lacels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian; followed by a Letter of Lacels, written out of Prison	551
	Verses on Anne Askew; also the Story of one Rogers, Martyr, burned in Smithfield	553
	The Story of Queen Katherine Parr, late Queen and Wife to King Henry the Eighth: wherein appeareth in what Danger she was for the Gospel, by means of Stephen Gardiner, and others of his Conspiracy; and how gloriously she was preserved by her kind and loving Husband the King	<i>ibid.</i>
	A Discourse touching a certain Policy used by Stephen Gardiner, in staying King Henry from redressing certain Abuses in the Church; also a Communication concerning the Reformation of Religion as well in France as in England	561

A.D.		PAGE
1516.	A brief Narration of the Trouble of Sir George Blage . . .	564
	A Proclamation for abolishing English Books, after the Death of Anne Askew; with the Names of the prohibited Books	565
	Heresies and Errors collected by the Bishops out of the Book of Tyndale, named "The Wicked Mammon"	570
	Other Heresies and Errors from "The Obedience of a Christian Man"	577
	Others also from "The Revelation of Antichrist"	582
	Others also from "The Sum of the Scripture"	592
	A Private Letter of the King to Bishop Bonner	605
1540 to 1558.	A History touching the Persecution in Scotland, with the Names of those who suffered after the time of Patrick Hamel- ton; especially concerning Sir John Borthwike, knight, with his Articles and Answers	607
1543 to 1558.	The Story of Thomas Forret, Priest, and his Fellows	621
	The Manner of Persecution used by the Cardinal of Scotland, against certain Persons in St. John's Town, or Perth	623
	The Condemnation of Master George Wisehart, Gentleman, who suffered for the Faith of Christ at St. Andrews, in Scotland, A.D. 1546; with his Articles and Answers	625
	Brief Account of the Sermon of Dane Winryme, followed by the Examination of Wisehart	627
1549 to 1558. 1558.	The just Judgment of God upon Archbishop Beaton, with the Story and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace in Scotland	636
	The Schisms that arose in Scotland for the Pater-Noster	641
	The Martyrdom of the blessed Servant of God, Walter Mille, with his Articles	644
1511 to 1539.	Persecution in Kent. A Table of certain true Servants of God, and Martyrs, omitted, who were burned in the Diocese of Canterbury, under Archbishop Warham; with the Names of their Persecutors and Accusers	647
	The Order and Form of Process used against these Martyrs; and, first, of William Carder, A.D. 1511	648
	Three divers sorts of Judgments amongst the Papists, against Heretics as they call them	652
	The Martyrdom of Launcelot, John Painter, and Giles Ger- mane: also of one Stile, burned in Smithfield with the Apocalypse	655
	The Sentence of Pope Clement against the Divorce of Queen Katherine	658
	A Copy of the Bull of Pope Leo X., no less slanderous than barbarous, against Martin Luther and his Doctrine	660
	The Answer of Martin Luther to the same	672
	The Tenor and Form of the Appeal of Martin Luther from Pope Leo to the next general Council	688
1547.	The Death of King Henry VIII. with the manner thereof	689
	A Tragical History of certain Friars in France, in the City of Orleans, A.D. 1534	693
	Bonner's Letter to Cloney, Keeper of the Coal-house for the abolishing of Images	695

BOOK IX.

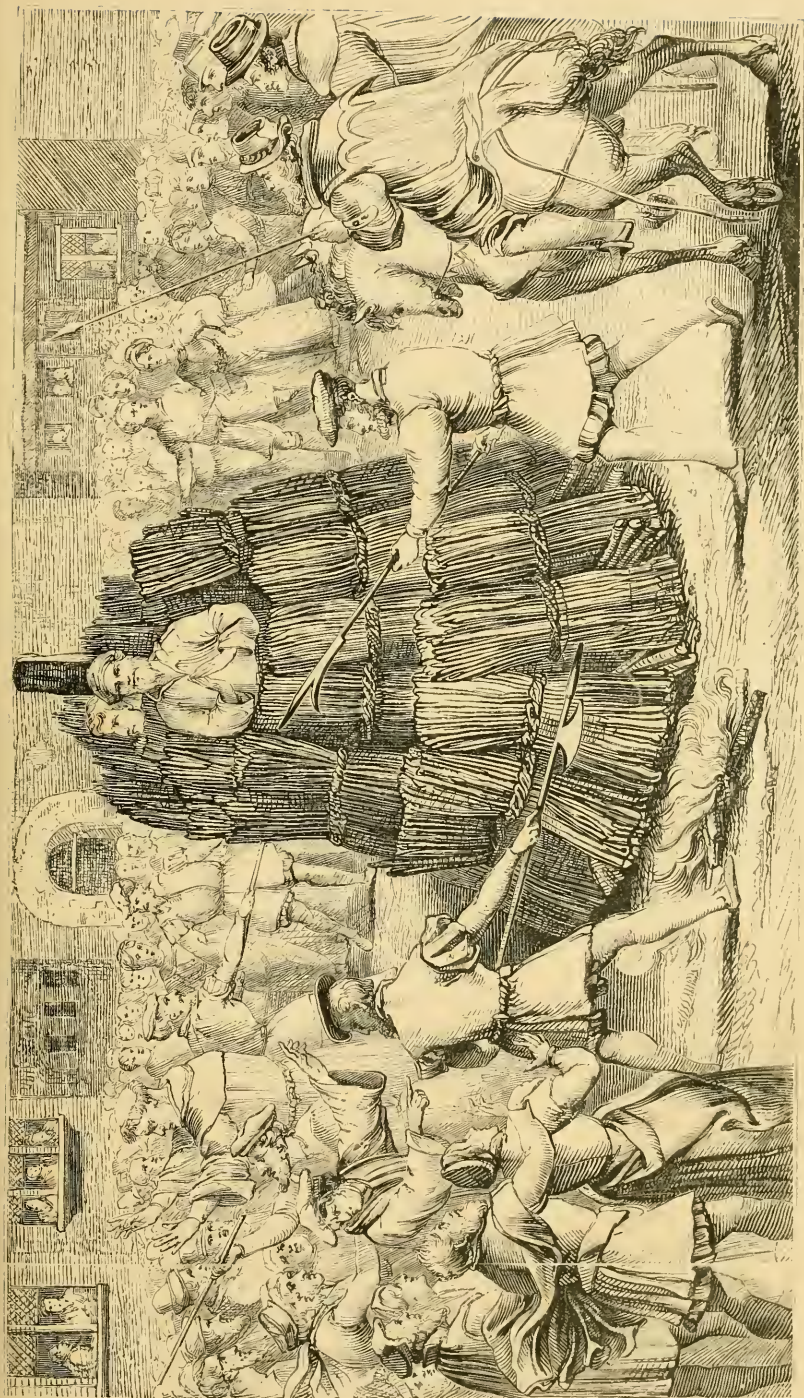
CONTAINING THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD
THE SIXTH.

1547. EDWARD VI.	697
The Words of Cardanns in commendation of King Edward.	702
Certain Ecclesiastical Laws, or General Injunctions given by King Edward to the Church of England; followed by others to Thomas, Bishop of Westminster, as well from the King as also from the King's Commissioners	706

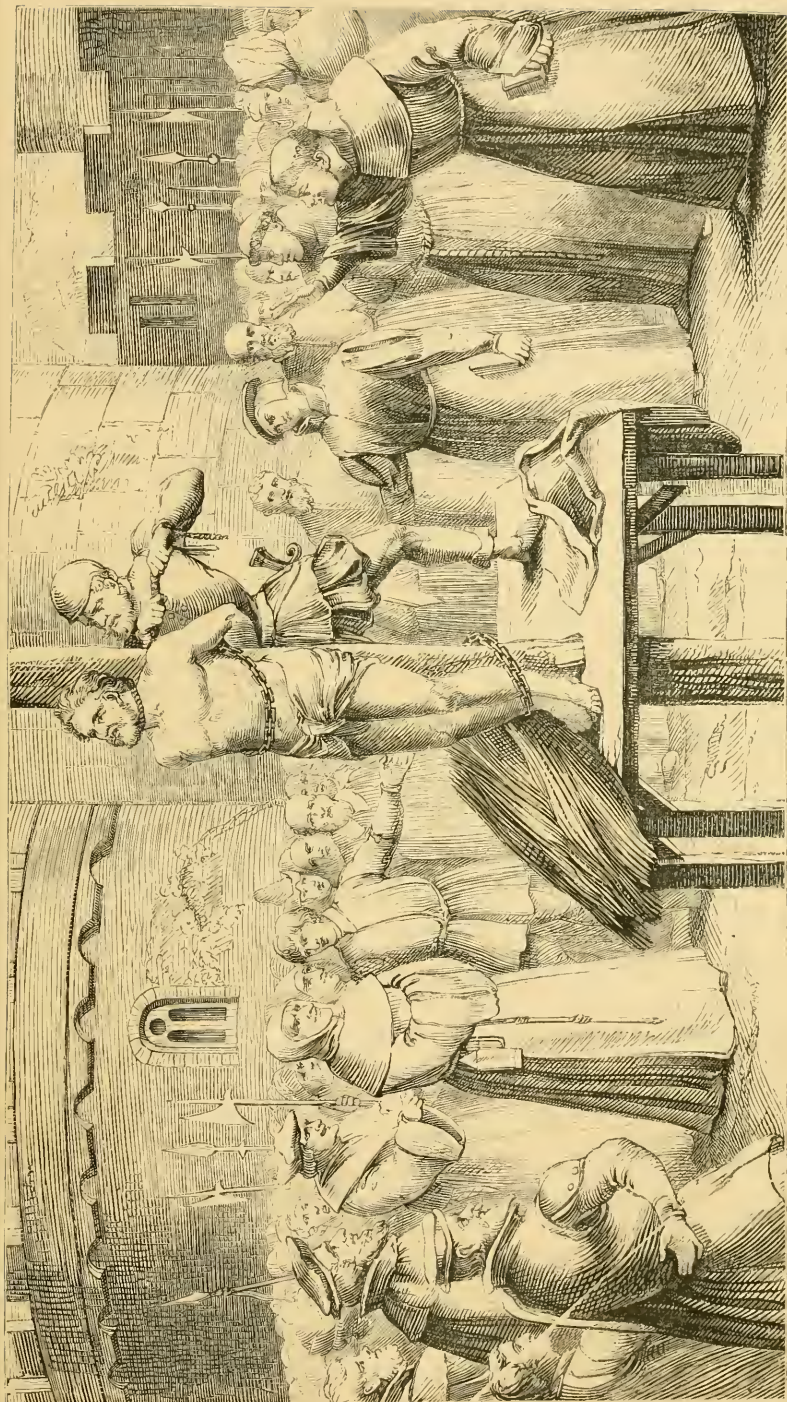
A. D.		PAGE
1547.	A Letter of Edmund Bonner to the Bishop of Westminster, concerning the abolishing of Candles, Ashes, and Palms, and other Ceremonies	716
	Letter of the Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the abolishing of Images; followed by one from Edmund Bonner	717
	Letters Missive from the Council to the Bishops, concerning the Communion to be ministered in both kinds	719
1548.	Substance of the Petition of the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to the King	721
1549.	Letters to and from Edmund Bonner, concerning the Abrogating of Private Masses; especially the Apostles' Mass	723
	An Admonition of Lord Chancellor Rich to Justices of the Peace	724
	A Letter from the Council rebuking Bonner for Negligence in setting out the Service Book; with Bonner's Letter to the Dean and Chapter	726
	Certain Private Injunctions, Admonitions, and Articles given to Bonner by the Council	729
	Articles of the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall to the King; with the King's Answer	731
1547 to 1549.	Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, with Declaration of the Acts and Process entered against him in King Edward's time	741
1549.	The King's Letter to the Commissioners concerning the Recantation and Pardoning of Bonner	743
1549	Matters put to Bonner to redress; with special points to be treated by him, in his Sermon	745
	The Denunciation of John Hooper and William Latimer, against Bonner, to the King's Majesty, for leaving undone the points before mentioned	747
	The King's Commission for the Examination of Bishop Bonner. The First Act or Session against Bishop Bonner, by the King's Commissioners; with the Tenor and Form of his Protestation. The Second Appearance of Bonner at Lambeth; with his Answer to the Denunciation of Latimer and Hooper	754
	The Third Session against Bishop Bonner	763
	The Answer of Bonner to the Articles objected to him by the King's Commissioners the first time	766
	Certain Interrogatories exhibited by Bonner against the Witnesses, upon the Articles above mentioned	770
	A certain Declaration of the King, respecting his former Commission, with Licence given to the Commissioners, as well to determine as to hear, in the case of Bonner	773
	The Fourth Session in the Hall at Lambeth; with matter exhibited by Bonner why he ought not to be convicted	774
	The Information given against William Latimer by Bonner	777
	Interrogatories educed and ministered by Bonner against the Witnesses	780
	The Fifth Session against Bonner, with his Answers	781
	The Recusation of the Judgment of Thomas Smith made by Bishop Bonner	783
	The First Appellation intimated by Edmund Bonner	785
	The Sixth Session; in the Great Hall at Lambeth	788
	The Second Appeal of Bonner, with a Letter to the Lord Mayor	790
	The Seventh Session, at Lambeth; with Bishop Bonner's Declaration to the Commissioners; his Third Appeal, and his Supplication to the Chancellor	792
	His Sentence of Deprivation, Supplication, and other Documents	797
	APPENDIX TO VOL. V.	801

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOL. V.

THE BURNING OF JOHN FRITH AND ANDREW HEWET	page 18
THE MARTYRDOM AND BURNING OF WILLIAM TYNDALE	127
THE BURNING OF THE CONSTANT MARTYR, JOHN LAMBERT	236
THE BURNING OF BARNES, JEROME, AND GARRET	438
THE MARTYRDOM OF PEERSON, TESTWOOD, AND FILMER	493
THE BURNING OF ANNE ASKEW, JOHN LACELS, JOHN ADAMS, AND NICHOLAS BELENIAN	550



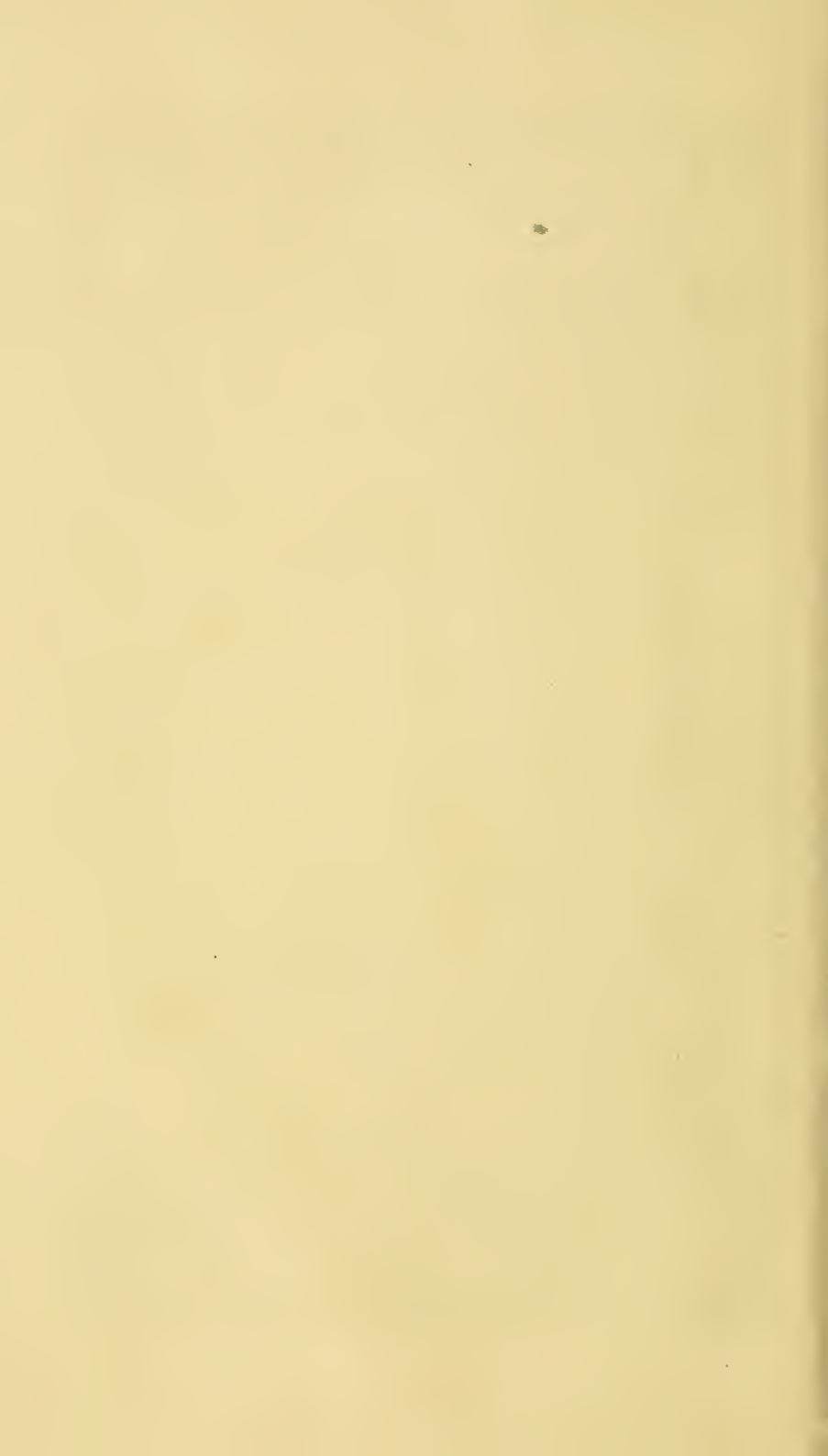
THE BURNING OF JOHN FRITH AND ANDREW HEEVE.



THE MARTYRDOM AND BURNING OF WILLIAM TYNDALE.



THE BURNING OF THE CONSTANT MARTYR IN CHRIST, JOHN LAMBERT.



ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. V.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

CONTINUATION OF 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 Story, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom of John Frith.

AMONGST all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a long time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man; who had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that there was scarcely his equal amongst all his companions; and who besides, withal, had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both: but as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Christ we will speak hereafter.

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1533.

Of the great godliness which was in him, this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding he rather chose wholly to consecrate himself unto the church of Christ, excellently showing forth, and practising in himself, the precept so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man: which life, they say, is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto others, serving for the common utility; and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge; in whom

(1) Edition 1563, p. 497. Ed. 1570, p. 1173. Ed. 1576, p. 1004. Ed. 1583, p. 1031. Ed. 1597, p. 941. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. p. 250.—ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D. 1533.

nature had planted, being but a child, marvellous instincts and love unto learning, whereunto he was addicted. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not only to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardness, or worthy of his disposition; whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man; in which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, at last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marvellously sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but is now named Christ's-church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death (for he was sent for unto the king, accused of certain crimes, and in the way, by immoderate purgations, killed himself), was left partly begun, partly half ended and imperfect, and nothing else save only the kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon Rodolph Gualter, a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the college, said these words in Latin: "*Egregium opus, cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popinam.*" How large and ample those buildings should have been, what sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the kitchen, the hall, and certain chambers, where there is such curious graving and workmanship of stone-cutters, that all things on every side did glisten for the excellency of the workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt antics and embossings; insomuch that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all colleges of students, but also palaces of princes. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; to recite all whose names in order would be too long. The chief of those who were called from Cambridge were these: Master Clerk, master of arts, of thirty-four years of age; Master Frier, afterwards doctor of physick, and after that a strong papist; Master Sumner, master of arts; Master Harman, master of arts, afterwards fellow of Eton college, and after that a papist; Master Bettes, master of arts, a good man and zealous, and so remained; Master Cox, master of arts, who conveyed himself away toward the north, and after was schoolmaster of Eton, and then chaplain to doctor Goodrich, bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to king Henry, and, of late, bishop of Ely; John Frith, bachelor of arts; Bayly, bachelor of arts; Goodman, who being sick in the prison with the others, was had out, and died in

the town; Drumme, who afterwards fell away and forsook the truth; Thomas Lawney, chaplain of the house, prisoner with John Frith.

To these join also Taverner of Boston, the good musician,¹ besides many others called also out of other places, most picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college, where their salt fish was laid; so that, through the filthy stench thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them, taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

The troublers and examiners of these good men, were these: Dr. London; Dr. Higdon, dean of the said college; and Dr. Cottesford, commissary.

Master Clerk, Master Sumner, and sir Bayly, eating nothing but salt fish from February to the midst of August, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master Bettes, a witty man, having no books found in his chamber, through entreaty and surety got out of prison, and so remaining a space in the college, at last slipped away to Cambridge, and afterwards was chaplain to queen Anne, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clerk's books under the boards in his school, yet the cardinal, for his music, excused him, saying that he was but a musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter, who sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford; which Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber² and Garret, who bare then faggots, went over the sea, and after two years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading (as is thought), and had the prior over with him.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination; where the simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. After he had sitten there a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not, for all that, declare what he was, at last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith, by and by, began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster, by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such a state and misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the Latin into the Greek, wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster towards him, that he brought

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1533.

See Appendix.

John Frith set in the stocks at Reading.

Leonard Cox, schoolmaster there.

(1) This Taverner repented him very much that he had made songs to popish ditties, in the time of his blindness.

(2) Of this Dalaber, read more in the story of Thomas Garret.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

John Frith, through his help, delivered out of the stocks. Sir Thomas More a deadly persecutor of Frith.

See Appendix.

The occasion of Frith's writing against More.

him into a marvelous admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the *Iliad*; whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did show unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely dismissed out of the stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of sir Thomas More, who, at that time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; nor long amongst his friends; so that at last, being traitorously taken (as ye shall after hear), he was sent unto the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; the whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these four points:

I. First, That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

II. Secondly, That forasmuch as Christ's natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only except, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

III. Moreover, thirdly, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.

IV. Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priests, do never so much differ from it.

The occasion of Frith's writing upon the sacrament.

And forasmuch as the treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the help of his memory. Frith, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at last, notwithstanding, he, being overcome by the entreaty of his friend, rather followed his will, than looked to his own safeguard.

William Holt a Judas.

There was at that time in London a tailor named William Holt, who, feigning a great friendship towards this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same writing of Frith's; which when he unadvisedly did, the other, by and by, carried it unto More, being then chancellor: which thing, afterwards, was occasion of great trouble, and also of death, unto the said Frith; for More, having not only gotten a copy of his book of this sycophant, but

also two other copies, which at the same time, in a manner, were sent him by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary book.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

The Sum of John Frith's Book of the Sacrament.

This in a manner was the whole sum of the reasons of Frith's book; first, to declare the pope's belief of the sacrament to be no necessary article of our faith; that is to say, that it is no article of our faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, that the sacrament should be the natural body of Christ: which he thus proveth; for many so believe, and yet in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body, are not thereby saved, but receive it to their damnation.

Again, in believing the sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural presence of his body in the bread, is not that which saveth us, but his presence in our hearts by faith. And likewise, the not believing of his bodily presence in the sacrament, is not the thing that shall damn us, but the absence of him out of our heart, through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to believe God's word under pain of damnation: to that he answereth that the word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintaineth no such bodily presence as the pope's church doth teach, but rather a sacramental presence. And that, saith he, may be further confirmed thus:

Not believing in the corporal presence of Christ is no damnation.

Argument.

Ce- None of the old fathers before Christ's incarnation were bound under pain of damnation to believe this point.

la- All we be saved by the same faith that the old fathers were.

*rent.*¹ *Ergo*, None of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

The first part, saith he, is evident of itself; for how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?

The second part, saith he, appeareth plainly by St. Augustine, writing to Dardanus, and also by a hundred places more; neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the same faith that saved our fathers, saveth us also. And therefore upon the truth of these two parts, thus proved, must the conclusion, saith he, needs follow.

Another Argument.

None of the old fathers before Christ's incarnation, did eat Christ corporally in their signs, but only mystically and spiritually, and were saved.

All we do eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

Ergo, None of us do eat Christ corporally, but mystically and spiritually in our signs, as they did.

For the probation of the first part, Frith, proceeding in his discourse, declareth as follows:—

The ancient fathers, before Christ's incarnation, did never believe any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christ's body; and yet, notwithstanding, they did eat him spiritually, and were saved; as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, saith he, did eat the body of Christ, and did drink his blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spiritual, pertaining only to faith, and not to the teeth: 'For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the rock which followed them; this rock was Christ,² which was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made unto Adam, when it was said unto the serpent, 'I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between her seed and thy seed,'³ &c. And afterward again unto Abraham: 'In thy seed

(1) See vol. iv. Appendix, note on p. 573.

(2) 1 Cor. x.

(3) Gen. iii.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1533.

Bread is called the body, as the sacrament of circumcision is called the covenant.

The water of the rock, and bread and wine, figures of Christ's body.

The fathers ate the same spiritual, but not the same corporal food that we do.

Manna, and the body of Christ.

Objection.

Answer. Three causes why sacraments are ordained.

Sacraments not to be worshipped.

shall all people be blessed,¹ &c.: adding also the sacrament of circumcision, which was called the covenant; not because it was so indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the covenant made between God and Abraham; admonishing us thereby, how we should judge and think touching the sacrament of his body and blood; to wit, that albeit it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithful by his most healthful body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made unto Moses, the most meek and gentle captain of the Israelites, who did not only himself believe upon Christ, who was so often promised, but also did prefigure him by divers means, both by the manna which came down from heaven, and also by the water which issued out of the rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both manna and this water had a prophetic mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the bread and the wine do now declare unto us in the sacrament. For this saith St. Augustine, 'Whosoever did understand Christ in the manna, did eat the spiritual food that we do. But they, who by that manna sought only to fill their bellies, did eat thereof, and are dead.' So, likewise, saith he of the drink: 'For the rock was Christ.² And, by and by after, he inferreth thus: Moses did eat manna, and Phineas also; and many others also did eat thereof, who pleased God, and are not dead. Why? because they did understand the visible meat spiritually. They did spiritually hunger, and did spiritually taste of it, that they might be spiritually satisfied. They all did eat the same spiritual meat, and all did drink the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one corporal matter (for they did eat manna, and we another thing), but the self-same spiritual thing that we do; and although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: which nevertheless signified all one thing in spiritual effect. How did they drink all one thing? The apostle answereth, 'Of the spiritual rock which followed them, for the rock was Christ.'³ And S. Bede, adding these words, saith, 'Behold the signs are altered, and yet the faith remaineth one.' Thereby a man may perceive that the manna which came down from heaven, was the same unto them, that our sacrament is unto us; and that by either of them is signified, that the body of Christ came down from heaven; and yet, notwithstanding, never any of them said that manna was the very body of Messias; as our sacramental bread is not indeed the body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For like as the manna which came down from heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, do nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from heaven, and being given for us, doth quicken up the spirits of the believers unto life everlasting. Then, if the salvation of both people be alike, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should add transubstantiation unto our sacrament, more than they believed their manna to be altered and changed. Moreover because they are named sacraments, even by the signification of the name they must needs be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no sacraments.

But some may here object and say, If only faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient for salvation, what need then any sacraments to be instituted? He answereth, that there are three causes why sacraments are instituted. The first St. Augustine declareth in these words, writing against Faustus: 'Men,' saith he, 'cannot be knit together into one name of religion, be it true or be it false, except they be knit by the society of signs and visible sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevail, in so much that such as contemn them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned, without which godliness cannot be made perfect, &c. Another cause is, that they should be helpers to graft and plant faith in our hearts, and for the confirmation of God's promises. But this use of sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be who do preposterously judge of the same, taking the signs for the thing itself, and worshipping the same: even by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bush that hangeth at the tavern door, and suck it to slake his thirst, and will not go into the tavern where the wine is. Thirdly, they do serve unto this use, to stir up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for his benefits.

(1) Gen. xxvi.

(3) Augustine, De Utilitate Pœnitentiæ, cap. 1.

(2) 1 Cor. x.

(1) Lib. xix. cap. 11.

And these in a manner are the principal points of Frith's book.

When More (as is aforesaid) had gotten a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen all that he might, to make answer unto this young man (for so he calleth him throughout his whole book), but in such sort, that when the book was once set forth, and showed unto the world, then he endeavoured himself, all that he might, to keep it from printing: peradventure lest that any copy thereof should come unto Frith's hands. But notwithstanding, when at last Frith had gotten a copy thereof, by means of his friends, he answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his reasons and arguments, or the testimonies which he had gathered out of the doctors; especially forasmuch as Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, in his apology against the bishop of Winchester, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other; and I doubt much whether the archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any author of that doctrine, than unto this aforesaid Frith.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1533.

More
writeth
against
Frith.

Frith an-
swereth
him.

Cranmer
hoopen by
the book
of Frith.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appear not only by his books which he wrote of the sacrament, but also in those which he entitled Of Purgatory. In that quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies; that is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastal, whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal to his part.

Roches-
ter, More,
and Ras-
tal
against
Frith.
Frith con-
verted
Rastal.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness; which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that, without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they ever so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would to God that all things, in all places, were so free from all kind of dissension, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, when neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us; but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing more grievous could happen unto those worthy men, than for their names so to be abused to sects and factions, who so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth, nor so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might join either part unto the other.

But now, forso much as we entreat of the story of John Frith, I cannot choose, but that I must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who, maintaining his quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, no less godly than learnedly (and so as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily), yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had

Prudent
temper-
ance and
modera-
tion of
Frith.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters, where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness' sake, as his most modest reason and answers did declare. For when More, disputing in a certain place upon the sacrament, laid against him the authority of doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, he answered unto More and his companions, that he would promise under this condition, that if the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it :¹ for in that point they did both agree with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped ; and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put into their hearts : for then there remained no more poison, that any man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore, if they did agree in that which was the chief point of the sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the rest.

Moderation commended in matters of disputation.

Thus much he wrote, in the treatise entituled "The Exile of Barnes, against More ;" which words of this most meek martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour men might be brought to a unity in this controversy ; and much more concord and love should be in the Church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

*But² I know not what cruel pestiferous fury hath secretly intermeddled herself in these matters, so corrupt in all things, that there is almost no so light a cause or occasion wherein one man can bear with another, if he dissent or disagree from his opinion. And whilst every man doth seek, even by the teeth, to defend his own quarrel, many men would rather seek to give occasion, than, in any case, seek to relent or remit. There are also some, which will seek to assuage the matter, but other some will willingly take the bellows in hand to blow the fire, but few there are that will seek to quench it. But if we had but a few like unto this John Frith, these factions, peradventure, would easily be accorded, or at the least if the opinions could not be agreed, their minds, notwithstanding, might be united and joined. Albeit, I do not think their opinions to be of so great force and effect that they should seem to be worthy of all these tragedies, for so much as they do not of necessity touch neither the damnation nor salvation of souls : and again, they are not so far discrepant amongst themselves, but that they may by reason be reconciled, so that there be some temperature of Frith's moderation adhibited thereunto, which may something impetrate and obtain on either part.

Those which judge the reason of the sacrament to be spiritually understood, do think well, and, peradventure, do draw near unto Christ's mind and institution ; but, notwithstanding, they be never a whit better men than they, which, following the letter together with them, do take away the superfluity of the ceremonies. They take away transubstantiation from the sacrament ; the like doth other also. They take away the sacrifice of the private mass ; the same also do the other. These men put away all false worshipping ; the other

(1) John Frith, speaking according to that time, shewed the opinion of Luther might be received.
 (2) See Edition 1563, pp. 500, 501.—Ed.

also do not suffer it, but both parts do affirm the presence of Christ in the mystical supper. Hitherto they both have agreed in these articles: what cause is there then of discord, when as they both, as I said, do confess the presence of Christ, and disagree only upon the manner of the presence, which the one part doth affirm to be real, and the other spiritual? But how much were it better, in my opinion, if that, by a common consent of either party, they would come to this point; that every man being contented with his own opinion, we should all simply agree upon the presence of Christ, that, as touching the manner of his presence, even as though all manner of disputation should cease for a time, and so, by little and little, all controversies turned to truce and quietness; until that time should breed more love and charity amongst men, or that love and charity should find a remedy for these controversies.

But this shall now suffice for this present, being more than I was determined to speak; and, brought hither by occasion of John Frith, I know not myself by what wind or weather, and peradventure was somewhat too far passed into the German seas. But now, casting the helm about, we will hold our course that we had begun into England, and intreat of the death and examination of Frith.*

John Frith, after he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastal, More's son-in-law, was at last carried to Lambeth, first before the bishop of Canterbury, and afterwards unto Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops, in a common assembly at London, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard.

Frith
convent-
ed before
the
bishop.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination and the articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written and sent unto his friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter¹ of John Frith to his Friends, concerning his Troubles; wherein, after he had first with a brief preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, thus he writeth:—

See
Appendix.

I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the others to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently. But refer your matters unto God, who shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might understand the matter certainly.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, Of Purgatory, and Of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life? But I said, that I thought there was no such place: for man, (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression,

Purga-
tory.

(1) This letter is to be seen in the end of that excellent and worthy work which he made in the Tower, concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. [The title of this work is 'A Boke made by Johan Fryth, prisoner in the Tour of London, answering unto M. Mores letter against the treatyse Johan Fryth made concerning the sacrament, &c. printed at London by Anthony Scoloker, 1543; and afterwards by R. Jugge 8vo. 1548. Ames' Typographical Antiquities, by Dibdin, vol. iv. p. 197.—Ed.]

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1533.

persecution, imprisonment, &c. The last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a third part of man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or no.

Secondly, They examined me touching the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the very body of Christ or no?

The sa-
crament
of Christ's
body

I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body and also our body, as St. Paul teacheth us in 1 Cor. x. For in that it is made one bread of many corns, it is called our body, which, being divers and many members, are associated and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ; declaring his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily are Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.

Transub-
stantia-
tion.

Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No (said I), I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part (which is the affirmative), so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love; and one to bear another's infirmity.

See
Appendix.

After this they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, 'He was carried in his own hands.'¹

The
place of
St. Au-
gustine
expound-
ed.

Whereunto I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he hath in another place, 'He was carried as it were in his own hands:'² which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet, writing unto Boniface, he doth plainly admonish all men, that the sacraments do represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves, they do take their names. And therefore, according to this rule, it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

Then they alleged a place of Chrysostome, which, at the first blush, may seem to make much for them, who, in a certain Homily upon the Supper, writeth thus: 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid! for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth or abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' &c.

The place
of Chry-
sostome
answered.
Chryso-
stome ex-
poundeth
himself.

These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who, in another Homily, saith on this manner; 'The inward eyes,' saith he, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith, Dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him that is signified by the bread. And after this manner

(1) 'Ferebatur in manibus propriis.'

(2) 'Ferebatur tanquam in manibus suis.'

he seeth it, and again he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not; that is to say, regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the eyes do see.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1533.

In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; 'Do they avoid from thee,' saith he, 'into the draught as other meats do?' I will not so say, for other meats, passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, be voided into the draught: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourisheth both body and soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

And as before I said that the external eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or think upon, even so our outward man doth digest the bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward man doth neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing itself that is signified by that bread. And therefore Chrysostome,¹ a little before the words which they alleged, saith; 'Lift up your minds and hearts:' whereby he admonisheth us to look upon and consider those heavenly things which are represented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine itself.

Here they said, that was not Chrysostome's mind; but that by this example he declareth that there remained no bread nor wine. I answered, that was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things which are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him who is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow, sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the author, where he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

Mysteries to be seen with inward eyes.

But whether Chrysostome's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way soever we do understand them. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remain, we have no further to travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do not remain, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falsely named sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things: for that which is in no place, how can it be a sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if he speak only of the outward forms and shapes (as we call them), it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that by the substance of the body they are not consumed in any place: wherefore it must necessarily follow that the words of Chrysostome be to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

Chrysostome against the popish doctrine of the sacrament. The objection of Chrysostome avoided by a dilemma.

Here peradventure many would marvel,² that forasmuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament, is separate from the articles of faith, and bindeth no man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do contemn or despise the other, but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions: what then is the cause, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this: for that I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or doctors), yet shall they not

(1) The argument from Chrysostome: the belly of man cannot avoid any part of Christ's body: the belly of man avoideth some part of every thing that the mouth receiveth: ergo, the mouth of man receiveth not the body of Christ.

(2) A question is here asked, with the cause declared, why that, seeing the matter of the sacrament itself importeth neither salvation nor damnation, Frith offereth himself to death for the same!

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1533.

Three
causes
why tran-
substantia-
tion is
not to be
believed.

so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it ever so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the Scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith. So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet, for all that, I will not hold it as an article of faith,¹ but that you may, without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons do lead me thereunto: first, for that I do plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures, or of approved doctors. Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more than the necessary points of their creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth consist, especially such things, the belief whereof hath no certain argument of authority or reason. I added moreover, that their church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us, under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles. Thirdly, because I will not, for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, which, altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Œcolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, who will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an article of faith.

See Do-
cuments,
No. xxii.

The sub-
scription
of John
Frith.

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of John Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the 20th day of June, A. D. 1533, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who, sitting in St. Paul's, on Friday the 20th day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory, unto the said Frith, as is above declared; to which when he had answered, and showed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterwards subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words:² "I Frith, thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published."

Frith con-
demned.

But when Frith by no means could be persuaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, "Fiat judicium et justitia:" he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Sentence given against John Frith.

In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by the authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Frith, of our jurisdiction, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy; having heard, seen, and understood, and with diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed which by us in this behalf, by order of law, ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God only before our eyes,³ because by the acts enacted, propounded,

(1) This is to be weighed with the time when Frith wrote.

(2) 'Ego Frithus ita sentio, et quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, et affirmavi,' &c.

(3) As they had, which crucified Christ.

and exhibited in this manner, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors and heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, and especially against the reverend sacrament; and albeit that we, following the example of Christ, 'which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live,' have oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and most wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again to the true faith, and the unity of the universal catholic church, notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness, so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, who, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: We therefore, John, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou who art wicked, shouldest become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thy heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Frith, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate unpenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art, by law, excommunicated, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicated person: Also we pronounce and declare thee to be a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee unto the secular power, and their judgment; most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith, by this our sentence definitive, or final decree, which we here promulgate in this form aforesaid.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1533.

Moderation pretended, but none shown.

This sentence thus read, the bishop of London directed his letter to sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of the aforesaid John Frith into their charge; who, being so delivered over unto them the 4th day of July, in the year aforesaid, was by them carried into Smithfield to be burned. And when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death; for when the faggots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave, with his blood, a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back: but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow, than to be careful for himself.

Frith delivered to the secular hands.

His constant death.

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; Who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his holy name! Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the bishop of London certified king Henry VIII. of his worthy, yea, rather wolfish, proceedings against these men: the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth:

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1533.The Letter of John, Bishop of London, to certify the King of the
Condemnation of John Frith and Andrew Hewet.

• Unto¹ the most noble prince and lord in Christ, our lord Henry the eighth, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, with all manner of reverence, honour, and subjection. Whereas we, in a certain business of inquisition of heresy against certain men, John Frith and Andrew Hewet, heretics, have judged and condemned either of them, as obstinate, impenitent, and incorrigible heretics, by our sentence definitive, and have delivered the said John and Andrew unto the honourable man, sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of your city of London, and John Martin, one of your shrives of the same city (being personally present with us in judgment, according to the order of the law); and therefore all and singular the premises so by us done, we notify and signify unto your highness, by these presents sealed with our seal.

Dated the third day of July, in the year of our Lord 1533, and in the third year of our consecration.*

Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one Master Warren, a tailor in Watling-street. And as it happened that he went upon a holy-day into Fleet-street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with one William Holt, who was foreman with the king's tailor, at that present called Master Malte; and being suspected by the same Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet-bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to show forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding the same Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest man, he had a file conveyed unto him,² wherewith he filed off his irons, and when he spied his time, he got out of the gate. But being a man unskillful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, who was a hypocrite, as Holt was. This Withers, understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where he had to do, from Low-Sunday till Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman in Hosier-lane beside Smithfield, and there left him for the space of two days.

Then he came to the said Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him. And when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good; and Holt, for his part, said that if he should bring any man in trouble (as the voice was that he had done the said Andrew), it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up: insomuch that they

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 505; where it is also given in Latin.—Ed.

(2) The man that gave him this file was Valentine Proese, the painter's brother who was afterwards, with his wife, burned in York.

Hewet
appre-
hended.

would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, who was banished from his own house by an injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christ's cause. And within an hour after that Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one called sergeant Weaver, came, and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the beforenamed Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes which sergeant Weaver had brought with him, and so carried them to the bishop's house: but Andrew Hewet they sent unto the Lollards' tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder, watched by two priests' servants. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat, that he should tell another tale, or else he should sit there till his heels did drop off, &c.: and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber; but, by God's provision, he was well delivered out of prison, albeit he could not enjoy his house and land because of the bishop's injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in Essex; for the tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And the aforesaid Chapman, after five weeks' imprisonment (whereof three weeks he sat in the stocks), by much suit made unto the lord chancellor, who at that time was lord Audley, after many threatenings was delivered: but the said Andrew Hewet, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith. The examination of Hewet here followeth.

On the 20th day of the month of April, Andrew Hewet was brought before the chancellor of the bishop of London, where was objected against him, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. Now, forasmuch as this article seemed heinous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned counsel: whereupon the bishop of London, associated with the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, called him again before them; where, it being demanded of him what he thought as touching the sacrament of the last supper; he answered, "Even as John Frith doth." Then said one of the bishops unto him, "Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary?" "So," saith he, "do not I believe." "Why not?" said the bishop. "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men, who say, 'Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord.'"

Then certain of the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." "Truly," saith he, "I am content there-

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

John Tibauld five times in bands for Christ.

Hewet again taken.

Chapman in the stocks. †

Tibauld not to come within seven miles of his house.

Hewet examined before the bishop.

Christ not to be believed to be really in the sacrament.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

Hewet constant in the faith.

Hewet burned with Frith. See Appendix.

withal." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions; whereunto he answered, that he would do as Frith did: whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them: but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore on the 4th day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one doctor Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog; at which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

The History of the Persecution and Death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Dowel, alias Hoker.

See Addenda.

Benet cometh from Cambridge to Devonshire.

Comes to Exeter.

William Strowd imprisoned in Exeter for God's word.

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and, by order of degree, of the university there made master of arts, and, as some think, was also a priest; a man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore, thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the university, and went into Devonshire, A. D. 1524, and first dwelled in a market-town, named Torrington, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there; where, for the better maintenance of himself and his wife, he did practise to teach young children, and kept a school for the same purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the city of Exeter; and there, hiring a house in a street called the Butcher-row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore, understanding that one William Strowd, of Newnham, in the county of Devonshire, esquire, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him; wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his

being in the country, writing among other things these words : " Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."¹

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

But, as every tree and herb hath its due time to bring forth its fruit, so did it appear by this man. For he, daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained,² and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore, dealing privately with certain of his friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation : and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would, utter their abominations ; and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his blood therein ; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end : which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind in certain scrolls of paper, which, in secret manner, he set upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city ; in which was written, " The pope is Antichrist ; and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

Why Benet married.

His godly zeal.

Benet setteth up bills against the pope.

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the inquiry of the heretic that should set up these bills : and the mayor and his officers were not so busy to make searches to find this heretic, but the bishop and all his doctors were as hot as coals, and enkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of wasps. Wherefore, to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should in haste up to the pulpit every holy day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for this heretic ; and they, beholding this Benet, said the one to the other, " Surely this fellow, by all likelihood, is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading in his book. As touching this point of Benet's behaviour in the church, I find the reports of some others a little to vary, and yet not much contrary

Almost taken in the church.

The stories a little vary touching his taking.

(1) ' Ut ne scortator aut immundus essem, uxorem duxi, cum qua hisee sex annis ab istorum Antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi '.

(2) Antichristians are those who are against Christ.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

Doctors and friars in Exeter.

Gregory Basset.

The priests curse, they can not tell whom.

Here is cold charity.

one to the other. For in receiving the letters and writings of a certain minister, who at the same time was present at the doing hereof in Exeter, thus I find moreover added, concerning the behaviour of this Thomas Benet in the church.

At that time, saith he, as I remember, Dr. Moreman, Crispin, Caseley, with such others, bare the swinge there. Besides these, were also preachers there, one Dr. Bascavild, an unlearned doctor, God knoweth; and one Dr. David, as well learned as he, both grey friars, and Doctor I-know-not-who, a black friar, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one bachelor of divinity, a grey friar named Gregory Basset, more learned indeed than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he which was most; which Gregory, not long before, was revolted from the way of righteousness, to the way of Belial: for in Bristol, saith the author, he lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a book of Martin Luther, called his Questions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of youth a certain catechism. To be short, the brains of the canons and priests, the officers and commons of that city, were very earnestly busied, how, or by what means, such an enormous heretic, who had pricked up those bills, might be espied and known: but it was long first. At last, the priests found out a toy to curse him, whatsoever he were, with book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort.

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua, "There is blasphemy in the army;"¹ and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious: and so concluded that that foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was, for that his blasphemy, damnably accursed; and besought God, our lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a sheerman or two, whose houses, I well remember, were searched for bills at that time, and for books, that knew any thing of God's matters, or how God doth bless their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate thus:

The Pope's Curse, with Book, Bell, and Candle.

By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that hath,—in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks,

(1) 'Est blasphemia in castris.'

who serve God daily in this cathedral church,—fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be,¹ and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church; from the participation of the holy mass; from all sacraments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread and holy water; from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters; from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles): and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle); and let us pray to God and to our lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so he put out the third candle) except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church: and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent and show themselves.

Henry VIII
A. D.
1533.

Mark the apish pageants of these popelings.

Here, one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down. But Lord! what a shout and noise was there; what terrible fear; what holding up of hands to heaven: that curse was so terrible!

Now this fond foolish fantasy and mockery being done and played, which was to a christian heart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himself, and for a great space could not cease; by which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he should so laugh. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast! With that, there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or no. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house; where he, being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the morning following, to set the said bills upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was setting one of the said bills upon a gate, called 'The little Stile,' it chanced that one W. S., going to the cathedral church to hear a mass, called Barton's Mass, which was then daily said about five o'clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was, did charge him to be the heretic that had set up the bills upon the gates: wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to ward.

Benet laughed at their cursing.

Benet is taken, by means of his boy setting up his bills.

(1) 'Bless and curse not,' saith the Lord: 'curse and bless not,' saith the pope.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533

He confesseth the cause why he set them up.

On the morrow began both the canons and the heads of the city joined with them, to fall to examination; with whom, for that day, he had not much communication, but confessed and said to them, "It was even I that put up those bills; and if it were to do, I would yet do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

Benet sent to the bishop's prison.

Articles against him.

The next day after, he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, called 'The Bishop's Prison,' where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as a dog should find. Then the bishop, associating unto him one Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and other of his lewd clergy and friars, began to examine him, and burdened him that, contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to the saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him; the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him from his erroneous opinions, to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a blessed witness of his holy name, and to be at defiance with all their false persuasions.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers searched his house for bills and books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his wife, charging her with divers enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good woman, took all things patiently that they did unto her; like as in other things she was contented to bear the cross with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power.

Gregory Basset in prison at Bristol, is compelled by the friars to recant.

Busy against Thomas Benet.

Amongst all other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was most busy with him. This Gregory Basset, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant tongue, and not long before was fallen from the truth, for which he was imprisoned in Bristol a long time; at whose examination was ordained a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterwards a mortal enemy to the truth all his life. This Gregory, as it is said, was fervent with the poor man, to please the canons of that church, and marvellously tormented his brains, how to turn him from his opinions; yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour: for good Benet was at a point

not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers, lost his spurs, insomuch that he said in open audience, that there was never so obstinate a heretic.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1533.

The Matter between Gregory Basset and Thomas Benet.

The principal point between Basset and Benet was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he named Antichrist, the Thief, the Mercenary, and the Murderer of Christ's Flock: and these disputations lasted about eight days, where, at sundry times, repaired to him both the black and grey friars, with priests and monks of that city. They that had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The others unlearned railed, and said that the devil tempted him, and spat upon him, calling him heretic; who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: 'For,' said he, 'I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly it doth appear by his doings.' They asked, What he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being God's vicar? 'He doth,' quoth he, 'sell the sacraments of the church for money, he selleth remission of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in feigned purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame.' 'The shame,' say they, 'shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul heretic! Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church? what a perverse heretic art thou!' 'I am,' said he, 'no heretic, but a christian man, I thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but what maintaineth the devil.' 'What is our church?' said they. 'It is not my church,' quoth Benet, 'God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plain church of Antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and an awmbry of poison, and as far wide from the true, universal, and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth.'

Railing
against
Benet.

The
abuses of
the pope
to be
noted.
Selling of
souls.

The
pope's
church
painted
in her
colours.

'Dost not thou think,' said they, 'that we pertain to the universal church?' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial; for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation: for ye say and preach that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree.' 'Why,' said they, 'did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?' 'He said that,' quoth he, 'to all, as well as to Peter; and Peter had no more authority given to him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince, the supreme governor under God, so, to say that all the churches with their princes and governors be subject unto one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and the most foul whore; of whom John, in the Revelation, speaketh.'

The keys
given to
all the
apostles.

The
church
builted
upon
man, is
the devil's
church.

'O thou blind and unlearned fool!' said they, 'is not the confession and consent of all the world, as we confess and consent—That the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?' 'That is,' said Benet, 'because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay.' 'We think,' said they, 'thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church.' 'Look!' said he, 'where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ; and where Christ only is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and con-

Consent
of the
world.

Where
the true
church is.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1533.

fidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth:—of that church will I be!

The pope
not God's
vicar, and
why.

'Doth not the pope,' said they, 'confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?' 'Yes,' said he, 'but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock.' 'And wilt thou not believe indeed,' said they, 'that the pope is God's vicar?' 'No,' said he, 'indeed.' 'And why?' said they. 'Because,' quoth he, 'he usurpeth a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles; and also because, by force of that usurped supremacy, he doth blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded.' 'What,' said they, 'if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment: should he then be his vicar?' 'Then,' said he, 'would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in his diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no such seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom. And what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church.' 'And doth not,' said they, 'our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?' 'Yea,' said he, 'I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knoweth how you handle it; insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel well-near, but the pope's gospel; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ, confidence is none; but only in your popish traditions and fantastical inventions.'

What in-
conveni-
ence fol-
loweth,
that all
bishops
should be
ruled by
man.The
pope's
gospel.

Then said a black friar unto him (God knoweth, a blockhead), 'Do we not preach the gospel daily?' 'Yes,' said he, 'but what preaching of the gospel is that, when therewith ye extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls of Rome, *a pena et culpa*, as ye term it: and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters; ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them; yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more: a man may be weary to speak of them.' 'I see,' said the friar, 'that thou art a damned wretch; I will have no more talk with thee.'

Then stepped to him a grey friar, a doctor (God knoweth of small intelligence), and laid before him great and many dangers. 'I take God to record,' said Benet, 'my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer forbear. I had rather, by death (which I know is not far off), depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist your pope.' 'Our pope,' said the friar, 'is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God.' 'I pray you,' said Benet, 'depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way, who saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In his way will I walk, his doings shall be my example; not yours, nor your false pope's. His truth will I embrace; not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you this day, everlasting death should hang over me, a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me: your company liketh me not.'

Benet
weary of
the friar's
talk.

Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet plied by these and such other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things

done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment; and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience; he answered to every matter soberly, and that, more by the aid of God's Spirit, than by any worldly study. I think he was at least fifty years old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his adversaries.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

Benet patient and constant.

Thus when these godly canons and priests, with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they, proceeding unto judgment, drew out their bloody sentence against him, condemning him, as the manner is, to be burned. This being done, and the writ which they had procured 'de comburendo,' being brought from London, they delivered him on the 15th of January, 1531, unto sir Thomas Denis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned. The mild martyr, rejoicing that his end was approaching so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-dole, without Exeter, he made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him; whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devices, fantasies, and imaginations of man's inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonished and in great admiration; insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Sentence read against Thomas Benet.

Benet delivered to the secular power.

Brought to the place of execution.

Nevertheless two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnhouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length through rough threatenings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call to Our Lady and the saints, and to say, "Precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei," &c. To whom, with all meekness, he answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call; and we have no other advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of his Father, to be an advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and to be heard." With this answer the aforesaid Barnhouse was so enkindled, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and having set it on fire, he thrust it unto his face, saying, "Ah! here-son heretic! pray to our Lady, and say, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or, by God's wounds, I will make thee do it." To whom the said Thomas Benet, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir! trouble me not." And holding up his hands, he said, "Pater! ignosce illis." Whereupon the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Domine! recipe spiritum meum." And so, continuing in his prayers, he did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until

Benet refuseth to pray to our Lady.

One Advocate, Christ.

A furze-bush thrust in his face, because he would not pray to our Lady.

The constant end and martyrdom of Benet.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1528
to
1533.

his life was ended. For this the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a jerkin of neat's leather; at whose burning, such was the devilish rage of the blind people, that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

The
king's
proclama-
tion.
Vide
supra.

Hitherto we have run over, good reader, the names, and the acts and doings of those, who have sustained death, and the torment of burning, for Christ's cause, through the rigorous proclamation above specified, 'set out, as is said, in the name of king Henry, but indeed procured by the bishops. That proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost in every point, by the said popish prelates, that no good man, "habens spiramentum," whereof Esdras² speaketh, could peep out with his head ever so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned; or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names, if they were sought out through all registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the rest, it shall content us at this present, briefly, as in a short table, to insinuate the names, with the special articles, of such as, in the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, were molested and vexed, and, at last, compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

A TABLE OF CERTAIN PERSONS, ABJURED WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF LONDON, UNDER BISHOPS TONSTAL AND STOKESLEY, WITH THE ARTICLES ALLEGED AGAINST THEM.

See
Appendix.

Articles objected against Jeffery Lome, sometime usher of St. Anthony's School; for the which articles he was abjured³ [A. D. 1528].

Imprimis, for having and dispersing abroad sundry books of Martin Luther's, and others; as also for translating into the English tongue certain chapters of the work of Luther, 'De Bonis Operibus:' as also, certain chapters of a certain book called 'Piæ Predicationes,' wherein divers works of Luther be comprehended.

Item, For affirming and believing that faith only, without good works, will bring a man to heaven.

Item, That men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the Church.

Item, That we should pray only to God, and to no saints.

Item, That christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

Item, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's soul, and should not be used.

Item, That we should not offer to images in the church, nor set no lights before them.

Item, That no man is bound to keep any manner of fasting-days, instituted by the church.

Item, That pardons granted by the pope or the bishop do not profit a man.

For these articles Jeffery Lome was abjured before the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln; no mention being made of any penance enjoined him.

(1) See Vol. iv. pp. 666, 667.

(2) 4 Esd. vii. 29.

(3) The articles in the text are from the first edition (1563), p. 478. They are less fully given in later editions. See the Articles of Abjuration complete from the Register, at the end of the Appendix to this Volume. No. 1.—ED.

Sigar Nicholson, Stationer, of Cambridge, A.D. 1528.

Henry VIII.

His articles were like; and moreover for having in his house certain books of Luther, and others prohibited, and not presenting them to the ordinary. The handling of this man was too, too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up in such a manner as well suffereth not to be named.

A. D.
1528
to
1533.

John Raimund, a Dutchman, A.D. 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.

See Appendix.

Paul Luther, Grey Friar, and Warden of the House at Ware, A.D. 1529.

His articles were for preaching and saying that it is pity that there be so many images suffered in so many places, where indiscreet and unlearned people be; for they make their prayers and oblations so entirely and heartily before the image, that they believe it to be the very self saint in heaven.

Item, That if he knew his father and mother were in heaven, he would count them as good as St. Peter and Paul, but for the pain they suffered for Christ's sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no saint; for saints in heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this world, than a man in the north country knoweth what is done in the south country.

Roger Whaplod, Merchant Tailor,¹ sent, by one Thomas Norfolk, unto Dr. Goderidge, this bill following, to be read at his sermon in the Spital. A.D. 1529.

A Bill read by the Preacher at the Spital.

'If there be any well-disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the conduit in Fleet-street, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and cattle of one Richard Hun, late merchant tailor of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, and a better penny, of the goods of the said Richard Hun; upon whose soul, and all christian souls, Jesus have mercy!'

For this bill, both Whaplod and Norfolk were brought and troubled before the bishop; and also Dr. Goderidge, who took a groat for reading the said bill,² was suspended for a time from saying mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at Paul's cross; reading this bill as followeth.

The Revocation³ of Dr. William Goderidge, read at Paul's Cross.

Masters! so it is, that where in my late sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Tuesday in Easter-week last past, I did pray specially for the soul of Richard Hun, late of London, merchant-tailor, a heretic, by the laws of holy church justly condemned: by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his church, and the laws of the same, for which I have submitted me to my ordinary, and done penance there-for: forasmuch as, peradventure, the audience that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to think that I did favour the said heretic, or any other, I desire you, at the instance of

Dr. Goderidge re-
voketh
his pray-
ing for
the soul of
Richard
Hun.

(1) See Document iv. at the end of this Vol.; and Vol. iv. Appendix, note on p. 197.

(2) It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of bills at sermons.

(3) Ex Regist. Lond.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1529
to
1533.

Almighty God, to forgive me, and not so to think of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore, here before God and you, I declare myself that I have not favoured him or any other heretic, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholic faith of holy church, according to my profession, to the best of my power.

Robert West, Priest, A. D. 1529.

Abjured for books and opinions contrary to the proclamation.

Nicholas White of Rye, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—For speaking against the priests' saying of matins; against praying for them that be dead: against praying to God for small trifles, as for the cow calving, the hen hatching, &c.: for speaking against the relic of St. Peter's finger: against oblations to images: against vowing of pilgrimage: against priesthood: against holy bread and holy water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, Priest, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—That pardons granted by the pope are naught, and that men should put no trust in them, but only in the passion of Christ: that he, being led by the words of the gospel, Mat. vii. 'De via lata, et angusta,' and also by the epistle of the mass, beginning, 'Vir fortissimus Judas,' had erred in the way of the pope, and thought, that there were but two ways, and no purgatory: that men ought to worship no images, nor set up lights before them: that pilgrimage doth nothing avail: that the gospel was not truly preached for the space of three hundred years past, &c.

William Wegen, Priest at St. Mary Hill, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—That he was not bound to say his Matins nor other service, but to sing with the choir till they came to 'prime;' and then, saying no more service, thought he might well go to mass: that he had said mass oftentimes, and had not said his matins and his divine service before: that he had gone to mass without confession made to a priest: that it was sufficient for a man, being in deadly sin, to ask only God mercy for his sin, without further confession made to a priest: that he held against pilgrimages, and called images, stocks, stones, and witches.

Item, That he being sick, went to the Rood of St. Margaret Patens; and said before him twenty Paternosters; and when he saw himself never the better, then he said, 'A foul ill take him, and all other images.'

Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he fasteth well.

Item, For commending Luther to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c.

Item, For saying that the mass was but a ceremony, and made to the intent that men should pray only.

Item, For saying, that if a man had a pair of beads or a book in his hand at the church, and were not disposed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale, Holy Water Clerk of Tolenham, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—That offering of money and candles to images did not avail, since we are justified by the blood of Christ.

Item, For speaking against worshipping of saints, and against the pope's pardons. For saying, that since the sacraments that the priest doth minister, be as good as those which the pope doth minister, he did not see but the priest hath as good authority as the pope.

Item, That a man should confess himself to God only, and not to a priest, &c.

William Blomfield, Monk of Bury.

Abjured for the like causes.

John Tyndale, A. D. 1530.

Henry VIII.

For sending five marks to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain letters from his brother.

A. D.
1530
to
1533.

William Worsley, Priest and Hermit, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—For preaching at Halestede, having the curate's license, but not the bishop's.

Item, For preaching these words, 'No man riding on pilgrimage, having under him a soft saddle, and an easy horse, should have any merit thereby, but the horse and the saddle,' &c.

Item, For saying that hearing of matins and mass, is not the thing that shall save a man's soul, but only to hear the word of God.

John Stacy, Tyler, A. D. 1530.

His articles were against purgatory, which he said to be but a device of the priests to get money: against fasting days by man's prescription, and choice of meats: against superfluous holy days: Item, against pilgrimage, &c.

See Appendix.

Lawrence Maxwell, Tyler, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood; but that he received him by the word of God, and in remembrance of Christ's passion.

Item, That the order of priesthood is no sacrament: that there is no purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curson, Monk of Eastacre, in Norfolk, A. D. 1530.

His articles were these:—For going out of the monastery, and changing his weed, and letting his crown to grow; working abroad for his living, making copes and vestments. Also for having the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and another book containing certain books of the Old Testament, translated into English, by certain whom the Papists call Lutherans.

Thomas Cornewell or Austy, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—It was objected, that he, being enjoined afore, by Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, for his penance to wear a faggot embroidered upon his sleeve under pain of relapse, he kept not the same; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual custody in the house of St. Bartholomew, from whence afterwards he escaped and fled away.

Thomas Philip, A. D. 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by sir Thomas More, to bishop Stokesley by indenture. Besides other articles of purgatory, images, the sacrament of the altar, holy-days, keeping of books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracy's Testament; and in his chamber in the Tower was found cheese and butter in Lent-time. Also, that he had a letter delivered unto him going to the Tower. This letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only Tracy's Testament, and his butter in Lent. One Stacy first bare witness against him, but after, in the court, openly he protested that he did it for fear. The bishop then willing him to submit himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy church, he said 'he would:' and when the form of his abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said, He would appeal to the king as supreme head of the

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1530
to
1533.

church, and so did. Still the bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, That he would be obedient as a christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any heresy during his life, nor to favour any heretics.

But the bishop, not yet content, would have him to read the abjuration after the form of the church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, that he would forswear all heresies, and that he would maintain no heresies, nor favour any heretics. The bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the abjuration formed after the pope's church: to whom he said, If it were the same abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but stand to his appeal made to the king, the supreme head of the church under God. Again the bishop asked him, if he would abjure or not. 'Except,' said he, 'you will show me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeal;' and he required the bishop to obey the same. Then the bishop, reading openly the bill of excommunication against him, denounced him for 'contumax,' and an excommunicated person, charging all men to have no company, and nothing to do with him. After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the registers.

See Appendix.

A Letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the Brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

A letter sent by the congregation.

The favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confess your name in the kingdom of glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confess him before all his adversaries, be with you ever. Amen.

Sir, the brethren think that there be divers false brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek out their freedom in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lord's adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore, if so it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they, as counsellors, desire you above all things to be stedfast in the Lord's verity, without fear; for he shall and will be your help, according to his promise, so that they shall not minish the least hair of your head without his will; unto which will, submit yourself and rejoice: for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished:¹ and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you.² And in that you suffer as a christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorify God on that behalf, 'Looking upon Christ the author and finisher of our faith, which, for the joy that was set before him, abode the cross and despised the shame.'³ Notwithstanding, though we suffer the wrong after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but reproveth him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith St. Paul also.⁴ So that we must not suffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore, according both to God's law and man's, ye be not bound to make answer in any cause, till your accusers come before you; which if you require, and thereon do stick, the false brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a mean that they shall not craftily, by questions, take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in Acts xx. it is written, 'It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his accusers before him, and have license to answer for himself, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused.' And also Christ willeth that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stand.⁵ And in 1 Tim. v., it is written, 'Against a senior, receive none accusation, but under two or three witnesses.' A senior, in this place, is any man that hath a house to govern. And also their own law is agreeable to this. Wherefore, seeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accusations such witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of grace, which hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you, that to him may be glory and praise for ever. Amen.

What is a senior by St. Paul.

(1) 2 Pet. ii.

(2) 1 Pet. v.

(3) Heb. xii.

(4) Acts xxiii.

(5) Matt. xviii.

Thus ye have heard the letter delivered to Thomas Philip. Now followeth the Testament of William Tracy.

Henry VIII.

William Tracy, Esquire, of Gloucestershire.

A. D.
1531
to
1533.

See Appendix.

A little before this time, this William Tracy, a worshipful esquire in Gloucestershire, and then dwelling at Toddington, made, in his will, that he would have no funeral pomp at his burying, neither passed he upon mass; and he further said, that he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any saint. This gentleman died, and his son, as executor, brought the will to the bishop of Canterbury to prove: which he showed to the convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burned as a heretic, A. D. 1532. This commission was sent to Dr. Parker, chancellor of the diocese of Worcester, to execute their wicked sentence; who accomplished the same. The king, hearing his subject to be taken out of the ground and burned, without his knowledge or order of his law, sent for the chancellor, and laid high offence to his charge; who excused himself by the archbishop of Canterbury who was lately dead; but in conclusion it cost him three hundred pounds to have his pardon.

William Tracy taken up, being dead, and burnt.

The will and testament of this gentleman, thus condemned by the clergy, was as hereunder followeth:

The Testament of William Tracy.¹

In the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy of Toddington in the county of Gloucester, esquire, make my testament and last will as hereafter followeth: First and before all other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace, and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.²

And touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other man's works or merits. My ground and belief is, that there is but one God and one mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in heaven or in earth to be mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all others to be but as petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace: and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promises of Christ: 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.'³

As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; for St. Augustine saith, 'De cura agenda pro mortuis,' that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead: and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

Funeral pomp serveth only for the living

And touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, 'I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat,' &c. And it followeth, 'That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me,' &c. And ever we should consider that true saying, that a good work

Our merits be only our faith in Christ.

(1) See Hall's Chronicle, p. 796. Edit. 4to. 1809. There is a commentary both by Tyndale and Frith upon this will, vol. iii. pp. 4 and 246 of their Works. London, 1831.—Ed.

(2) Job xix.

(3) Mark 16.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1531
to
1533.

maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth by faith, and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sin, &c.¹

And all my temporal goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and Richard my son, whom I make mine executors. Witness hereof mine own hand the tenth of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth.

See Appendix.

This is the true copy of his will, for which (as you heard before), after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

THE TABLE CONTINUED.²

John Periman, Skinner, A. D. 1531.

His articles were much like unto the others before; adding, moreover, that all the preachers then at Paul's Cross preached nothing but lies and flatterings, and that there was never a true preacher but one; naming Edward Crome.

Robert Goldstone, Glazier, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That men should pray to God only, and to no saints: that pilgrimage is not profitable: that men should give no worship to images. Item, for saying, that if he had as much power as any cardinal had, he would destroy all the images that were in all the churches in England.

Lawrence Staple, Serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For having the Testament in English, the five books of Moses, the Practice of Prelates, the Sum of Scripture, the A. B. C.

Item, About the burning of Bainham, for saying, 'I would I were with Bainham, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me.'

Item, That he moved Henry Tomson to learn to read the New Testament, calling it The Blood of Christ.

Item, In Lent past, when he had no fish, he did eat eggs, butter, and cheese. Also, about six weeks before Master Bilney was attached,³ the said Bilney delivered to him at Greenwich four New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, which he had in his sleeve, and a budget besides of books, which budget he, shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto Bilney, &c.

Eating of
eggs,
made
heresy.

Item, On Fridays he used to eat eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Henry Tomson, Tailor, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That which the priest lifteth over his head at the sacrificing-time, is not the very body of Christ, nor is it God; but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor Tomson, although at first he submitted himself to the bishop, yet they with sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell, of Cologne, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That he cared not for going to the church to hear mass, for he could say mass as well as the priest: That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear mass, he said, he had as lieve go to the gallows, where the thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. Margaret Patens, and there holding his arms across, he said unto the people, that he could make as good a knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

(1) Rom. xiv.

(2) Ex Regist. Lond.

(3) See Vol. iv. Appendix, note on p. 612.

Robert Man, Serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That there is no purgatory: That the pope hath no more power to grant pardon than another simple priest: That God gave no more authority to St. Peter than to another priest: That the pope was a knave, and his priests knaves all, for suffering his pardons to go abroad to deceive the people: That St. Thomas of Canterbury is no saint: That St. Peter was never pope of Rome.

Item, He used commonly to ask of priests where he came, whether a man were accursed, if he handled a chalice, or no? If the priest would say, Yea: then would he reply again thus: 'If a man have a sheep-skin on his hands, meaning a pair of gloves, 'he may handle it.' The priests saying, Yea. 'Well then,' quoth he, 'ye will make me believe, that God put more virtue in a sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian man's hand, for whom he died.'

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531 to 1533.

Priests set more store by a pair of gloves, than by a layman's hand.

Henry Feldon, A. D. 1531.

His trouble was for having these books in English: A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue of Mark, a written book containing the Pater-noster, Ave-Maria, and the Creed, in English; The Ten Commandments, and The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, Priest, A. D. 1531.

His article was only this:—For saying that the blessing with a shoe-sole, is as good as the bishop's blessing, &c.

Thomas Roe, A. D. 1531.

His articles were, for speaking against auricular confession and priestly penance, and against the preaching of the doctors.

William Wallam, A. D. 1531.

His opinion: That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ in flesh and blood; and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood, in the form of bread.

Grace Palmer, A. D. 1531.

Witness was brought against her by her neighbours, John Rouse, Agnes his wife, John Pole, of St. Osithe's, for saying, 'Ye use to bear palms on Palm-Sunday: it skilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not.'

Also, 'Ye use to go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walsingham, and other places: ye were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my children, and others of my poor neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of timber painted: there is neither God nor our Lady.'

Item, For repenting that she did ever light candles before images.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ; it is but bread, which the priest there showeth for a token or remembrance of Christ's body.

Against bearing of palms.

See Appendix.

Philip Brasier, of Boxted, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That the sacrament holden up between the priest's hands is not the body of Christ, but bread, and is done for a signification: That confession to a priest needeth not: That images be but stocks and stones: That pilgrimage is vain: Also for saying, that when there is any miracle done, the priests do anoint the images, and make men believe that the images do sweat in labouring for them; and with the offerings the priests find their harlots.

Henry VIII.

John Fairstede, of Colchester, A. D. 1531.

A. D.
1531
to
1533.

His articles:—For words spoken against pilgrimage and images. Also for saying these words, ‘That the day should come that men should say, Cursed be they that make these false gods,’ (meaning images.)

George Bull, of Much Hadham, Draper, A. D. 1531.

Three confessions.

His articles:—That there be three confessions; one principal to God; another to his neighbour whom he had offended; and the third to a priest; and that without the two first confessions, to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlearned, to learn how to make their confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their neighbour whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that Luther was a good man. Item, That he reported, through the credence and report of Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, that where Wickliff’s bones were burnt, sprang up a well or well-spring.

A well-spring where Wickliff’s bones were burned.

John Haymond, Millwright, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For speaking and holding against pilgrimage and images, and against prescribed fasting-days.

That priests and religious men, notwithstanding their vows made, may lawfully forsake their vows and marry.

Item, For having books of Luther and Tyndale.

Robert Lambe, a Harper, A. D. 1531.

His article:—For that he, standing accursed two years together, and not fearing the censures of the pope’s church, went about with a song in commendation of Martin Luther.

John Hewes, Draper, A. D. 1531.

His articles, For speaking against purgatory, and Thomas Becket.

Against kneeling to the cross.

Item, At the town of Farnham, he, seeing Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a cross carried before a corse, asked, To whom he kneeled? He said, To his Maker. ‘Thou art a fool,’ said he, ‘it is not thy Maker; it is but a piece of copper or wood,’ &c.

Item, For these words, Masters! ye use to go on pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor neighbours, who lack succour, &c.

†

Also for saying, that he heard the vicar of Croydon thus preach openly, That there is much immorality kept up by going on pilgrimage to Wilsdon or Mouswell, &c.

Thomas Patmore, Draper, A. D. 1531.

See Appendix.

This Patmore was brother to Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, who was imprisoned in the Lollards’ Tower for marrying a priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This Patmore was accused by divers witnesses, upon these articles:

That he had as lieve pray to yonder hunter (pointing to a man painted there in a stained cloth), for a piece of flesh, as to pray to stocks that stand in walls, (meaning images.)

Item, That men should not pray to saints, but to God only: ‘For why should we pray to saints?’ said he, ‘they are but blocks and stocks.’

The truth of Scripture a long time kept from us.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a tree wherein stood an image, he took away the wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the curate of St. Peter's, he defended that priests might marry.

This Patmore had long hold with the bishop of London. First, he would not swear, 'Infamia non præcedent.' Then he would appeal to the king, but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the bishop's nets, that he could not get out: but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the king a hundred pounds.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1531
to
1533.

Note in the communication between this Patmore and the priest of St. Peter's, that whereas the priest objected against him (as is in the register) that priests have lived unmarried and without wives, these 1500 years in the church; he, and all other such priests therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in these volumes, that priests here in England had wives by law within these five hundred years and less.

A false saying of the papists.

Simon Smith, Master of Arts, of Gonville-hall, Cambridge, and Joan Bennore his Wife, A. D. 1531.

This Simon Smith, and Bennore his wife, were the parties whom Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, above mentioned, did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual prison. For this marriage, both the said Simon, and Bennore his wife, were called to examination before the bishop, and he caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how and where he married; then, after his marriage, how long he tarried; whether he went beyond sea; where he was, and with whom; after his return whither he resorted; how he lived; what mercery-ware he occupied; what fairs he frequented; where he left his wife; how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how she was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their register. And though they could fasten no other crime of heresy upon him, but only his marriage, yet, calling both him and her (being great with child) to examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer penance.

Thomas Patmore, Parson of Hadham, A. D. 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the parsonage of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of Tonalst his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more; behaving himself in life and conversation without any public blame or reproach, until John Stokesley was preferred unto the said bishopric, who, not very long after his installing, either for malice not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the benefice (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the king, as also unto queen Anne, then Marchioness of Pembroke), caused him to be attached and brought before him; and then, keeping him prisoner in his own palace a certain time, afterwards committed him to Lollards' tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years, without fire or candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him; not suffering any of them, notwithstanding, to come unto him, no not in his sickness. Howbeit sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially, either before himself, or else his vicar-general Foxford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry articles, viz. first, whether he had been at Wittenberg; secondly, and had seen or talked with Luther; thirdly, or with any Englishman, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what books he bought there, either Latin or English; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of Luther, Ecolampadius, Pomerane, or Melanethon.

Besides these, he ministered also other articles unto him, touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith (before mentioned) with one Joan Bennore, charging him that he both knew of, and also consented unto their marriage, the one

Priests' marriages.

Henry VIII.
 A.D.
 1531
 to
 1533.

being a priest and his curate, and the other his maidservant; and that he had persuaded his maidservant to marry with his said curate, alleging unto her, that though it were not lawful in England for priests to marry, yet it was, in other countries beyond seas. And that after their said marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said Smith to minister in his cure all Easter-time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of England, he supped with them at the Bell in New Fish-street; and again, at their return into England, did meet them at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said Smith a priest's gown.

He objected, moreover, against him in the said articles, that he had affirmed at Cambridge, first, that he did not set a bottle of hay by the pope's or bishop's curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; also thirdly, that though young children be baptized, yet they cannot be saved except they have faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against God's law to burn heretics.

Unto these articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the bishop and his vicar, he at last answered, making first his appeal unto the king, wherein he showed, that forasmuch as the bishop had most unjustly, and contrary to all due order of law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with the crime of heresy, without having any just proof or public defamation thereof; as also, contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life, by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the word of God and his sacraments as he would); and then, to minister unto him such articles, mingled with interrogatories, as neither touched any heresy nor transgression of any law, but rather showing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alleged, was compelled and did appeal from him and all his officers unto the king's majesty, whom, under God, he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not show himself obstinate against the bishop, being his ordinary (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceeding against him), he was nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this his answer: First, that howsoever the bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not 'publice diffamatus apud bonos et graves,' according to law, he was not, by the law, bound to answer to any of those articles.

And as touching the first six articles (as whether he was at Wittenberg, and spake with Luther, or any other, or bought or read any of their books, &c.), because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publicly accused of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them), he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith with Joan Bennore, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master Smith; but, that he gave his maid counsel thereunto, he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the marriage between them, he thought it not at all against God's law, who at the first creation made marriage lawful for all men: neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their marriage, either to keep him as his curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he showed more charity than the bishop, who had taken all things from them); and therefore he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that priests' marriages were not lawful.

Against whom, Foxford the bishop's vicar often alleged general councils, and determinations of the church, but no Scriptures, still urging him to abjure his articles; which Patmore long time refused, and sticking a great while to his former answers, at last was threatened by Foxford, to have the definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, that he believed the holy church as a christian man ought to do, and because it passed his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a priest might marry a wife; howbeit by the laws of the church, he thought that a priest might not marry. But the chancellor still so urged him to show whether a priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that priests might not

marry without offence to God, because the church had forbidden it, and therefore a priest could not marry without deadly sin.

Now as touching the four last articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might perhaps jestingly say, That a bottle of hay were more profitable to him than the pope's curse, which he thought true. Also to the second, he affirmed that God had set before us, by his precepts and commandments, the way to justice, which way was not in man's power to go and keep; therefore Paul saith [Gal. iii.], 'Quod lex erat ordinata per angelos;' but yet, to fulfil it, it was 'in manu (id est, in potestate) intercessoris:' That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the law; for it was in no man's power to observe it: but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodness of God; according to the psalm, 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes;' and according to the saying of Paul, 'Ut qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur;' who hath sent his Son to do for us that which it was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we ourselves could have done. that is to say, fulfil the law. As for the third he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptized without faith; which faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given to infants? To the last he said that if he spake it, he meant it not of those that St. Bernard called heretics, (with more adulterers, thieves, murderers and other open sinners, who blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good, making light darkness, and darkness light), but he meant it of such as men call heretics according to the testimony of St. Paul [Acts xxiv.], 'I live after the way' saith he, 'that men call heresy,' whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1531
to
1533.

After these answers thus made, the bishop, with his persecuting Foxford, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was fain, through human infirmity, to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwards made such suit unto the king (by means of the queen), that after three years' imprisonment, he was both released out of prison, and also obtained of the king a commission unto the lord Audley, being then lord chancellor, and to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Cromwell, then secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the bishop and his chancellor against the said Patmore, notwithstanding his appeal unto the king; and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said Patmore again unto his said benefice. But what was the end and issue of this commission, we find not as yet.

See
Appendix.

John Row, Book-binder, a Frenchman, A. D. 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penance, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, A. D. 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.

W. Nelson, Priest, A. D. 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of Periman certain books of Luther, Tyndale, Thorp, &c., and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the king's proclamation, for which he was abjured. He was priest at Leith.

Henry VIII.

Thomas Eve, Weaver, A. D. 1531.

A. D. 1531 to 1533. His articles: That the sacrament of the altar is but a memory of Christ's passion. That men were fools to go on pilgrimage, or to set any candle before images. Item, It is as good to set up staves before the sepulchre, as to set up tapers of wax. That priests might have wives.

Robert Hudson of St. Sepulchre's, A. D. 1531.

A dog offered to St. Nicholas, bishop. See Appendix.

His article: On Childermas-day¹ (saith the register) he offered in Paul's church at offering time, to the child bishop (called St. Nicholas) a dog for devotion (as he said), and meant no hurt; for he thought to have offered a halfpenny, or else the dog, and thought the dog to be better than a halfpenny, and the dog should raise some profit to the child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth dog, &c.²

Edward Hewet, Serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His crime: That after the king's proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in English; also the book of John Frith against purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, Servant, A. D. 1531.

His article: That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these books; The Testament in English, The Sum of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in English, hidden in his bed-straw at Worcester.

Michael Lobley, A. D. 1531.

His articles: That he, being at Antwerp, bought certain books inhibited, as The Revelation of Antichrist, The Obedience of a Christian man, The wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, For speaking against images and purgatory. Item, For saying, that Bilney was a good man, and died a good man,³ because of a bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A Boy of Colchester, A. D. 1531.

A lad in Colchester dieth in prison for bringing to Bayfield his books.

A boy of Colchester or Norfolk, brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of books, about four days before the said Bayfield was taken; for which the lad was taken, and laid in the Compter by Master More, chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, Tailor, A. D. 1531.

His articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his house Richard Bayfield, and other good men: that he received his books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament: he had also the Testament of William Tracy: he believed that there was no purgatory.

William Lincoln, Prentice, A. D. 1532.

His articles: For having and receiving books from beyond the sea, of Tyn-dale, Frith, Thorp, and others. Item, He doubted, whether there were any purgatory: whether it were well done to set up candles to saints, to go on pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel, of Boxted, A. D. 1532.

His heresy was this: For having and reading the New Testament in English, the Psalter in English, and the book called 'A B C.'

(1) " Childermas-day;" the feast of the Innocents, being the 28th of December.—Ed.

(2) Ex Reglst.

(3) Why then doth Master More say, that Bilney recanted and died a good man, if these be punished for commending him to die a good man?

John Medwel, Servant to Master Carket, Scrivener.

Henry VIII.

This Medwel lay in prison twenty-four weeks, till he was almost lame. His heresies were these:—That he doubted whether there was any purgatory. He would not trust in pardons, but rather in the promises of Christ.¹ He doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him. He doubted whether pilgrimages and setting up of candles to images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any saint. Item, he had in his custody, the New Testament in English, the Examination of Thorp, The Wicked Mammon, a book of Matrimony.²

A. D.
1532
to
1533.

Christopher Fulman, Servant to a Goldsmith, A. D. 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain books at Antwerp of George Constantine, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being books prohibited by the proclamation. Item, He thought then those books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bowgas, A. D. 1532.

Her heresies were these:—Being asked if she would go on pilgrimage, she said, 'I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will,' &c. Then Richard Sharples, parson of Milend, by Colchester, asked her if she said her Ave Maria. 'I say,' said she, 'Hail Mary, but I will say no further.' Then, said he, if she left not those opinions, she would bear a faggot. 'If I do, better, then, I shall,' said she, adding moreover, 'that she would not go from that, to die there-for:' to whom the priest answered and said, She would be burned. Hereunto Margaret, again replying, asked the priest, 'Who made martyrs?' 'Tyrants,' quoth the priest, 'make martyrs, for they put martyrs to death.' 'So they shall, or may, me,' quoth Margaret. At length, with much ado, and great persuasions, she gave over to Foxford, the chancellor, and submitted herself.

Tyrants
make
martyrs.

John Tyrel, an Irishman, of Billerica, Tailor.

His articles were these:—That the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that heresy, he answered and said, that about three weeks before Midsummer last past, he heard Master Hugh Latimer preach at St. Mary, Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and do their pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Master Latimer in his sermon did set at little the sacrament of the altar.

Latimer
preached
against
pilgrim-
age.

William Lancaster, Tailor, A. D. 1532.

The cause laid to this man was, that he had in his keeping the book of Wickliff's Wicket. Item, That he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, Upon the day of Assumption, he said, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the sacrament of the altar.

Robert Topley, Friar, A. D. 1532.

His articles:—He being a Friar Augustine of Clare, forsook his habit, and going in a secular man's weed ten years, married a wife, called Margaret Nixon, having by her a child; and afterwards, being brought before the bishop, he was by him abjured, and condemned to be imprisoned in his former monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his wife again.

A friar
married.

(1) It is heresy with the pope, to trust only to the merits of Christ.
(2) Ex ipsius schedula ad Episc. Scripta.

Henry
VIII.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Friar, at Stoke-clare.

A. D. 1532 to 1533. By the occasion of this Robert Topley aforesaid, place is offered to speak something likewise of Thomas Topley, his brother belike, and also a friar of the same order and house of Stoke-clare. This Thomas Topley had been converted before by one Richard Foxe, priest of Bumstead, and Miles Coverdale, insomuch that he, being induced, partly by them, partly by reading certain books, cast off both his order and habit, and went like a secular priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to Cuthbert, bishop of London, A. D. 1528, before whom he made this confession as followeth.

The Recantation of Thomas Topley.¹

All christian men beware of consenting to Erasmus's Fables, for by consenting to them, they have caused me to shrink in my faith, that I promised to God at my christening by my witnesses. First, as touching these fables, I read in Colloquium, by the instruction of sir Richard Foxe, of certain pilgrims, who, as the book doth say, made a vow to go to St. James, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute St. James in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his wife and his children; and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed that he was in heaven, and yet he said that he was a great liar. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from devotion to saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine service of them was very good, and is; though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such fables, and also because of other foolish pastimes; as dancing, tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuneth thus, about half a year ago, that the said sir Richard went forth, and desired me to serve his cure for him; and as I was in his chamber, I found a certain book called Wickliff's Wicket, whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterwards, also, when I remembered it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless, I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon St. Anthony's day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said book (which did make the sacrament of Christ's body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christ's passion), till I heard sir Miles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawn from that blessed sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ's body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, because I have not been steadfast in that holy order that God hath called me unto by baptism, neither in the holy order that God and St. Augustine have called me to by my religion, &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with sir Miles Coverdale, late friar of the same order, going in the habit of a secular priest, who had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus's works, and also upon confession. This sir Miles said, and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a priest; which opinion this respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he saith, that at the said sermon, made by the said sir Miles Coverdale at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of images in the church, saying and preaching, that men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardiner, Augustine Friar, of Clare.

With this Topley I may also join William Gardiner, one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise, by the motion of the said Richard Foxe, curate of Bumstead, and by showing him certain books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was for the same abjured by Cuthbert, bishop, the same year, 1528.

(1) Ex. Regist. Lond

Richard Johnson, of Boxted, and Alice his Wife.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1532
to
1533.

This Richard and his wife were favourers of God's word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from Salisbury to Boxted by reason of persecution, where they continued a good space. At length, by resort of good men, they began to be suspected, and especially for a book of Wickliff's Wicket, which was in their house, they were convented before Stokesley, bishop of London, and there abjured.

So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them that during those bitter days, before the coming of queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. Such decrees and injunctions then were set forth by the bishops, such laws and proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of oath to make one detect another so subtilly, that scarcely any good man could or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these :

Perilous days.

Arthur and Gefferey Lome.
John Tibauld, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.
Edmund Tibauld, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preston, and his wife.
Joan Smith, widow; also her sons Robert and Richard, and her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth.
Robert Hempsteed, and his wife.
Thomas Hempsteed, and his wife.

John Hempsteed, their son.
Robert Faire.
William Chatwals.
Joan Smith, widow, otherwise called Agnes, widow; also her sons John, Thomas, and Christopher, and her daughters Joan and Alice.
John Wiggen.
Nicholas Holden's wife.
Alice Shipwright.
Henry Brown.
John Craneford.

The names of certain persons of the town of Bumstead, who abjured.

All these were of the town of Bumstead, who being detected by sir Richard Foxe, their curate, and partly by Tibauld, were brought up to the bishop of London, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty-five, to be examined and abjured by the said bishop.

Moreover, in other towns about Suffolke and Essex, others also were detected, as in the town of Byrbrook, these following :

Isabel Choote, widow; also her sons John, William, Christopher, and Robert; her daughter Margaret, and Katherine her maid.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harvie, and his wife.
Thomas, his son.
Agnes, his daughter.

Bateman, and his wife.
John Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlin, a spoon-maker.
Christmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife and his two sons.
John Pickas, and his wife.

Men and women of Essex and Suffolke troubled for the gospel.

<i>Henry VIII.</i>	William Pickas, his brother.	Roger Tanner.
	Girling, his wife and his daughter.	Christopher Raven, and his wife.
	Matthew's wife.	John Chapman, his servant.
A.D. 1532	Johnson, his wife and his son.	Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to John Chapman.
to 1533.	Thomas Hills.	

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and received them to his house, as Thomas Bate, Simon Smith, the priest's wife, Roger Tanner, with a number more, which ye may see and read in our first edition.¹

R. Chapman.
Cruelty
showed
for mercy.

Touching this Richard Chapman, this, by the way, is to be noted, that as he was in his coat and shirt enjoined, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-leg, to go before the procession, and to kneel upon the cold steps in the church all the sermon time, a little lad, seeing him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his cap to kneel upon; for which the boy was immediately taken into the vestry, and there unmercifully beaten, for his mercy showed to the poor penitent.

Beside these, divers others were about London, Colchester, and other places also, partakers of the same cross and affliction for the like cause of the gospel, in which number come in these who hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, priest.	Robert Wigge, William Bull, and George Cooper, of London.
Robert Best.	John Toy of St. Faith's, London.
John Turke.	Richard Foster of London.
William Raylond of Colchester.	Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington.
Henry Raylond, his son.	Alice Gardener, John Tomson, and John Bradley and his wife, of Col- chester.
Marion Matthew, or Westden.	John Hubert, of Esdonland, and his wife.
Dorothy Long.	William Butcher, whose father's grand- father was burned for the same re- ligion.
Thomas Parker. ²	Abraham Water of Colchester. ³
M. Forman, bachelor of divinity, par- son of Honey-lane.	
Robert Necton.	
Katharine Swane.	
Mark Cowbridge of Colchester.	
Widow Denby.	
Robert Hedil of Colchester.	

All these in this table contained, were troubled and abjured, A.D. 1527, and A.D. 1528.

John Wily the elder.	William Wily, another son.
Katharine Wily, his wife.	Margaret Wily, his wife.
John Wily, son of John Wily the elder.	Lucy Wily, and Agnes Wily, two young girls.
Christian Wily, his wife.	

These eight persons were accused A.D. 1532, for eating pottage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. James's even.

Also another time, upon St. Peter's even, as Katharine Wily did lie in child-bed, the other wives, with the two girls, were found eating all together of a broth made with the fore-part of a rack of mutton.

Item, The aforesaid John Wily the elder had a primer in English in his house, and other books.

(1) The first Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 419. See also vol. iv. pp. 585, 586 of this Edition. This catalogue of names is omitted in all other Editions.—Ed.

(2) This Parker was abjured twenty-four years before this.

(3) Ex Regist. Lond.

Also he had a young daughter of ten years old, who could render by heart the most part of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew. Also she could rehearse without book, 'The Disputation between the Clerk and the Friar.'

Item, The said John Wily had in his house a treatise of William Thorp, and sir John Oldcastle.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1532.
to
1533.

A NOTE OF RICHARD BAYFIELD ABOVE MENTIONED.

Mention was made before¹ of Richard Bayfield, monk of Bury, who, in these perilous days, amongst other good saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard; but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been showed; which now, as in searching out of registers we have found, so we thought good here to adjoin the same, with the words and confession of the same Edmund Peerson, who detected him in manner as followeth.

The Accusation of Edmund Peerson against Richard Bayfield.

The thirteenth day of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, A. D. 1527, sir Richard Bayfield said, that my lord of London's commissary was a plain pharisee; wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome doctrine, he trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a pharisee as yet, he said.

Also he said that he cared not even if the commissary and the chancellor both heard him; for the chancellor, he said, was also a pharisee, and he trusted to make him a christian man.

Also he said he was entreated by his friends, and, in a manner, constrained to abide in the city against his will, to make the chancellor, and many more, perfect christian men; for as yet many were pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Also he said that Master Arthur and Bilney were, and be, more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the commissary, the chancellor, my lord of London, or my lord cardinal.

Also he said that if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in or hold, they shall be martyrs before God in heaven.

Also he said, After Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

Also he said that he would favour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their living to be so good; for they did wear no shirts of linen cloth, but shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his purse he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Also he said that no man should give laud or praise, in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any saint in heaven, but only to God; *Soli Deo honor et gloria*; that is, To God alone be all honour and glory.²

Also he said, 'Ah, good sir Edmund!' ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a pharisee, with many others of your company: but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect christian men, ere I depart from the city; for I purpose to read a common lecture every day at St. Foster's Church, which lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls that be false pharisees.'

The godly courage of Bayfield
See Appendix.

Also he said that Bilney preached nothing at Wilsdon, but what was true.

Also he said that Bilney preached true at Wilsdon, if he said that our Lady's crown of Wilsdon, her rings and beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the ministers of Christ's church; 'for that I have seen myself,' he said, 'here in London, and that will I abide by.'

The people's offerings bestowed upon harlots.

Also he said, He did not fear to commune and argue in Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, even if it were with my lord cardinal.

Also he said that he would hold Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, and abide by them, that they were true opinions, to suffer death there-for; 'I know them,' said he, 'for such noble and excellent men in learning.'

(1) See vol iv. p. 680.—ED.

(2) 1 Tim. i.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1533.

The car-
dinal's
shoes.

Also he said, If he were before my lord cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naughtily in imprisoning Arthur and Bilney, who were better disposed in their livings to God, than my lord cardinal, or my lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

Also he said, My lord cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God; for Christ (he said) never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions or dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearl and precious stones; nor had Christ ever two crosses of silver, two axes, or a pillar of silver and gilt.

Also he said that every priest might preach the gospel without license of the pope, my lord cardinal, my lord of London, or any other man; and that he would abide by: and thus he verified it, as it is written, Mark xvi., 'Euntes in mundum universum, predicare Evangelium omni creaturæ.' Christ commanded every priest to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the word of God by the authority of this gospel; and not to run to the pope, nor to any other man for license: and that he would abide by, he said.

Also he said, 'Well, Sir Edmund!' say you what you will, and every man, and my lord cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my lord cardinal doth punish Arthur and Bilney unjustly, for there be no truer christian men in all the world living, than they two be; and that punishment that my lord cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as one who would say, 'This may I do, and this will I do: who shall say nay? but he doth it of no justice.'

Also about the 14th day of October last past, at three o'clock at afternoon, sir Richard Bayfield came to St. Edmund's in Lombard-street, where he found me, sir Edmund Peerson, sir James Smith, and sir Miles Garnet, standing at the uttermost gate of the parsonage; and sir Edmund said to sir Richard Bayfield, 'How many christian men have ye made, since ye came to the city?' Quoth sir Richard Bayfield, 'I came even now to make thee a christian man, and these two other gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three pharisees as yet.'

Also he said to sir Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better christian men than he was, or any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

By me, Edmund Peerson.

And thus we have, as in a gross sum, compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great a number of good men and good women, who, in those sorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this present year 1533, that is, till the coming in of queen Anne) were manifold ways vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the bishop of Rome. Where again we have to note, that from this present year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the said queen Anne, we read of no great persecution, nor any abjuration to have been in the church of England, save only that the registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists,¹ of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the realm, A. D. 1535; other ten repented and were saved. Where note again, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the king; which was contrary to the pope's law.

Com-
plaint of
the com-
mons
against
the
clergy.

Now to proceed forth in our matter: After that the bishops and heads of the clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel authority against the poor wasted flock of the Lord, and began, furthermore, to stretch forth their rigour and austerity, to attach and molest also other great persons of the temporalty; so

(1) The names of the ten Dutchmen Anabaptists, who were put to death, were Segor, Derick, Simon, Ruita, Derick, Dominick, David, Cornelius, Elken, Milo.

it fell that in the beginning of the twenty-third year of king Henry, which was A.D. 1532, a parliament was called by the king about the 15th day of January:¹ in the which parliament the commons renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the prelates and ordinaries, for calling men before them 'Ex officio.' For such was then the usage of the ordinaries and their officials, that they would send for men, and lay accusations to them of heresy, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth: whereby the commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the party so ascited must either abjure or do worse: for purgation he might none make.

As these matters were long debating in the common house, at last it was agreed that the temporal men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the king. Whereupon, the 18th day of March, the common speaker, accompanied with certain knights and burgesses of the common house, came to the king's presence, and there declared how the temporal men of his realm were sore aggrieved with the cruel demeanour of the prelates and ordinaries, who touched their bodies and goods so nearly, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit by their speaker unto his grace, to take such order and redress in the case, as to his high wisdom might seem most convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the commons although the king at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay, yet notwithstanding, this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the temporal men against the spirituality, lacking nothing but God's helping hand to work in the king's heart for reformation of such things, which all they did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lord's divine providence fail in time of need, but eftsoons ministered a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual clergy grown to such a height as was intolerable. He saw again, and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions, of his oppressed flock; his truth decayed, his religion profaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was high time for his high majesty to look upon the matter; as he did indeed, by a strange and wondrous means, which was through the king's divorcement from lady Katharine, dowager, and marrying with lady Anne Bullen, in this present year; which was the first occasion and beginning of all this public reformation which hath followed since in this church of England, to this present day, according as ye shall hear.

A Compendious Discourse,

COMPREHENDING THE WHOLE SUM AND MATTER CONCERNING
THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN KING HENRY AND QUEEN ANNE
BULLEN; AND QUEEN KATHARINE DIVORCED.

In the first entry of this king's reign ye heard before, how, after the death of prince Arthur, the lady Katharine, princess dowager, and wife to prince Arthur, by the consent both of her father and of his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, to the end her

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1534.

See
Appendix.

Cruelty of
the clergy
against
the tem-
poralty.

God's
helping
hand in
time of
need.

Queen
Anne
married,
and lady
Katharine
divorced

A. D.
1527
to
1533.

(1) Ex Ed. Hall. [The twenty-third year of Henry VIII. page 784. Lond. 1809.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1527.

dowry might remain still within the realm, was espoused, after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, which was this king Henry. *Thus' then, after the declaration of these things gone before, next cometh to our hands (by the order and process of the time we are now about) to intreat of the marvellous and most graecious work of the holy providence of God, beginning now here to work about this time in England that which neither durst be attempted before of any prince within this realm, nor yet could ever be hoped for of any subject; concerning the abolishing and overthrow of the pope's supremacy here in the English church: who, through the false pretended title of his usurped authority, and through the vain fear of his keys and cursed cursings or excommunications, did so deeply sit in the conscience of men; did keep all princes and kings so under him; briefly, did so plant himself in all churchies, taking so deep root in the hearts of christen people so long time, that it seemed not only hard, but also impossible, for man's power to abolish the same. But that which passeth man's strength God here beginneth to take in hand, to supplant the old tyranny and subtle supremacy of the Romish bishop. The occasion whereof began thus (through the secret providence of God), by a certain unlawful marriage between king Henry VIII. and the lady Katharine, his brother's wife. Which marriage, being found unlawful, and so concluded by all universities not to be dispensed withal by any man, at length brought forth a verity long hid before; that is, that neither the pope was that he was recounted to be; and that, again, presumptuously he took more upon him than he was able to dispense withal.

These little beginnings being once called into question gave great light to men, and ministered withal great occasion to seek further: insomuch [that] at length the pope was espied, both to usurp that which he could not claim, and to claim that which he ought not to usurp. As touching the first doubt of this unlawful marriage, whether it came of the king himself, or of the cardinal, or of the Spaniards, as the chronicles themselves do not fully express, so I cannot assuredly affirm. This is certain, that it was not without the singular providence of God (whereby to bring greater things to pass), that the king's conscience herein seemed to be so troubled, according as the words of his own oration, had unto his commons, do declare; whose oration here[after] followeth, to give testimony of the same.*

The pope dispenseth for the brother to marry his brother's wife.

The Spaniards first doubted of the king's marriage.

This marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the pope, the omnipotent vicar of Christ, cannot by favour dispense, if it please him? The pope which then ruled at Rome was pope Julius II., by whose dispensation this marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor God's law would bear, was concluded, approved, and ratified; and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, the space near of twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards themselves, of the emperor's council, A.D. 1522; at what time Charles the emperor, being here in England, promised to marry the lady Mary, daughter to the king of England; with the which promise the Spaniards themselves were not well contented,

objecting this, among many other causes, that the said lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Henry VIII.

Whereupon the emperor, forsaking that marriage, did couple himself with lady Isabel, daughter to king Emanuel of Portugal: which marriage was done A.D. 1526. After this marriage of the emperor, the next year following, king Henry, being disappointed thus of the emperor, entered talk, or rather was laboured to by the French ambassadors, for the said lady Mary to be married to the French king's son, duke of Orleans; upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the president of Paris, casting the like objection as the Spaniards had done before; that was, Whether the marriage between the king and the mother of this lady Mary, who had been his brother's wife before, were good or no? And so the marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like sort brake off again, and was rejected: which happened A.D. 1527.

A.D. 1527.

The second doubt, whether the lady Mary was rightly born.

The king, upon the occasion hereof casting many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply, first, with himself, after, with certain of his nearest council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm firm by succession of the daughter. It happened the same time that the cardinal, who was then nearest about the king, had fallen out with the emperor, for not helping him to the papacy, as ye before have heard; for the which cause he helped to set the matter forward by all practice he might. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and partly also incited by the cardinal, could not so rest; but inquired further to feel what the word of God, and learning, would say unto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in public question, but that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerks, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, to the number of ten and more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful.

Two perplexities in the king's mind.

Cardinal Wolsey, a helper of the divorce.

All these censures, books, and writings, of so many doctors, clerks, and universities, sent from all quarters¹ of Christendom to the king, albeit they might suffice to have fully resolved, and did indeed resolve, the king's conscience touching this scruple of his marriage; yet would he not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unless he had withal the assent as well of the pope, as also the emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorized before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked; and much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or to come in any doubt; which was like to come, if that marriage were proved undispensable by God's word, which his predecessor, through his plenary power, had licensed before. Again, the emperor, he thought, would be no less hard for

See Appendix.

(1) 'All quarters,' that is, the judgments of ten or twelve universities against the king's marriage, Orleans, Paris, Toulouse, Angers, Bologna, Padua, the faculty of Paris, Bourges, Oxford, and Cambridge. [See the Appendix.]

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1528.

See Appendix.

Campeius the pope's legate.

The king's persuasion to the legates.

his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the emperor's near aunt, and a Spaniard born. Yet, nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel what they both would say unto it; and therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome, to weigh with pope Clement. To the emperor was sent sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, ambassador in the court of Gaunt. First, pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and sequel of the matter, sent cardinal Campeius (as is said) into England, joined with the cardinal of York.

At the coming of these legates, the king, first opening unto them the grief of his conscience, seemed with great reasons and persuasions sufficiently to have drawn the good will of those two legates to his side; who also, of their own accord, pretended no less but to show a willing inclination to further the king's cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such others as favoured the queen, and talked their pleasure, were not stopped. Wherefore, to satisfy the blind surmises and foolish communication of these also, who, seeing the coming of the cardinals, cast out such lewd words, as that the king would, 'for his own pleasure,' have another wife, with like unbeseeming talk; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with divers other persons, to resort to his palace of Bridewell, the 8th day of November, A. D. 1528, where he, openly speaking in his great chamber, had these words in effect, as followeth.

The King's Oration to his Subjects.

Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort: it is not unknown to you, how that we, both by God's provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this realm of England almost the term of twenty years; during which time, we have so ordered us (thanked be God!) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor we have invaded no realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we think that you nor none of your predecessors ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, nor in more estimation, under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death; for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward the Fourth; and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by the which dissension this realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter, of a noble woman and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been told us by divers great clerks, that neither she is our lawful daughter, nor her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our ambassade was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done, to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his brother's wife, which is directly against God's law and his precept. Think you, my lords, that these words touch not my body and soul? Think you that these doings do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not, and if it were your cause every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid to you. For this only cause I protest before God, and

on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom; and for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the which she is descended (as you well know), she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and in all good qualities appertaining to nobility she is without comparison, as I, these twenty years almost, have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God's law, and clearly void, then I shall not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery, to God's great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefs I seek a remedy. Therefore I require of you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning; and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience and saving of our soul: and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart.

Henry VIII.

A D. 1528.

See Appendix.

Shortly after this oration of the king, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two legates, being requested of the king, for discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen lying then in the palace of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed judges indifferent, between the king and her, to hear and determine, whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not.

The legates talk with the queen.

When she understood the cause of their coming, being thereat something astonished at the first, after a little pausing with herself, thus she began, answering for herself.¹

Queen Katharine's Answer to the Cardinals.

Alas, my lords (said she), is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean season never question was made before? Divers prelates yet being alive, and lords also, and privy councillors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest; and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think it great marvel: and, in especial, when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that king Ferdinand, my father, bare unto me, I think in myself, that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might follow of our marriage; and in especial, the king my father sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a license and dispensation, that I, being the one brother's wife, and peradventure carnally known, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which license, under lead, I have yet to show: which things make me to say, and surely believe, that our marriage was both lawful, good, and godly.

But of this trouble I only may thank you, my lord cardinal of York. For, because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroad; and, in especial, for the great malice that you

The cardinal cause of this divorce, and why.

(1) Ex E. Hallo. [pp. 754, 755 Edit. 1809.—Ed.]

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1529.

bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you pope by force: and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends; and you have kept him true promise; for of all his wars and vexations he only may thank you. And as for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth; to whom I commit my cause, according to the truth.

The cardinal of York excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that ever the marriage should come in question; but he said that by his superior, the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause; which he sware on his profession to hear indifferently. But whatsoever was said, she believed him not; and so the legates took their leave of her, and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by cardinal Campeius's secretary, who was present; and afterward, by Edward Hall translated into English.

*By¹ these premises it is sufficient to judge and understand what the whole occasion was, that brought this marriage first into doubt, so that there needeth not any further declaration in words upon this matter. But this one thing will I say, if I might be bold to speak what I think: other men may think what they list. This I suppose, that the stay of this marriage was taken in good time, and not without the singular favour of God's providence. For if that one child, coming of this foresaid marriage, did so greatly endanger this whole realm of England to be entangled with the Spanish nation, that if God's mighty hand had not been betwixt, God knoweth what misery might have ensued: what peril then should thereby have followed, if, in the continuance of this marriage, more issue had sprung thereof!

But to return again to our matter concerning the whole process and discourse of this divorcement, briefly to comprehend in few words, that which might be collected out of many: after this answer was given of the queen, and her appeal made to the pope, the king, to try out the matter by Scriptures and by learning, sent first to the pope, then to most part of all universities, to have it decided to the uttermost,* as shall be hereafter fully declared.

In the next year ensuing, A. D. 1529, on the 31st day of May, at the Black Friars' of London was prepared a solemn place for the two legates: who, coming with their crosses, pillars, axes, and all other Romish ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were ascited *personally to appear or by their proctors* before the said legates the 18th day of June; where (the commission of the cardinals first being read, wherein it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two proctors. Then the queen was called, who being accompanied with four bishops,² and other of her counsel, and a great company of ladies, came personally herself before the legates; who there, after her obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, having

(1) For this passage between asterisks see Ed. 1563, p. 457.—Ed.

(2) These four bishops were Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asaph.

See
Appendix.

The vain
pomp
of the
legates.
The king
and queen
cited
before
them.

not many words with them, appealed from the legates, as judges not competent, to the court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

As the time passed on, the 21st day of June the king, being desirous to see an end of the controversy and hear the determination of the matter, came to the court, and the queen came also, where he, standing under his cloth of estate, uttered these or like words, *which¹ can best declare his own mind; which here I thought to notify, that they which have not the chronicles present, may here read his mind, and the better understand the matter.*

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1529.

The queen appealeth from the cardinals to the pope
See Appendix.

The King's Oration to the Legates.

My lords, legates of the see apostolic, who be deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience—for every good christian man knoweth what pain and what unquietness he suffereth, who hath his conscience grieved; for I assure you, on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scanty study anything which should be profitable for my realm and people; and for to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request—and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, never prince had such another; and therefore, if I would willingly change, I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you my lords at this time, to have a speedy end according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth.

When the king had said, the queen departed without any thing saying. *The² queen again, of the other partye (who had before appealed to the pope), assisted with her councillors and doctors, who were four bishops, that is Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asse,³ with other learned men whom the king had licensed her to choose unto her,* was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered, that she would abide by her appeal. That notwithstanding, the councillors on both sides every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at the last the divines were all of opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother, which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, that prince Arthur her husband confessed the act done, by certain words spoken; which, being recorded in other chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the prince of Wales almost half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if she had not been carnally known.

The queen abideth by her appeal.

Also she herself caused a bull to be purchased, in the which were these words, 'vel forsan cognitam,' which is as much to say as, 'peradventure carnally known;' which words were not in the first bull granted by Julius, at her second marriage to the king. Which second bull, with that clause, was only purchased to dispense with the second matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before:

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 457.—Ed

(2) Ibid. p. 458.—Ed.

(3) See Appendix.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.

which bull needed not to have been purchased, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the first bull had been sufficient.

A. D.
1529.

Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the said lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certain book of records which we have to show touching this marriage, that the same time when prince Arthur was first married with this lady Katharine, daughter to king Ferdinand, certain ambassadors of Ferdinand's council were then sent hither into England for the said purpose, to see and to testify concerning the full consummation of the said matrimonial conjunction; which councillors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirm to both their parents, that the matrimony was consummate by that act, but also did send over into Spain, to her father, such demonstrations of their mutual conjunction as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste ears. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question. Besides that in the same records appeareth, that both he and she not only were of such years as were meet and able to explete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales, by the space of three quarters of a year.¹

Three
reasons
for queen
Katharine.

Thus, when the divines on her side were beaten from that ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three causes, *of² policy, of charity, and of time.* One was, because, if it should be broken, the only child of the king should be a bastard, which were a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindness between her kindred and this realm. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space had made the marriage honest. These persuasions, with many other, were set forth by the queen's council, and in especial by the bishop of Rochester, who stood stiff in her cause. But yet God's precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, that the court of Rome had dispensed with that marriage. To this some lawyers said, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God. *And² truly, forsomuch as no reasons, be they never so wise and politic, have any force against the manifest and express word of God, whereunto all things must give place; it had not been hard for the legates speedily to have defined this matter, if they had had the word of God before their eyes, more than the respect of man.*

Fisher
bishop of
Rochester,
a
great doer
for queen
Katharine.

When the *subtil²* legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, forasmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the court of Rome, *understanding² another thing lying in this matter,³ what derogation might ensue hereby to the court of Rome and to the blemish of their dignity if the pope's dispensation should not be maintained as forceable in that or any other case;* and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king to cast favour to the lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran; they thought best to wind themselves

(1) Out of a written book of records, containing certain conferences between the cardinal and queen Katharine's almoner about this matter, remaining in our custody to be seen.

(2) See Edition 1563, pp. 458.—E.D.

(3) The searching of the king's marriage brought more things to light.

out of that brake betimes, and so *with¹ crafty delays dissimuled the matter, and tracted the time, and drave off the king with many fair words, but performing nothing, notwithstanding the king's earnest suit, and request made to them to make a speedy end, and to give some judgment for the quieting of his conscience: whatsoever it were, he would accept it. Yet they, neither following the cause, nor tendering the king, but only respecting their own gain and glory, from week to week protracted the matter till towards the end of July. Whereupon the king, taking it not well, so to be used at their hand, especially in such a matter, being so full of disquietness in itself, sent the duke of Norfolk and the duke of Suffolk to the court where the legates were, requiring them to hasten to the final end of the matter (what end soever it were), and to defer it no longer.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1529.

See Appendix.

Now here appeared the false crafty packing of these carnal merchants. It is the manner and custom of Rome about the beginning of August, during the space of the dog-days, to have a solemn Vacation, as they call it, in which time neither schools be used, nor any term kept. Campeius the cardinal therefore, pretending the order of the court of Rome, whereof he was as a member, answered, that he neither would nor could go against the ordinance of the court, whereunto he was bound; so that before October he would proceed no further in the cause. The dukes, hearing the cardinals' words, and perceiving their pretended excuses, seeing by no ways they would be entreated, brast out in manner of open defiance, as no great marvel was. Insomuch that Charles, duke of Suffolk, clapping his hand upon the table, and swearing by the mass, said in these words, That yet there came never legate nor cardinal from Rome that ever did good in England. And so with him all the temporal lords in an anger departed from the cardinals, leaving them one to look upon other. The king notwithstanding, yet for quietness of his troubled mind abiding the cardinals' leisure, was content to wait their assigned month of October. But before October came, Campeius the cardinal was called home by letters from the pope, whereby the matter was left undiscussed, or rather deluded, to verify the duke of Suffolk's saying, That no cardinal came yet from Rome, that ever did good in England. The king, seeing himself so deluded, or rather abused,* by the cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the cardinal of York followed not long after: for *the² king, taking more heart unto him, partly encouraged by the treatise afore mentioned, called "The Supplication of Beggars," which he had diligently read and perused, and partly provoked through the pride and stoutness of the clergy, brake off with the cardinal, caused him to be attainted in the Præmunire, and after also to be apprehended.*

Cardinal Campeius slippeth from the king.

This was A.D. 1529. Shortly after it happened, the same year, that the king by his ambassadors was advertized, that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bologna.³ Wherefore, *although¹ justly provoked, yet patiently forbearing, he ceased not his suit, but* directed sir Thomas Bullen, late created earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stokesley, afterwards bishop of London, and Dr. Lee, afterwards bishop of York, with his message to the pope's court, where also the emperor was, *desiring¹ to have an answer of his case according to the

The king sendeth to the emperor and the pope.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 458.—ED. (2) Ibid. p. 459.—ED. (3) See infra, vol. viii. pp. 5—10.—ED.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1529.

The
popes
answer.

right and justice.* Pope Clement, understanding the king's case and request, and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their dispensations, and moreover doubting the emperor's displeasure, bare himself strange off from the matter, answering the ambassadors with this delay, that he presently would not define in the case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do justice, *and¹ send an answer agreeing to right and equity.

This done, the king sendeth incontinent to all most famous universities abroad, to hear a resolute answer touching the state and condition of his marriage, whether it could stand by God's word or no. To this the universities, to the number of twelve, agreeing in uniform consent, make answer again in due form of writing to the king, affirming plainly his marriage, in case as it standeth, both to be unlawful, and repugnant to the express word of God; and that no man is able to dispense with the same.*

Although the king ought no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet, for quietness' sake, and for that he would not rashly break order (which rather was a disorder indeed), he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was best both for his own conscience and the stablishment of his realm to do.

God's
provi-
dence
working
marvel-
lously in
this mat-
ter.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, as afterwards followed, which his divine providence was disposed to work. For else, as touching the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both to stablish the see of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of the same see and court of Rome, if it might have been gotten. And therefore, intending to sue his divorce from Rome, at the first beginning his device was, by Stephen Gardiner his ambassador at Rome to exalt the cardinal of York, as is before showed, to be made pope and universal bishop, to the end that, he ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage which so troubled his conscience might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumour of the world: which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the English cardinal had once been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see had never been exterminate out of England.

Man pur-
poseth,
but God
despise-
th.

But God, being more merciful unto us, took a better way than so; for both without and contrary to the king's expectation, he so brought to pass, that neither the cardinal of York was pope (which should have been an infinite cost to the king), and yet nevertheless the king sped of his purpose too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid, by lawful divorcement, not only from that unlawful marriage which clogged his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm; and all at one time.

Thus God's holy providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favourable grant of the pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands, and seeing this Gordian knot¹ would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely authority knapped the knot at one stroke clean asunder, loosing, as it were, with one solution infinite questions. For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss, the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords, both temporal and spiritual, the king with one sword did so cut off both his swords that he dispatched them both clean out of England, as ye shall see more anon. But first the king, like a prudent prince, before he would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such rank flesh and putrefied places as were about it; and therefore, following his own proverb,² like as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie at the top, so he, to prepare his way better unto the pope, first began with the cardinal, casting him by the law of 'Præmunire' out of his goods and possessions: and so at length, by poisoning himself, he procured his own death, which was A.D. 1530.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

In³ the month of September in the same year, the king, to provide betimes against mischiefs that might come from Rome, gave forth oftsoons this proclamation touching the abolishing of the pope and the establishing of the king's supremacy: the tenor whereof here followeth.

A Proclamation of the King, that nothing should be purchased from Rome.

See Appendix.

The king's highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing, heretofore within this year past purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this his said realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his highness's indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all other. [September 16th.]

The pope's authority excluded from England.

*In³ the mean time nothing yet is heard from Rome. Wherefore the king, assembling his parliament the next year following, which was 1531, in the month of March, sent into the common house the lord chancellor, and divers lords of the spirituality and temporality to the number of twelve, whereas the lord chancellor, speaking unto the whole house, had these words in effect as followeth:—

[Jan. 7th.]
[March 30th.]

'You of this worshipful house, I am sure, be not so ignorant, but you know well that the king, our sovereign lord, hath married his brother's wife: for she was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthur; and therefore you may surely say that he hath married his brother's wife: if this marriage be good or no, many clerks do doubt. Wherefore the king, like a virtuous prince,

(1) Gordium was a city in Asia, where there was a knot so fast tied, and folded so many ways, that (as the saying was) whosoever could loose it, should have all Asia. So Alexander coming to it, when he could not loose it with his hands, he cut it asunder with his sword.

(2) "The king's proverb:" look before, vol. iv. p. 658.

(3) Edition 1563, p. 459.—En.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1531.

willing to be satisfied in his conscience, and also for the surety of his realm, hath with great deliberation consulted with great clerks, and hath sent my lord of London, here present, to the chief universities of all christendom, to know their opinion and judgment in that behalf; and although the universities of Cambridge and Oxford had been sufficient to discuss the cause, yet because they be in his realm and to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he hath sent into the realm of France, Italy, the pope's dominions, and Venetians, to know their judgment in that behalf, which have concluded, written, and sealed their determinations, according as you shall hear read.'

Then sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box twelve writings sealed, with the determinations of these universities; that is, The determination of the university of Orleans; of the facultie of decrees of Paris; of the civilians and canonists of Angers; of the faculty of the divines of Paris; of the university of Bourges in Berry; of the university of Bologna; of the faculty of divines of Padua; of the university of Toulouse: besides other universities as well of Germany, as of Oxford and Cambridge. What the tenor and effect of these determinations were, because they are all ready sufficiently expressed in the chronicles, and we have many things else in this book to be comprehended, it shall be sufficient in this behalf to send the reader to the chronicle of Hall, where they are fully to be seen, whoso list to read them.*

See
Addenda.

The
whole
clergy of
England
in the
præmu-
nire.

The
clergy
give mo-
ney to
be releas-
ed.

After this was done, the king then, proceeding further, caused the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the king's bench to make their appearance, forso much as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the power legantine of the cardinal, by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the Præmunire, and therefore were called into the king's bench to answer. But before the day of their appearance, the prelates together in their convocation concluded among themselves an humble submission in writing, and offered the king for a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord and release them of the Præmunire by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury a hundred thousand pounds; and in the province of York eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence:¹ which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which thing they never confessed before; whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

But first, forso much as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way a few words of the reader, to speak of this clergy-money, of one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence, to be levied to the king, as is above touched. For the levying of which sum an order was taken among the prelates, that every bishop in his diocese should call before him all the priests, parsons, and vicars; among whom Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, a man then counted to be of some wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity (which caused him to be out of the favour of the common people), called before him all the priests within the city of London, whether they were curates or stipendiaries, the first day of September, being Friday, in the chapter-house of St. Paul; at which day the priests appeared, and the bishop's policy was to have only six or eight priests together, and by persuasions to have

The
bishop's
policy for
paying
the king's
money.

(1) Ex Ed. Hallo.

(2) See the Appendix.

caused them to grant some portion towards the payment of the aforesaid hundred thousand pound. But the number of the priests was so great (for they were six hundred at least, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter), that the bishop was disappointed of his purpose; for when the bishop's officers called in certain priests by name into the chapter-house, with that a great number entered, for they put the bishop's officers that kept the door aside.

After this the officers got the door shut again. Then the priests without said, "We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within: we know not what the bishop will do with them." The temporal men, being present, comforted and encouraged the priests to enter, so that by force they opened the door, and one struck the bishop's officer over the face, and entered the chapter-house, and many temporal men with them; and long it was ere any silence could be made. At last, when they were appeased, the bishop stood up and said,—

'Brethren! I marvel not a little why you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you; therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me patiently. My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of condition, and no angels; and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdemeaned ourselves towards the king our sovereign lord and his laws, so that all we of the clergy were in the Præmunire; by reason whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and chattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned: yet his grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say, why he should not extend his laws upon us. Then the fathers of the clergy humbly besought his grace of mercy: to whom he answered, that he was ever inclined to mercy. Then, for all our great offences we had little penance; for where he might, by the rigour of his law, have taken all our livelihood, goods, and chattels, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although this sum be more than we may easily bear, yet by the rigour of his laws we should have borne the whole burden. Wherefore, my brethren! I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelihood and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted.'

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1531.

The bishop's persuasion to the priests to pay forfeit.

The priests answer to the bishop.

Then it was shortly said to the bishop,

'My Lord! twenty nobles a year is but bare living for a priest; for now victuals and every thing are so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Besides that, my lord, we never offended in the Præmunire: for we never meddled with the cardinal's faculties: let the bishops and abbots who have offended pay.'

Then the bishop's officers gave to the priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men who were present comforted the priests, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumour divers of the bishop's servants were buffeted and stricken, so that the bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise; and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his blessing, and prayed them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived; for the bishop went to sir Thomas More, being lord chancellor (who greatly favoured the bishop and the clergy), and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to sir Thomas Pargitor, mayor of the city, to attach certain priests and temporal men: and so fifteen priests, and five temporal men were arrested; of the which some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleet and other prisons, where they remained long after.

Certain priests and others committed to prison.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1532.

Their heirs.

The king's words to Audley the speaker.

The next year, which was A. D. 1532, a parliament was assembled on the 15th day of January, as was mentioned a little before.¹

During the time of this parliament, before the marriage of queen Anne, there was one Tenise in the common-house, who moved the commons to sue to the king to take the queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in bastarding the lady Mary, the king's only child, and divers other inconveniences. Which being reported to the king's ears, he sent immediately to sir Thomas Audley, speaker then of the parliament, expressing unto him, amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul; and he wished the matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the doctors of universities (said he) have determined the marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish nor wanton appetite. "For I am," said he, "forty-one years old, at which age the lust of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And, saving in Spain and Portugal, it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I never heard it, that any Christian so did, but myself. Wherefore ye see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report." And so the speaker, departing, declared to the commons the king's saying.

It² was touched, a little before, how that the pope had lost great part of his authority and jurisdiction in this realm of England; now it followeth to infer, how and by what occasion his whole power and authority began utterly to be abolished, by the reason and occasion of the most virtuous and noble lady, Anne Bullen, who was not as yet married to the king, howbeit in great favour: by whose godly means and most virtuous counsel the king's mind was daily inclined better and better. Insomuch that, not long after, the king, belike perceiving the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the speaker again, and twelve of the common-house, having with him eight lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects! we had thought the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects, yea and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, clean contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours." And so the king, delivering to them the copy of both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spiritual subjects. The speaker thus departed, and caused the oaths to be read in the common-house, the very tenor whercof here ensueth.

The king's words to certain of the commons.

Spiritual men more the pope's subjects than the king's.

The Oath of the Clergy to the Pope.

I John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent,

(1) See above, p. 45, and Appendix.—ED.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 508.—ED.

that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers, or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help, and retain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted; I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, states, honours, or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept of other. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The dorsels¹ of the apostles I shall visit personally, or by my deputy. I shall not aliene or sell my possessions without the pope's counsel. So God me help, and the holy evangelists.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1532.

This oath of the clergymen, which they were wont to make to the bishop of Rome (now pope Quondam), was abolished and made void by statute, and a new oath ministered and confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head, under Christ, in this church of England, as by tenor thereof may appear hereunder ensuing.

Pope
'Quon-
dam.'

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

See
Appendix.

I John, B. of A., utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that in anywise have been, are, or hereafter may be, hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear, to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of the same, of life and limb and earthly worship above all creatures, for to live and die with you and yours against all people: and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power; and your counsel I shall keep and hold, knowing myself to hold my bishopric of you only, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same; promising (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject unto your said highness, heirs, and successors during my life: and the services and other things due to your highness, for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall truly do and obediently perform. So God me help and all saints.

These oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in England within short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the pope, sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the pope and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not liking well of this oath, by God's good work was enforced to resign up his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After whom succeeded sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly-disposed mind,

Audley
made lord
chancel-
lor.

(1) 'Limina Apostolorum,' the dorsels (see vol. ii. p. 421, note and Appendix) or thresholds of the apostles. Foxe seem to have read it "lumina," for he translates "lights."—Ed.

Henry VIII.

and for his favourable inclination to Christ's religion, worthy of much commendation.

A. D. 1532.

Preaching against the king's first marriage.

These things being done in the parliament, A. D. 1532, it followeth moreover the same year, that divers preachings were in the realm, one contrary to another, concerning the king's marriage; and in especial one Thomas Abel, clerk, who was the queen's chaplain, to please her withal, both preached, and also wrote a book, in defence of the said marriage; whereby divers simple men were persuaded. Wherefore the king caused to be compiled and reduced into a book the determination of the universities, with the judgments of great clerks; which book, being printed and set abroad, did again satisfy all indifferent and reasonable persons, who were not too much wedded to their wills.

The marriage of queen Anne.

Her great alms.

This being done, the king within short time after proceeded to the marriage of the aforesaid lady Anne Bullen,¹ mother to our most noble queen now, who, without all controversy, was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who, besides the ordinary of a hundred crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year before she was crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderful much privy alms to widows and other poor householders, continually, till she was apprehended; and she ever gave three or four pound at a time to the poor people to buy them kine withal, and sent her subalmoner to the towns about where she lay that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poor householders in their parish; and some towns received seven, eight, or ten pounds to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the towns were. She also maintained many learned men in Cambridge. Likewise did the earl of Wiltshire her father, and the lord Rochford her brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the king; of whom some are yet alive, and can testify the same; who would to God that they were now as great professors of the gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be; who were Dr. Heath and Dr. Thirlby; with whom was joined the lord Paget, who, at that present, was an earnest protestant, and gave unto one Raynold West Luther's books, and other books of the Germans, as Francis Lambert 'De Sectis;' and at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly in Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, and was, with his Master Gardiner, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes and all the protestants that were then in Cambridge, and holpe many religious persons out of their cowls.

Heath, Thirlby, Paget. See Appendix.

Paget, a maintainer of Barnes.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible persons who were about this queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful distribution to the poor, how her grace carried ever about her a certain little purse, out of which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherewith some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble personages who were the chief and principal of her waiting maids about her, specially the duchess of Richmond by name.

Also concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomen about her, one that was her silkwoman, a gentlewoman² not now alive, but

(1) See the Appendix.—ED.

(2) The name of this gentlewoman was M. Wilkinson.

of great credit, and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order amongst the ladies and gentlewomen of the court, than was in this good queen's days, who kept her maids and such as were about her so occupied in sowing and working of shirts and smocks for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now-a-days to reign in princes' courts.

Thus the king, being divorced from the lady dowager his brother's wife, married this gracious lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the aforesaid princess, and also from the pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommodity or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said princess, procuring from Rome the pope's curse, caused both the king and the realm to be interdicted, whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1533.

The good order of the court in her time.

The king divorced from lady Katharine, and from the pope, both at one time.

About the same time died William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; in whose room succeeded Thomas Cranmer, who was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful marriage of lady Katharine, princess dowager; being after so called by act of parliament.

Death of Archbishop Warham; Cranmer chosen.

In the mean time queen Anne, shortly after her marriage being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the divorcement first publicly proclaimed, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster; and not long after her coronation, the seventh day of September,¹ she was brought to bed and delivered of a fair lady; for whose good deliverance 'Te Deum' was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the christening.

Queen Anne crowned [June 1st.]

Elizabeth born. See Appendix.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens, were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, and all the walls between that and the Friars, were hanged with arras, and the Friars' church. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin, fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say.² Between the quire and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward. First the citizens, two and two: then the gentlemen, esquires, and chaplains: next after followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next the mayor followed the king's council: then the king's chappel:³ then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered basons gilt. After him the marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next him the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrism, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bare the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk, with his marshal-rod, went on the right hand of the said duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them

(1) See the Appendix.

(2) 'Say,' a thin sort of stuff.—ED.

(3) The king's chappel 'in coapes;' i.e. his chaplains. See Stowe's Annals, 4to. p. 958.—ED

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1533.

Cranmer,
godfather
to the
lady Eli-
zabeth.

went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bare the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the said train. In the midst, over the child, was borne a canopy by the lord Rochford, the lord Hussey, the lord William Howard, and the lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came unto the church door, where the bishop of London met it, with divers abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, and the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers, and the child was named Elizabeth.

*See
Appendix.*

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font, and christened. This done, Garter, the chief king-at-arms, cried aloud, "God, of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long to the high and mighty princess of England, ELIZABETH." Then the trumpets blew, and the child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave to the princess a standing cup of gold: the duchess of Norfolk gave to her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl: the marchioness of Dorset three gilt bowls, pounced, with a cover: the marchioness of Exeter, three standing bowls, gilt and graven, with a cover. And so, after a solemn banquet, ended with hypocras, wafers, and such like, in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the court with the princess; and so departed.

The maid
of Kent,
with her
false
feigned
hypo-
crisy, ap-
prehend-
ed.

At the marriage of this noble lady, as there was no small joy unto all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion, so in like manner, on the contrary part, the papists wanted not their malicious and secret attempts; as by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being espied and found out, may sufficiently appear what their devilish devices and purposes were. For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, of a devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with king Henry for the divorcement of the lady Katharine; and surmised, amongst other things, that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy maid of Kent, that in case the king proceeded in the said divorce, he should not be king of this realm one month after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practised and showed to the people marvellous alteration of her visage and other parts of her body, as if she had been rapt, or in a trance; and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrisy (as though she had been inspired of God), she spake many words in rebuking of sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to the establishing of idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory: which her naughtiness being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Cromwel, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counsel, in the month of April, A. D. 1534. The names

of which conspirators with her were these : Edward Bocking, monk of Canterbury ; Richard Master, parson of Aldington ; John Dering, monk of Canterbury ; Hugh Rich, friar, warden of the grey friars of Canterbury ; Richard Risby ; Henry Gold, bachelor of divinity, and parson of Aldermay ; Fisher, bishop of Rochester ; John Adeson, priest, his chaplain ; Thomas Laurence, the bishop's registrar of Canterbury ; Edward Thwaites ; Thomas Abel : of the which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, Henry Gold, Richard Master, Edward Bocking, John Dering, Hugh Rich, Richard Risby, were attainted of treason by act of parliament, and put to execution.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1533.

The residue, as Fisher bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaites, John Adeson, Thomas Abel, being convicted and attainted of misprision, were condemned to prison, and forfeited their goods and possessions to the king.¹

Edward Hall, a writer of our English stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesaid, adjoineth next in his book the narration of one Pavier, or Pavy, a notorious enemy, no doubt, to God's truth. This Pavier, being the town-clerk of the city of London, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the gospel should be in English : insomuch that the said Hall himself heard him once say unto him and to others, by swearing a great oath, that if he thought the king's highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own throat. But he broke promise, saith Hall ; for he did not cut his throat with a knife, but with a halter did hang himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge. My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Pavy, that he was a bitter enemy, very busy at the burning of James Bainham above mentioned ;² who, hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against purgatory and transubstantiation, "Set fire," said he, "to this heretic, and burn him." And as the train of gunpowder came toward the martyr, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying to Pavier, "God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou dost to me. The Lord forgive sir Thomas More, and pray for me, all good people ;" and so continued he praying, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.

Marvelous judgment of God against Pavier, an open enemy to his word.

Pavier, a bitter enemy against Richard Bainham.

After whose martyrdom, the next year following, this Pavier, the town-clerk of the city, went and bought ropes. Which done, he went up to a high garret in his house to pray, as he was wont to do, to a rood which he had there, before which he bitterly wept : and as his own maid, coming up, found him so doing, he bade 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 still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then she, having no power to help him, ran crying to the church to her mistress to fetch her home. His servants and clerks he had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, serjeant to the lord mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry for him at Finsbury-court till he came : but he had dispatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. This was A. D. 1533.

A persecutor hangeth himself.

(1) Ex Statut. an. 25. Reg. Hen. VIII.

(2) See vol. iv. p. 705.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1533.

The terrible hand of God upon Fexford.

Queen Katharine's appeal to Rome.

Divers ancient councils concluded that none should appeal out of their province.

[May 10th.]

Lady Katharine solemnly divorced from the king [May 25th.]

To this story of Pavier may also be added the like terrible example of doctor Foxford, chancellor to the bishop of London, a cruel persecutor, and a common butcher of the good saints of God; who was the condemner of all those afore named, who were put to death, troubled, or abjured under bishop Stokesley, through all the diocese of London. This Foxford died about this present year and time; of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons of whom some be yet alive, that he died suddenly sitting in his chair, his belly being burst, and his entrails falling out before him.

Ye heard before,¹ how the queen, after called princess dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome; it was doubted whether that appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house, but much better in the convocation house; and yet in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by books showed, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and divers other famous councils in the primitive church, yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved into the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor any bishop should intermeddle within another's province or country. Which things were so clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect: which doctrines and counsels were showed to the lady Katharine, princess dowager; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old song, trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's verity.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer above named, accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other great clerks in a great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Amptill, where the princess dowager lay; and there, by a doctor, called Dr. Lee, she was ascited to appear before the said archbishop in cause of matrimony, in the said town of Dunstable. And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day, fifteen days together; and at last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of none effect; which sentence given, the archbishop and all the others returned back again.

Here note, that although this divorce following after the new marriage needed not at all to be made, the first marriage being no marriage at all before God, yet, to satisfy the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the king was contented, through the persuasions of some, so to do. For else, as touching God and conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable adultery, as the act of parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first marriage made between the king

(1) See p. 51, and the Appendix.—ED.

and the lady princess dowager, she nevertheless, bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the universities, nor to the censure of the clergy, nor of the whole realm: but, following the counsel rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the king and the realm by suit and means made to the pope, procured certain writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of excommunication and interdiction, to be sent down from Rome, wherein the pope had interdicted both the king and the whole realm. But the pope's curser being not the hardest man, belike, that ever showed his head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his popish carriage without the king's reach; and so, keeping himself aloof off (like a pretty man), set up his writings in the town of Dunkirk in Flanders: in which town first, upon the north door of the church was set up a monition, that the king of England should surcease the suit of divorce; which John Butler, clerk, then commissary of Calais, by commandment took down in the night.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

Writings set up at Dunkirk against the king.

After that, before Whitsun-week, there was set up in the same place an excommunication, aggravation, re-gravation, and interdiction; for the which also the said Butler by commandment was sent to Dunkirk, to take it down. And because the council of Calais would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a servant of the lord Lisle, then deputy of Calais, whose name was Cranvel; and upon Wednesday in Whitsun-week, at seven o'clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the lord deputy aforesaid: which was about the year 1533.

The king and the realm interdicted by the pope.

This being known and certified unto the king, he was motioned by his council, that such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the duke of Suffolk was sent to Bugden, beside Huntingdon, where the said lady Katharine lay; who, perceiving her stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy chamber and shut the door, brake up the order of her court, and discharged a great sort of her household servants; and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a princess. They that remained still, were sworn to serve her as princess only, and not as queen; of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as queen, and otherwise would not serve; and so were dismissed. The other, who were sworn to serve her as princess, she utterly refused for her servants, and so she remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

The lady Katharine's court discharged.

And¹ thus much hast thou, good reader, touching the king's divorcement; by occasion whereof it pleased God so to work, through his secret and unsearchable wisdom, that the pope, who so long had played 'rex' in England, lost his whole jurisdiction and supremacy.

THE ABOLISHING OF THE POPE OUT OF ENGLAND.

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the marriage of queen Anne, and divorce of lady Katharine, dowager, next followeth the year 1534; in the which was assembled the high court of parliament again, after many prorogations, upon the fifteenth day of January.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 459.

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1534.See
Appendix.

Mention was made a little before¹ of a parliament begun the 15th day of January, A.D. 1532, in the which parliament the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding "ex officio." This complaint, although at the first it seemed not greatly to be tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament the time so wrought withal, that the king, having now more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and, in especial, of the corrupt authority of the see of Rome, provided certain acts against the same.²

Certain Acts provided concerning the Pope's Laws.³

First, as concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that whoso did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said laws, decrees, or constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, should therefore stand in no danger, nor, be impeachable of heresy. And likewise touching such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops, being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the examination and judgment of thirty-two persons, chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated, at their discretions: and further, that all the clergy of this realm, submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise 'in verbo sacerdotii,' never hereafter to presume to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, nor to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, &c.

Further, in the same parliament was enacted and decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention, no person should appeal, provoke, or sue out of the king's dominions to the court of Rome,⁴ under pain of provisors, provision, or præmunire.

Item, In the same parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the see of Rome, for any bulls, breves or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also, for the investing of archbishops, bishops, or other of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken that the king should send a license under the great seal, with a letter missive to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant, by the virtue of which license or letters missive, they, within twelve days, should choose the said person nominated by the king, and none other; and that election to stand effectual to all intents: which election being done, then the party elect to make first his oath and fealty to the king, if it were a bishop that was elected; then the king by his letters patent to signify the said election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, breves, or other things from the see of Rome.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable exactions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome,⁵ in pensions,

(1) See pp. 45, 58.—Ed.

(2) Thus was the wicked act 'Ex Officio' broken by the king. [The bloody statute 'Ex Officio' was passed in the second year of Henry IV., and will be found supra, vol. iv. p. 239: under that statute, persons accused of heresy might be imprisoned in the bishops' prisons, and were to be tried and sentenced in the bishops' court; and in case of relapse, the secular authorities were bound to burn them at the bishop's requirement. The present Act provided, that such persons must be proceeded against, by two witnesses, in open court, and tried by jury; and though a bishop was to be one of the commissioners, yet in case of conviction the king's writ must be had before any sentence could be executed. This Act is supposed to have been occasioned by the general sympathy felt for John Fryth, and the indignation excited at his burning, and it proved a wonderful barrier against the operation of the Act of Six Articles in 1539.—Ed.]

(3) Stat. ann. 25 Reg. Hen. VIII. [See the Statutes at Large, 25 Hen. VIII. caps. 19—21.—Ed.]

(4) 'No man to appeal to Rome.'

(5) Honner, in his Prologue before 'De vera obedientia,' saith that this ravenous prey of the pope cometh to as much almost as the king's revenues.

Manner
of in-
vesting
by the
king.

Pen-
pence
stopped
from
Rome.

censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions legative; also for dispensations, licenses, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called 'perinde valere,' rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence, wont to be paid to the see of Rome, should utterly surcease, and never more be levied: so that the king, with his honourable council, should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, &c., within this realm.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1534.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peter-pence aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by king Ina, about A. D. 720, which Ina, king of the West-Saxons, caused through all his dominion, in every house having a chimney, a penny to be collected and paid to the bishop of Rome in the name of St. Peter; and thereof were they called Peter-pence.¹ The same likewise did Offa king of Mercians after him, about A. D. 794.² And these Peter-pence ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the pope's collectors here in England, from the time of Ina aforesaid to this present parliament, A. D. 1534.

Origin of
Peter-
pence.

Finally, by the authority of the parliament it was consulted and considered concerning the legality of the lawful succession unto the crown, in ratifying and inhabling the heirs of the king's body and queen Anne. In the which parliament, moreover, the degrees of marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by God's laws, as in this table may appear.

A Table of Degrees, prohibited by God's Law to marry.³

The son not to marry the mother, nor step-mother.

The brother not to marry the sister.

The father not to marry his son's daughter, nor his daughter's daughter.

The son not to marry his father's daughter, gotten by his step-mother.

The son not to marry his aunt, being either his father's or his mother's sister.

The son not to marry his uncle's wife.

The father not to marry his son's wife.

The brother not to marry his brother's wife.

No man to marry his wife's daughter.

No man to marry his wife's son's daughter.

No man to marry his wife's daughter's daughter.

No man to marry his wife's sister.

All these degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this aforesaid parliament, and it also being in the same parliament concluded, that no man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispense with God's laws, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage aforesaid solemnized between the king and the lady Katharine, being before wife to prince Arthur the king's brother, and carnally known by him (as is above proved), should be absolutely

Separation
between
the king
and the
lady
Katharine,
by act of
parliament.

(1) Vide supra, vol. i. p. 362.

(2) Vide supra, vol. ii. p. 371.

(3) Stat. an. 25 Reg. Hen.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

The marriage between the king and queen Anne, approved by parliament. Preaching against the pope.

deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cramer, archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further, also, for the establishing of this king's lawful succession, it was fully by the said parliament adjudged, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king and queen Anne his wife.¹ Whereupon was made an Act of succession,² for the more surety of the crown, to the which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this parliament time, every Sunday preached at Paul's cross a bishop, who declared the pope not to be head of the church.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession;³ at which few repined, except Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas Apostle's in London. Wherefore these three persons, after long exhortation to them made by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth refusing to be sworn, were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn. But the bishop and sir Thomas More excused them by their writings, in which they said that they had written before the said lady Katharine had written. Likewise the doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her queen, and therefore now could not withsay it again. Howbeit, at length, he was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the realm in their opinion.⁴

The bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More sent to the Tower.

From the month of March this parliament furthermore was prorogued to the third day of November abovesaid; at what time, amongst divers other statutes, most graciously and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, that the pope, and all his college of

(1) See Appendix.

(2) This Act of Succession is in the Statutes at Large, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 22.—Ed.

(3) Ex Ed. Hallo. [See Hall's Chronicle, pp. 814, 815. Edit. London, 1809.—Ed.]

(4) To this place belongs a passage to be found at pp. 655—658, containing the pope's sentence definitive, ratifying the marriage between Henry and Katharine, and disallowing all proceedings taken to the contrary as unlawful and unjust, threatening Henry in case he should not submit, and condemning him in the whole of the costs of the suit at Rome, which was grounded on Katharine's appeal. The Bull containing this sentence is dated Rome, March 23d, A. D. 1534. This Bull produced an inevitable rupture between England and the pope, and the circumstances under which it was passed are most remarkable. John de Bellay, bishop of Paris, had been dispatched by Francis, the French king, to mediate between the two parties and prevent, if possible, the threatened breach. Henry, at the solicitation of this prelate, had agreed to a certain compromise, which de Bellay carried at once to the pope, and obtained his concurrence, provided the king would send to Rome an authentic copy of the compromise in writing, by a person authorized to act in his name, by a certain day. The day arrived, but no tidings from England. The Consistory met, March 23, and the Imperial party at Rome by their clamours completely overbore the influence of de Bellay, who begged for a delay of six days more, not doubting but the English courier was delayed on the road by the weather. The Bull was accordingly passed, the pope and twenty-six cardinals being present. The Imperialists at Rome were as much transported with joy, as the English party were confounded. Two days after the courier arrived with every thing that was desired or expected. The pope and cardinals then saw the grievous error they had committed, which they would gladly have repaired, but it was irreparable; the sentence had been pronounced with too much solemnity, and made too public, to be reversed.

There are few passages in our history more worthy of attention than this event. Both Henry and the pope sincerely wished for a reconciliation; all who desired it, thought it certain, and all who feared it believed it to be unavoidable; and yet the court of Rome, whose interest was so deeply concerned, by one false precipitate step rendered it impracticable. Those who believe in an overruling Providence, and think the Reformation of religion hath been a blessing to England, will gratefully acknowledge its influence on this occasion. This great revolution was brought about by those who were its greatest enemies.—(Henry's History of England.)

cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences, which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, were now abolished, eradicated and exploded out of this land, and sent home again to their own country of Rome, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore. Amen!

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

*An old Prophecy of the Fall of the Pope.

See Address.

Papa cito moritur, Cæsar regnabit ubique,
Et subito vani cessabunt gaudia cleri.*

An Act concerning the King's Highness to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses, in the same. Cap. 1.

See Appendix.

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be the supreme head of the church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present parliament, that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, called 'Anglicana Ecclesia,' and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof, notwithstanding.

The King's Proclamation for the abolishing of the usurped power of the Pope.

Trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well. And whereas not only upon good, and just, and virtuous grounds and respects, edified upon the laws of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, advisement, and consent, as well of all other our nobles and commons temporal, as also spiritual, assembled in our high court of parliament, and by authority of the same, we have, by good and wholesome laws and statutes made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our realm, the abuses of the bishop of Rome, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped as well upon us and our realm, as upon all other kings and princes and their realms (like as they themselves have confessed and affirmed), but also, forasmuch as our said nobles and commons, both spiritual and temporal, assembled in our high court of parliament, have, upon good, lawful, and virtuous grounds, and for the public weal of this our realm, by one whole assent, granted, annexed, knit, and united to the crown imperial of the same, the title, dignity, and style of supreme head or governor in earth, immediately under God, of the church of England, as we be, and undoubtedly have hitherto been: which title and style, both the bishops and clergy of this our realm have not only, in convocation assembled, consented, recognised, and approved lawfully and justly to appertain unto us, but also, by

The style of 'Supreme head under God of the church of England,' annexed to the crown of England

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1534.

word, oath, profession, and writing under their signs and seals, have confessed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other oaths and obedience to any other foreign potentates, and all foreign jurisdictions and powers, as well of the said bishop of Rome, as of all others whatsoever they be, as by their said professions and writings corroborated with the subscription of their names, and appension of their seals more plainly appeareth: we let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and faithful subjects, perceiving right well what great rest, quietness, and tranquillity of conscience, and manifold other commodities might insurge and arise unto them, if the said bishops and others of the clergy of this our realm should set forth, declare, and preach to them, the true and sincere word of God; and without all manner of colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities and abuses which the said bishop of Rome, as well in the title and style, as also in authority and jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our progenitors, and also other christian princes; have therefore addressed our letters unto the bishop of the diocese, straightly charging and commanding him in the same, that not only he, in his own proper person, shall declare, teach, and preach unto the people, forthwith upon the receipt of our said letters unto him directed, every Sunday and other high feasts through the year, the true, mere, and sincere word of God; and that the same title, style, and jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth only to our crown and dignity royal; likewise, as the said bishop and all other the bishops of our realm have by oath affirmed, and confirmed by subscription of their names, and setting-to their seals, but also have given warning, monition, and charge, to all manner of abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and all other ecclesiastical persons, within his said diocese, as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare, in all manner of churches, our aforesaid just title, style, and jurisdiction, every Sunday and high feast through the year: and further to admonish and command all other schoolmasters within his said diocese, to instruct and teach the same unto the children committed unto them; as also to cause all manner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, canons of mass-books, and all other books in the churches, wherein the said bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicated and rased out, and his name and memory to be never more (except to his contumely and reproach) remembered, but perpetually suppressed and obscured: and finally, to desist and leave out all such articles as be in the general sentence which is usually accustomed to be read four times in the year, and do tend to the glory and advancement of the bishop of Rome, his name, title, and jurisdiction.

See Appendix.

The pope's name and memory abolished

Whereupon we, seeing, esteeming, and reputed you to be of such singular and vehement zeal and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful, loving, and obedient heart towards us, as you will not only do and accomplish, with all power, wisdom, diligence, and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of God's word, but also practise, study, and endeavour yourself, with all your policy, wit, power, and good-will, to amplify, defend, and maintain all such interest, right, title, style, jurisdiction, and authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our dignity and prerogative, and the crown imperial of this our realm, have thought good and expedient, not only to signify unto you, by these our letters, the particulars of the charge, monition, and commandment given by us unto the said bishop, as before is specified; but also to require, and straightly charge and command you, upon pain of your allegiance, and as ye shall avoid our high indignation and displeasure, at your uttermost peril, laying apart all vain affections, respects, or other carnal considerations, and setting only before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignity of your sovereign lord and king, and the great concord and unity, and inestimable profit and utility, that shall, by the due execution of the premises, ensue to yourself and all other faithful and loving subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent search and wait,¹ and especially in every place of your shirewick, whether the said bishop do truly, and sincerely, and without all manner of cloak, colour, or dissimulation, execute

(1) 'Wait,' or watch.—Ed.

and accomplish our will and commandment, as is afore said. And in case ye shall hear, perceive, and approvably understand and know, that the said bishop, or any other ecclesiastical person within his diocese, doth omit and leave undone any part or parcel of the premises; or else, in the execution and setting forth of the same, do coldly and feignedly use any manner of sinister addition, wrong interpretation, or painted colour: then we straightly charge and command you, that forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or dissimulation of the said bishop, or any other ecclesiastical person of his diocese, contrary to the true tenor, meaning, and effect of the said charge by us to him appointed aforesaid, ye do make indelayedly, and with all speed and diligence, declaration and advertisement to us and our council, of the said default, and of the behaviour, manner, and fashion of the same.

And forasmuch as we, upon singular trust and assured confidence which we have in you, and for the special love and zeal we suppose and think ye bear toward us, and the public and common wealth, unity and tranquillity of this our realm, have specially elected and chosen you among so many, for this purpose; and have reputed you such men as unto whose wisdom, discretion, truth, and fidelity, we might commit a matter of such great weight, moment, and importance, as whereupon the unity and tranquillity of our realm do consist if ye should, contrary to our expectation and trust which we have in you, and against your duty and allegiance towards us, neglect or omit to do, with all your diligence and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalf, or halt or stumble at any part or specialty of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world besides shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their allegiance, to disobey the lawful commandment of their sovereign lord and prince in such things, as, by the faithful execution thereof, ye shall not only advance the honour of Almighty God, and set forth the majesty and imperial dignity of your sovereign lord, but also bring an inestimable weal, profit, and commodity, unity and tranquillity to all the common state of this our realm, whereunto, both by the laws of God, nature, and man, ye be utterly bound.

Given under our signet, at our palace at Westminster, the 9th day of June, A. D. 1534.

Furthermore, that no man shall cavil or surmise this fatal fall and ruin of the pope to have come rashly upon the king's own partial affection, or by any sensual temerity of a few, and not by the grave and advised judgment, approbation, and consent, generally and publicly, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spiritual and most learned persons in this realm: it shall be requisite, moreover, to these premises to adjoin the words and testimonies also of the bishops' own oaths and profession made to the king, yielding and rendering unto him only, the style of supreme head, next unto Christ, of the church of England; all other service, subjection, and obedience to be given to any other foreign potentate, which should be prejudicial to the king's highness in this behalf, being excluded; and that both frankly and freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the faith and fidelity of their priesthood, as by their own words and hand-writing may appear, in form as hereunder followeth.

The Oath of Stephen Gardiner to the King.¹

See
Appendix.

I Stephen, bishop of Winchester, do purely, of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your princely

(1) 'Ego Stephanus Wintonien. Episcopus, pure, sponte, et absolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo illustrissimæ vestræ regis majestati, singulari ac summo domino meo, et

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1535.

Stephen Gardiner renounceth the pope.

majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, Henry the eighth, by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth of the church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, that from this day forward I shall swear, promise, give, or cause to be given to no foreign potentate, emperor, king, prince, or prelate, nor yet to the bishop of Rome, whom they call pope, any oath or fealty, directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every case and condition I shall observe, hold, and maintain, to all effects and intents, the quarrel and cause of your royal majesty and your successors; and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons, whomsoever I shall know or suspect to be adversaries to your majesty, or to your successors; and shall give my faith, truth, and obedience, sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your royal majesty, as to my supreme prince. I profess the papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up only by man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any treaty with any person or persons either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the bishop of Rome shall have or exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter.

Furthermore, that the said bishop of Rome now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said see, is not to be called pope, nor supreme bishop or universal bishop, nor most holy lord; but only ought to be called bishop of Rome, and fellow brother (as the old manner of the most ancient bishops hath been): this I shall to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I shall firmly observe and cause to be observed by others, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such laws and acts of this realm, how and whatsoever, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the papacy, and of the authority and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome. Neither shall I appeal hereafter to the said bishop of Rome, nor ever consent to any person that shall appeal to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, nor follow any suit in the court of Rome, for any cause of right or justice to be had, or shall make answer to any plea or action, nor shall take upon me the person and office either of the plaintiff or defendant in the said court. And if the said bishop, by his messenger or by his letters, shall make any means or signification unto me of any matter, whatsoever it be, I shall, with all speed and diligence, make declaration and advertisement thereof, or cause the same to be signified either to your princely majesty, or to some of your secret council, or to your successors, or any of their privy council. Neither shall I send, or cause to be sent, at any time any writing or messenger to the said bishop or to his court, without the knowledge and consent of your majesty or your successors willing me to send writing or messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure, or give counsel to any person to procure, bulls, briefs, or rescripts whatsoever, either for me or any other, from the said bishop of Rome or his court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in general or in special, or else howsoever they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and disclose the same, and not consent thereunto, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your majesty, or your successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my faith and truth by firm promise, and in the faith of a bishop, that against this my aforesaid profession and promise made, I shall defend myself by no dispensation, exception, nor by any remedy or cautel of law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any protestation in prejudice of this my profession and promise here made, the same I do revoke at this present, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce, by these presents. Whereunto I have subscribed and underwritten the name both of myself and of my bishopric, with my proper hand; and thereto also have put my seal, in perpetual and undoubted testimony of the premises.

Given the tenth day of February, A. D. 1534, and in the twenty-sixth year of our sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth. Stephen Winton.

patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediatè sub Christo capiti, quod posthac nulli externo imperatori, regi, principi aut prælato, nec Romano pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem et obedientiam, &c

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1535.

The like Oath of John Stokesly, Bishop of London.

I John, bishop of London, do purely, and of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your princely majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth of the church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, &c. [Like to the oath before.]

Johan. London.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.

I Edward, by the permission of God, archbishop of York, do purely, of my own voluntary accord, and absolutely, on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your royal majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, &c. [In like form to the oath before.]

Edwardus Eborac.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham.

I Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of Durham, do purely, of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your royal majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, &c. [As before.]
Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And so likewise all the other bishops, after the same order and form of oath, were obliged and bound to the king, as to the supreme head of the church of England immediately under Christ; renouncing and abjuring utterly and voluntarily the pope's too long usurped jurisdiction in this realm; testifying, moreover, the same both with their own hand, and also with their seal.

Besides these confirmations and testimonials of the bishops aforesaid, ye shall hear yet moreover the decree and public sentence of the university of Cambridge, written likewise and subscribed, and signed with the public seal of their university; the tenor of which their letter here followeth.

A Letter of the University of Cambridge against the usurped Power of the Bishop of Rome.¹

To all and singular children of the holy mother church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of regents and non-regents of the university of Cambridge, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us, concerning the power of the bishop of Rome, which he doth both claim to himself by the holy Scripture over all provinces and nations in Christendom, and hath now of long time exercised in this realm of England; and forasmuch as our censure concerning the cause is required, to wit, Whether the bishop of Rome hath any power or authority in this kingdom of England, allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other foreign bishop, or no: we thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and censure is, touching the premises. For therefore we suppose, that universities were first

(1) 'Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentis literæ perventuræ sunt, cæcus omnis regentium et non regentium academiæ Cantabrigiensi, salutem in omnium salvatore Jesu Christo. Cum de Romani pontificis potestate,' &c.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1534.The cen-
sure of
the uni-
versity of
Cam-
bridge
against
the pope's
supre-
macy.

provided and instituted of princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might, in the law of God, be instructed; and also that false errors, if any did rise, might, through the vigilant care and industry of learned divines, be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For which cause we, in our assemblies and convocations (after our accustomed manner), resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with ourselves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length choosing out certain of the best learned doctors and bachelors of divinity, and other masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to insearch and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certify us what is to be said to the question propounded.

The
bishop of
Rome
hath no
more
state in
England
than
hath any
other
bishop.

Forasmuch therefore as we, having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both parts of the aforesaid question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and sounding much more near to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which do deny the bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which arguments we being persuaded, and conjoining together in one opinion, have with ourselves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid; and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole university, and for a conclusion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the bishop of Rome hath no more state, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures over this realm of England, than any other extern bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common seal to be put to these our aforesaid letters accordingly.

At Cambridge, in our Regent House, A.D. 1534.

THE BOOK OF GARDINER,¹ BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

“DE VERA OBEDIENTIA.”

You have heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tostal, and of Stokesley, how of their voluntary mind they made their profession unto the king, every one severally taking and accepting a corporal oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the bishop of Rome. Now, for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear, over and besides their oaths, what the aforesaid bishops, in their own books, prologues, and sermons, do write, and publish abroad in print, touching the said cause of the pope's supremacy.

Gardiner
against
the mar-
riage of
the king
with his
brother's
wife.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardiner's book 'De vera obedientia,' we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein, with great scriptures and good deliberation, he not only confuteth the pope's usurped authority, but also proveth the marriage between the king and queen Katharine his brother's wife not to be good nor lawful, in these words.

'Of which moral precepts in the old law, to speak of some (for to rehearse all it needs not), the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure wedlock, wherein the original of man's increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to the Jews, yet because they appertain to the law of nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well

(1) The book of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, 'De vera obedientia.' The original of this treatise appears in Browne's *Fasciculus Rerum expetend. et fugiendarum*, vol. 2, pp. 800—820: and an old translation is given in Mr. Stevens's *Memoirs of Bradford*. London, 1832. Appendix, pp. 62—138.—Ed.

to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless both the voice of nature and God's commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and diverse from the one and from the other. And amongst these, since there is commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent majesty do, otherwise than he did, by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his church; that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation? and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage? Wherein although the sentence of God's word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed, yet his majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both what he might do, and ought to do uprightly; seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto it; showing therein such obedience as God's word requireth of every good and godly man; so as it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly: of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

Moreover, the said Gardiner, in the beforenamed book "De vera Obedientia," what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on the king's side, against the usurped state of the bishop of Rome's authority, by the words of his book it may appear: whereof a brief collection here followeth.

Gardiner, a Lutheran, in his book 'De vera Obedientia.'

Reasons of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the Pope's Supremacy.

In the process of his aforesaid book, he, alleging the old distinction of the papists, wherein they give to the prince the regiment of things temporal, and to the church that of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the church to extend no further than to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all pre-eminence to the sword of the prince; alleging for this the second Psalm: 'And now you kings be wise, and be learned ye that judge the earth,'¹ &c.

The sword of the church, how far it extendeth.

Also the example of Solomon, who, being a king according to his father's appointment, ordained the offices of the priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the priests, after the order of every day, and porters in their divisions, gate by gate.²

And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith: 'For so commanded the man of God; neither did the priests nor Levites omit any thing of all that he had commanded,' &c.³

Beside this, he allegeth also the example of king Hezekiah.⁴ He allegeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, who made laws touching the faith, bishops, clerks, heretics, and such others.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses: Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest.

Alexander the king, in the Maccabees, writeth thus to Jonathan: 'Now we have made thee this day the high-priest of thy people,'⁵ &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.⁶

Then, coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, 'Thou art Peter,'⁷ &c. upon which words the pope pretendeth to build all his authority: To this he answereth, that if Christ, by those words, had limited to Peter any such special state or pre-eminence above all princes, then were it not true that is written, 'Cœpit Jesus docere et facere; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then

(1) Ps. ii. (2) 2 Kings xxviii. (3) Exod. xxxii. (4) 1 Kings xxii. (5) 1 Mac. x.
(6) 1 Mac. xiv. (7) Matt. xvi.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

The king's style and title approved by Gardiner.

be contrary to his own facts and example, who, in all his life, never either usurped to himself any such domination above princes (showing himself rather subject unto princes), nor yet did ever permit in his apostles any such example of ambition to be seen; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of majority amongst them.

And where he reasoneth of the king's style and title, being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the church of England immediately under Christ, &c., thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this title, why any man should be offended, that the king is called head of the church of England, rather than of the realm of England; and addeth his reason thereunto saying, 'If the prince and king of England be the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen that be his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect, because they are christians; that is to say, for the title of godliness? as though that God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion?'

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying, 'To say,' saith he, 'that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this!'

The king is as well the head of the church as of his kingdom.

And further, adding further for example the subjection of the servant and wife: 'If the servant,' saith he, 'be subject to his master, or wife to her husband, being infidels, doth their conversion afterwards, or the name of Christians, make them less subjects than they were before? As religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the master over the servant, nor of the husband over the wife; 'no more,' saith he, 'doth it between the prince and subject.'

'Paul, making no exception or distinction of subjection, save only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their princes; and what princes? Those princes who bear the sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our bishops and spiritual pastors of the church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the prince, no more than the obedience of the servant to his master, or of the wife to her husband, exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers.'

A rule of the law.

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the law: 'divers jurisdictions,' saith he, 'proceeding from one person, do not mar nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortify one another.'

Winchester's wish that the pope were Peter's successor.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome, under the name of Peter, doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the church, for that he is the successor of Peter; thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: 'I would,' saith he, 'he were; for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all kings and princes, if not in pre-eminence of dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of virtue: in which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his apostles and ministers to go before all kings and emperors in the whole world.'

After this, in prosecuting the argument¹ of Peter's confession, he argueth thus and saith, that as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that confession, so neither was that prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter; which is to mean in respect of the spiritual confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the scholar ought not to be above the master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his master so constantly did refuse; or how can the bishop of Rome now claim that by succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his predecessor before him? for so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that James, surnamed Justus, should be the bishop of the apostles.

And as for the name and signification of the word 'primatus,' i. e. primacy, if it be taken for the first nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth

Primatus or primacy, what it signifieth.

(1) The argument: The prerogative was given to him who confessed. Flesh and blood in Peter did not confess Christ: ergo, the prerogative was not given to the flesh and blood of Peter.

that Peter had the preferment of the first name and place in the order of the apostles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an empery upon his brethren: for so were they not his brethren, but his subjects.

That Peter was 'primus,' that is, first or chief in the number of those who confessed Christ, it is not to be denied; for first he confessed, first he taught the Jews, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them. But yet that maketh not, that he should therefore vindicate a general primacy and rule over all other states, and potestates of the world, no more than Apelles, because he is noted the first and chief of all painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all painters; or because the university of Paris is nominated for the first and chief of other universities, shall therefore the French king, and all other princes in their public administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that university?

Thus, after many other reasons and persuasions contained in the said book *De Obedientia* (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments), finally, in the end of his peroration, he concludeth the whole sum of his mind in this effect; first, denying that the bishop of Rome had ever any such extern jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over kings and princes: for the probation whereof he hath alleged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

And as concerning the term of 'Primacy,' albeit it be used sometimes by the fathers, yet the matter, being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurp.

Also as for the prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which prerogatives our Saviour would crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the pope's purpose.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of Peter, the pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be successor of Peter, he must succeed him in faith, doctrine, and conditions; and in so doing, he neither will seek, nor yet shall need to seek, for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be; and that much more than he being a good man would require.

And thus Stephen Winchester, taking his leave, and bidding the pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. 'The light of the gospel,' saith he, 'so spreadeth his beams in all men's eyes, that the works of the gospel be known, the mysteries of Christ's doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, or with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince, in his own dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds. And therefore, seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the church should bear the office of teaching, another should bear the office of ruling (which office is only limited to princes), he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.'

To this book of Stephen Winchester, *De Obedientia*, we will adjoin, for good fellowship, the Preface also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, prefixed before the same; to the intent that the reader, seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterwards of the said parties to the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain glory and pomp of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where God's grace lacketh to sustain. The preface of Bonner, before the said book of Winchester, *De Obedientia*, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

Primus primatus. First, primacy is the name of virtue, and not of power.

Succession of Peter.

Gardiner taketh his 'vale' of the pope, but not his 'ultimum vale.'

The offices of teaching, and ruling.

Henry
VIII.The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester, prefixed before Stephen Gardiner's book, *De Vera Obedientia*.A. D.
1534.Queen
Anne.The doc-
trine of
the gos-
pel.The con-
tents of
Winches-
ter's
book.The
king's
marriage
with
queen
Anne.
Supreme
head.
The
pope's
pretensed
supre-
macy

Forasmuch as some there be, no doubt (as the judgments of men be always variable), who think the controversy which is between the king's royal majesty and the bishop of Rome consisteth in this point, for that his majesty hath taken the most excellent and most virtuous lady Anne to wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favourers of the gospel of Christ, who hate not but love the truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cause of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel: here shall be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in all kind of learning), entitled 'De vera Obedientia'; that is, Concerning True Obedience. But as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite,¹ but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal. And as for the oration itself (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant), to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth itself enough, and seeing good wine needeth no tavern-bush to utter it? But yet in this oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle reader! thou shalt, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of God's truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such sort but it showeth itself again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of men's traditions, which for the most part be most repugnant against the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaketh of the king's said highness's marriage, which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent and most noble lady, queen Anne. After that, touching the king's majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other bishops, being fellow-like to him in their function, yea and in some points above him within their own provinces, were beforetime bound to the king by their oath.

But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good reader! that the bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this marriage, would easily content himself, especially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon.² But when he seeth so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and a great learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the gospel of Christ, and perceiveth the yearly and great prey (yea so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the king's revenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the king's majesty's realm (alas, heretofore too cruel and bitter³), nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the Catholic church, and the authority of Peter and Paul (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants), to the great damage of the christian commonwealth—here, here began all the mischief; herof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling: for if it were not thus, could any man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus (who falsely hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controlment) would have wrought so diligently, by all means possible, to stir up all other kings and princes so traitorously against this so good and godly, and so true a gospel-like prince, as he

(1) See how these clawbacks can cling together in truth and in falsehood; and all to fashion themselves to the world, and the time present.

(2) Bonner knew well what morsel would best please his father of Rome, and that money and bribes would soon stop his mouth.

(3) Seeing thou knowest the pope to be such a cruel tyrant, why then wouldst thou, against thy knowledge, become his slaughterman?

hath done? Neither let it move thee, gentle reader! that Winchester did not before now apply to this opinion: for he himself, in this oration, showeth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of sentence. It is an old-said saw; 'Mary Magdalen profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt.' A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speak not this as though Winchester had not bolted out this matter secretly with himself beforehand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago); but that running fair and softly, he would first, with his painful study, pluck the matter out of the dark (although of itself it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry opinions it was lapped up in darkness), and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so, at last, after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely, with his learned and consummate judgment, confirm it.

Thou shouldest, gentle reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly, and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest), and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but many men oftentimes, yea and right great learned men afore now, have done the same even in writing; whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falsehood, frauds, and deceitful wiles, openly known to the world. Therefore, if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the king's majesty's marriage or title, or else of the bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy, as, if thou hadst a good smelling nose, and a sound judgment, I think thou didst not: yet, having read this oration (which, if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his satanical fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee), forsake thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thyself that it is better late so to do, than never to repent.

Fare thou heartily well, most gentle reader; and not only love this most valiant king of England and of France, who undoubtedly was by the providence of God born to defend the gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long ago, without doubt, reputed among the greatest learned men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation.

The end of bishop Bonner's prologue.

What man reading and advising this book of Winchester, De Vera Obedientia, with Bonner's preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in man's heart, to make these men thus to turn the cat in the pan, as they say, and to start so suddenly from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and sware unto, what perjury most execrable was it before God and man! If they meant good faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before; or that to be now true, which before was false! Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to do and undo, and, as a man would say, to play fast or loose with truth; truly a man may say is not the doing of a man who is in any case to be trusted, whatsoever he doth or saith. But here a man may see what man is of himself, when God's good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment also and arguments of Tonstal, bishop of Durham, let us see how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his sermon made before king

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1534.

Winchester writeth against the pope with advised judgment.

No new matter to write against the bishop of Rome.

The inconstant mutability of Gardiner and Bonner.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1534.The ser-
mon of
Tonstal
before the
king,
made on
Palm-
Sunday.

Henry upon Palm-Sunday, remaining yet in print; in which sermon, disputing against the wrongful supremacy of the bishop of Rome, he proveth by manifest grounds most effectuously, both out of the Scripture, ancient doctors, and of councils; not only that the bishop of Rome hath no such authority by the word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but also, in requiring and challenging the same, he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer; disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him; contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in raising up war against us for the same, he therefore rebuketh and defiecth him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

Notes on Tonstal's Sermon against the Pope's Supremacy.

Popes
and
bishops
ought to
be subject
to their
sovereigns.

First, by the Scripture, he reasoneth thus, and proveth, that all good men ought to obey the potestates and governors of the world, as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do bear or use for their countries in which they be; for so St. Peter doth plainly teach us, saying, 'Be ye subject to every human creature for God's cause, whether it be king, as chief head, or dukes or governors,' &c.¹ So that St. Peter, in his epistle, commandeth all worldly princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and according unto the same, St. Paul saith, 'Let every living man be subject to the high powers; for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himself damnation.'²

And in the same place of Tonstal it followeth: and lest men should forget their duty of obedience to their princes, it is thrice repeated, that they be 'the ministers of God,' whose place in their governance they represent: so that unto them all men must obey, apostles, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all of the clergy, &c. 'And therefore,' saith he, 'the bishop of Rome oweth to his sovereign and superior like subjection by the word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops do to their princes, under whom they be,' &c.

Also, another express commandment we have of Christ, who, upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusseth the matter, saying on this wise, 'The kings of the people and nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious lords; but so it shall not be amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall be as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall be chief, shall be as a servant and a minister,'³ &c.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declareth that his kingdom is not of this world,⁴ and 'therefore, saith Tonstal, 'those that go about to make of Christ's spiritual kingdom a worldly kingdom, do fall into the error of some heretics. that look that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here in the earth carnally in Jerusalem; as the Jews do believe that Messias is yet to come, and when he shall come, he shall reign worldly in Jerusalem.'

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before his incarnation (as Tonstal saith), nor after his incarnation, did ever alter the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word commanded them still to be obeyed by their subjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. And for example of the same he allegeth first the example of Christ himself, who, being asked of the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar, or no, he bade them give to Cæsar those things that be his, and to God those things that be his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their souls were due to God,⁵ &c.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew, it appeareth that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples, when it was demanded of him. And why?

(1) 1 Pet. ii.

(2) Rom. xiii.

(3) Luke xvii.

(4) John xviii.

(5) Matt. xxii.

Exam-
ples of
Christ's
humble
subjec-
tion.

Because he would not change the order of obeisance to worldly princes due by their subjects, &c.

Henry VIII.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of John vi., where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few loaves, and fewer fishes, and that the Jews would have taken him, and made him their king, he fled from them, and would not consent unto them: 'For the kingdom,' saith he, 'that he came to set in earth, was not a worldly and temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom;' that is, to reign spiritually, by grace and faith, in the hearts of all christian and faithful people, of what degree, or of what nation soever they be, and to turn all people and nations, which at his coming were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the lusts of the Spirit, that Christ, with his Father of heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, &c.

A. D. 1534.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility further is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also dejected himself, and in a manner became servant to his own apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honour. For so it appeared in him, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also the same time, a little before his passion, when the apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superior, he, setting before them the example of his own subjection, asketh this question: 'Who is superior; he that sitteth at the table, or he that serveth at the table? Is not he superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you, as he that ministereth and serveth,' &c.¹

The like examples Tonstal also inferreth of Peter's humility. For where we read in the Acts, how the centurion, a nobleman of great age, did prostrate himself upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not suffering that, eftsoons took him up, and bade him rise, saying, 'I am also a man as thou art.'

Examples of Peter's subjection.

So likewise did the angel, to whom when John would have fallen down to have adored him who showed him those visions, the angel said unto him, 'See thou do not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art,' &c.³

Again, in the aforesaid Peter, what an example of reverent humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding he, with other apostles, had his commission to go over all the world, yet nevertheless he, being at Joppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go unto him without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven; by which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no such primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor any such commission so large above the others, &c.

Furthermore, the said Peter, being rebuked of Paul his fellow brother, took no scorn thereof, but was content, submitting himself to due correction.

But here, saith Tonstal, steppeth in the bishop of Rome, and saith that Peter had authority given him above all the residue of the apostles, and allegeth the words of Christ spoken to him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven.'⁴ 'This said Christ,' saith the pope, 'and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heaven gates, as Peter was,' &c. 'And Christ said also to Peter, after his resurrection, Feed my sheep;⁵ which he spake to him only, so that thereby he had authority over all that be of Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore who-so will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom or seigniory: for all power is given to me that Christ hath, and I am his vicar-general, as Peter was here in earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven.'

The pope's objections.

Ambitious pride of the pope.

This ambitious and pompous objection (saith Tonstal) of the pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the world, and made dissension, debate, and open war in all parts of Christendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture; who, if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the apostles themselves taught us, and all the ancient best learned interpreters do expound them, the matter were soon at a point. But otherwise, since they pervert the Scriptures, and preach another gospel in that point to us, than ever the apostles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: That though an angel came from heaven, and would tell us such

The Scriptures falsely perverted by him.

(1) Luke xxii. (2) Acts x. (3) Apoc. xix. and xxii. (4) Matt. xvi. (5) John xxi.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

The place of Matt. xvi. expounded.

Faith the mother of salvation.

The church builded upon the confession of Peter, not upon the person of Peter.

What is the primacy of Peter.

The honourable names of Peter in the old doctors, how and wherefore they be given.

The authority of the apostles all alike.

new exposition of those places as are now made, to turn the words which were spoken for spiritual authority of preaching the word of God, and ministering of the sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him: as St. Paul willeth us in Galatians i.

To open therefore the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with Matthew xvi., here is to be observed, that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter, answering for them all (as he was always ready to answer), said, 'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.' To whom Jesus answered again, 'Blessed be thou, Simon the son of Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven: and I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' That is to say, Upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God, I will build my church; for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written in Rom. x. 'The word of faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thine heart. For if thou confess with thy mouth our Lord Jesus Christ, and with thy heart do believe that God raised him from death to life, thou shalt be saved,' &c. And this confession being first uttered by the mouth of Peter, upon the same confession of his, and not upon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his church, as Chrysostome expoundeth that place in the twenty-sixth sermon, of the feast of Pentecost, saying, 'Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith, Christ hath builded his church. And what is the faith? This: Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. What is to say, Upon this rock? That is, Upon this confession of Peter,' &c. And with this saying of Chrysostome all ancient expositors (saith Tonsal) treating of that place, do agree; for if we should expound that place, that the church is builded upon the person of Peter, we should put another foundation of the church than Christ; which is directly against St. Paul, saying, 'No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Christ Jesus,' &c.¹

And because Peter was the first of all the apostles that confessed this, That Christ is the Son of God, by the which faith all men must be saved; thereof cometh the primacy; that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the number of all the apostles.

And as Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so was he most ardent in his faith, most bold and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest; and also most vehement in his master's cause, as appeared by drawing out his sword; and afterwards the Lord's resurrection is declared in the Acts,² where the Jews, withstanding the apostles preaching the faith of Christ, Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugners thereof, speaking for them all unto the people, &c.; and therefore hath these honourable names given him by the ancient interpreters, that sometimes he is called 'the mouth of the apostles;' 'the chief of the apostles;' sometimes 'the prince of the apostles, sometimes 'the president of the whole church,' and sometimes hath the name of primacy or priority attributed unto him. And yet that the said Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, should not have a rule, or a judicial power, above all the other apostles, it is plain by St. Paul and many others.

First, St. Paul³ plainly declareth the same, saying, that as the apostleship of the circumcision, that is, of the Jews, was given by Christ to Peter; so was the apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paul knew no primacy of Peter concerning people and places, but among the Jews. And thereof St. Ambrose, expounding that place, saith thus: 'The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to Peter, albeit James and John were joined with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to Paul, albeit Barnabas was joined with him: so that Peter had no rule over all.

Also in Acts x., when Peter was sent for to Cornelius, a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a special vision given him from heaven by the Lord.

Item, That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by St. Paul, where he saith, 'Now ye are not strangers, nor foreigners, but ye be citizens with the saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded,' saith

(1) 1 Cor. iii.

(2) Chaps. ii. iii. iv.

(3) Gal. ii.

he, 'upon the foundations of the apostles and the prophets, Christ being the corner-stone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an holy temple in our Lord,' &c.¹ Here he saith that they be builded not upon the foundation of Peter only, but upon the foundation of the apostles: so that all they be in the foundation set upon Christ the very rock, whereupon standeth the whole church.

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1534.

In the Apocalypse also,² the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Ghost, not with one foundation only of Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian³ giveth record likewise to the same, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ; and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof first came by one, who was Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Saying further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, where he will, then every man hath not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him; so that now he hath it not wholly: which is against Cyprian.

Every bishop hath his part wholly to himself.

St. Augustine⁴ likewise, expounding the gospel of John, in the fiftieth Treatise, speaketh there of the keys of Peter, which he saith were given of Christ to Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

Cyril, expounding the last chapter of John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' &c. thus understandeth the same: That because Peter had thrice denied Christ, whereby he thought himself he had lost his apostleship, Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him; and so restored him again to his office, which else he durst not have presumed unto; saying unto him, 'Feed my sheep,' &c.; with which exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place do likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christ's sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastoralty over all christian dominions.

'Pasce oves meas,' makes nothing for the pope's universal pastoralty.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome saith that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, hath a pre-eminency above the others, St. Paul⁵ proveth the contrary, where he, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, saith to them, 'Take heed to yourselves, and to all your flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath put you to govern,' &c.

ποιμνίσκειν.

And Peter himself likewise⁶ saith, 'Ye that be priests, feed the flock of God among you,' &c.

So that by these scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither Matthew xvi., nor John xxi., do prove that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the others, that they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding his primacy, in that he, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God (with which confession all the other apostles did consent, and also preached the same), standeth still; which confession first by Peter made, all others that will be saved must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And thus the bishop of Rome's power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully alleged for his purpose, utterly quaieth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Scriptures wrongfully alleged for the pope's supremacy.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, the said T'onstal cometh to councils, and examples of the primitive church, as followeth:

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth council of Carthage, alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters, in all places, by his supreme authority, bringing no scripture for him (for at that time no scripture was thought to make for it); but alleged for him, and that untruly, that the first council of Nice made for his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and An-

Examples of the primitive church, against the pope's supremacy.

(1) Ephes. ii. (2) Chap. xxi. (3) Lib. de Simplic. Prælat. [See Appendix.]
(4) Aug. in Johan. Tractat. 50. [§ 12.] (5) Acts xx. (6) 1 Pet. 5.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1534.

His supremacy reproved by the council of Nice. The council falsified by Faustinus the pope's legate.

tioc, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the council of Nice, which was sent unto them. And another copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no such article found in it, but in the fifth chapter thereof the contrary, that all causes ecclesiastical should either be determined within the diocese, or else, if any were aggrieved, then to appeal to the council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes men should go out of their provinces; the whole council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time being bishop of Rome, that since the council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they desired him to abstain hereafter to make any more such demand; denouncing unto him, that they would not suffer any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon made a law, that no man should appeal out of the country of Africa, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Wherewith the bishop of Rome ever after held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this council St. Augustine was present, and subscribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

The sixth article of the council. The four chief patriarchs equal in power.

It was determined also, in the sixth article of the said council of Nice, that in the Orient the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; about Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence: so that the bishop of Rome never had meddling in those countries. And in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city before had been destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Jewry.

Pope Agatho subjected to the emperor.

By this ye see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy pre-eminent above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors, as may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, long after that, in whose time was the sixth council general; which Agatho, after his election, sent to the emperor, then being at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be consecrated, after the old custom at the time used.

Pope Vitalianus subject to the emperor.

In like sort, another bishop of Rome, called Vitalianus, did the same, as it is written in the decrees; distinct. 63. Cap. 'Agatho.' The like did St. Ambrose and St. Gregory before them, as it is written in the chapter 'Cum longe,' in the same Distinction. During all this time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

Bishop Tonsal a right Lutheran.

Thus, after that bishop Tonsal, playing the earnest Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, also by examples sufficient of the primitive church, hath proved and declared, how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every creature in this world to obey; now let us likewise see how the said bishop Tonsal describeth unto us the bishop of Rome's disobedience intolerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice most execrable.

The disobedience, pride, and malice of the pope described.

And first, speaking of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, then of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the bishops of Rome to them all; who first, for disobedience, refuse to obey God's commandment, and contrary to his word, will be above their governors, in refusing to obey them.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious disobedience in these bishops of Rome, not sufferable, their pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth; and to kiss their feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched men; and yet they look that their princes should do it unto them, and also that all other christian men, owing them no subjection, should do the same.

And who be these, I pray you, that men may know them? Surely (saith he) the bishops of Rome be those whom I do mean, who, following the pride of Lucifer their father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their seat above the stars of God, and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By stars of God be meant the angels of heaven; for as stars do show unto us in part the light of heaven, so do angels, sent unto men, show the heavenly light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the clouds signified in the Old Testament the prophets, and in the New do signify the apostles and preachers of the word of God; for as the clouds do conceive and gather in the sky moisture, which they after pour down upon the ground, to make it thereby more fruitful, so the prophets in the Old Testament, and the apostles and preachers in the New, do pour into our ears the moisture of their heavenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith, by grace, our souls, being sear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient expositors, and amongst them St. Augustine, interpret to be meant in Scripture stars and clouds, in the exposition of Psalm cxlvii.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

The pope exalted above the clouds and the stars of heaven.

But St. John the evangelist writeth in the 19th chapter of the Apocalypse, and in the 22d also, that when he would have fallen down at the angel's foot, that did show him those visions there written, to have adored him with godly worship, the angel said unto him: 'See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me.' Here it appeareth that the bishops of Rome, suffering all men prostrate before them to kiss their feet (yea the same princes, to whom they owe subjection), do climb up above the stars and angels too, offering their feet to be kissed, with shoes and all. For so I saw myself, being present four and thirty years ago, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear, whilst a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where methinks I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in Acts x., submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him; but I saw not Peter there to take him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a man as thou art, as St. Peter did say to Cornelius: so that the bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the heavenly clouds; that is to say, above the apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men, by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God.

Exalted above angels.

Climbeth above the apostles.

Thus Bishop Tonstal, having described the passing pride of the pope, surmounting like Lucifer above bishops, apostles, angels, and stars of heaven, proceeding then further to the latter end of his sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent, in that he, being justly put from his kingdom here to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up war against us, and bloweth the horn of mischief in giving our land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever, at his setting on, will come and invade us. But let us hear his own words preaching to the king and all Englishmen, touching both the pope's malice, and the treason of cardinal Pole.

Stirreth up war against England. The treason of cardinal Pole.

'Now,' saith he, 'because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore, moved and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all christian nations that will give ears to his devilish enchantments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will invade it.'

And here, expounding these aforesaid words, "To give in prey," he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willeth every true Englishman well to mark the same.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1534.

The pope
giveth
England
away for
a prey.

'First, to make this realm,' saith he, 'a prey to all adventurers, all spoilers, all snaphaunes,¹ all forloru hopes, all cormorants, all raveners of the world, that will invade this realm, is to say, Thou possessor of any lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves; and thou mayest be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor any of thy progeny, to live to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged; for that were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused before thy face; thy daughter likewise deflowered before thee; thy children slain before thine eyes; thy house spoiled; thy cattle driven away, and sold before thy visage; thy plate, thy money, by force taken from thee; all thy goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children, ravened, broken, and distributed in thy presence, that every ravener may have his share. Thou merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either money or ware, or both, which they search for. Thou bishop or priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the bishop of Rome's part, and rebel against God and thy prince, as he doth. If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before; for sure it is thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole realm in prey, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can.

Cardinal
Pole tria-
tor to
England.

'And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, coming of a noble blood, and thereby the more errant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native country; whose pestilent purpose the princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the bishop of Rome (who, being a bishop, should procure peace) is a stirrer of war, and because this most errant and unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the country that he was born in; which any heathen man would abhor to do.'

And so continuing in his discourse against cardinal Pole and the bishop of Rome, for stirring the people to war and mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, thus:

The
pope's
name and
memory
abolish-
ed.

'For these many years past, little war hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the bishop of Rome either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. Paul saith, that God is not the God of dissension, but of peace,² who commandeth, by his word, peace always to be kept, we are sure that all those that go about to break peace between realms, and to bring them to war, are the children of the devil, what holy names soever they may pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which cloaking under hypocrisy is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the devil's part.'

And in the latter end of his sermon, concluding with Ezekiel xxxix., where the prophet speaketh against Gog and Magog going about to destroy the people of God, and prophesieth against them, that the people of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the mountains of Israel, that none of them shall escape, but their carcases shall there be devoured of kites and crows, and birds of the air; so likewise saith he of these our enemies, wishing, that if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to make invasion into this realm, then their great captain Gog (the bishop of Rome he meaneth) may come with them, to drink with them of the same eup which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the people of God might after live quietly in peace.

The pope
compared
to Gog.

(1) 'Snaphaune,' a fire-lock.—ED.

(2) 1 Cor. xiv.

We have heard hitherto the oaths, censures, and judgments of certain particular bishops, of York, of Winchester, of London, of Durham, and also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, against the pope's unlawful usurpation. Now, for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbation of these aforesaid, to infer also the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then 'The Bishops' Book;' in which book, although many things were very slender and imperfect, yet, as touching this cause of the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole opinion and provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1534.

Testimonies out of 'The Bishops' Book,' against the Pope's Supremacy.

We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seigniories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. Peter, or unto any of the apostles or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do teach and command, that all christian people, as well priests and bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the princes and potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

And as for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; since which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by colluding with great kings and princes, sometimes training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world; and that, under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel.¹ Wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils.² And finally, they do transgress their

How the
bishop of
Rome
rose by
ambition.

(1) Concilium tertium Carthaginense, cap. 26. First, the general council of Nice decreed, that the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch should have like power over the countries about those cities, as the bishops of Rome had over the countries about Rome. In the council of Milevis it was decreed, that if a clerk of Africa would appeal out of Africa unto any bishop beyond the sea, he should be taken as a person excommunicated.

(2) In the general council of Constantinople (the first), it was likewise decreed, that every cause between any persons should be determined within the provinces where the matters did lie; and

See
Appendix.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1534.

own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began, and that by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his own diocese or province; and divers such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils, to repress and take away out of the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same.¹ And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the gospel, and the decrees of the church) that any bishop at Rome or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him, the title and name of the universal bishop, or of the head of all priests, or of the highest priest, or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, either in Scripture, or in the writings of any authentical doctor or author of the church, being within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction, between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction. And in that there is now, and since the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference among the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church for the conservation of good order and the unity of the catholic church; and that, either by the consent and authority, or else at least by the permission and sufferance, of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling, &c.

And shortly after followeth this:

And for the better confirmation of this part, we think it also convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that Christ did by express words prohibit, that none of his apostles, nor any of their successors should, under the pretence of the authority given unto them by Christ, take upon them the authority of the sword; that is to say, the authority of kings, or of any civil power in this world, yea, or any authority to make laws or ordinances in causes appertaining unto civil powers. Truth it is, the priests and bishops may execute all such temporal power and jurisdiction as is committed unto them by the ordinance and authority of kings, or other civil powers, and by the consent of the people (as officers and ministers under the said kings and powers), so long as it shall please the said kings and people to permit and suffer them so to use and execute the same. Notwithstanding, if any bishop, of what estate or dignity soever he be (be he bishop of Rome, or of any other city, province, or diocese), do presume to take upon him authority or jurisdiction in causes or matters which appertain unto kings, and the civil powers and their courts, and will maintain or think that he may so do by the authority of Christ and his gospel, although the kings and princes would not permit and suffer him so to do; no doubt, that bishop is not worthy to be called a bishop, but rather a tyrant, and a usurper of other men's rights, contrary to the laws of God; and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise than he that goeth about to subvert the kingdom of Christ. For the kingdom of Christ in his church is a spiritual, and not a carnal kingdom of the world; that is to say, the very kingdom that Christ, by himself, or by his apostles and disciples, sought here in this world, was to bring all nations from the carnal kingdom of the prince of darkness unto the light of his spiritual kingdom; and so himself to reign in the hearts of the people, by grace, faith, hope, and charity. And therefore, since Christ did never seek nor exercise any worldly kingdom or dominion in this world, but rather, refusing and flying from the same, did leave the said worldly governance of kingdoms, realms, and nations, to be governed by princes and potentates (in like manner as he did find them),

The bishop of Rome judged to be a tyrant and usurper.

¹ That no bishop should exercise any power out of his own diocese or province. And this was also the mind of holy St. Cyprian, and of other holy men of Africa. To conclude, therefore, the pope hath no such primacy given him, either by the words of Scripture, or by any general council, or by common consent of the holy catholic church.

(1) Gregorius, lib. 1. Epistolarum; Indictione xiii. Epist. 10.

and commanded also his apostles and disciples to do the semblable, as it was said before; whatsoever priest, or bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such authority, and will pretend the authority of the gospel for his defence therein, he doth nothing else but (in a manner as you would say) crowneth Christ again with a crown of thorn, and traduceth and bringeth him forth again with his mantle of purple upon his back, to be mocked and scorued of the world, as the Jews did to their own damnation.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1534.

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witness and testimony of these bishops and other learned men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the bishops' book before named.

Testimonies of Bishops and Doctors of England against the Pope.

Thomas Cantuariensis.	Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon. Leicester.
Edovardus Eboracensis.	Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon. Dorset.
Johannes Londinensis.	Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon. Stafford.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.	Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiacon. Nottingham.
Stephanus Wintoniensis.	Richardus Curren, Archidiacon. Oxon.
Robertus Carliolensis.	Gulielmus Cliffe.
Johannes Exoniensis.	Galfridus Dounes.
Johannes Lincolnensis.	Robertus Oking.
Johannes Bathoniensis.	Radulphus Bradford.
Rolandus Coventr. et Lichfield.	Richardus Smith.
Thomas Eliensis.	Simon Mathew.
Nicolaus Saris.	Johannes Prin.
Johannes Bangor.	Gulielmus Buckmaster.
Edovardus Herefordiensis.	Gulielmus May.
Hugo Wigorniensis.	Nicolaus Wotton.
Johannes Roffensis.	Richardus Cox.
Richardus Cicestrensis.	Johannes Edmunds.
Gulielmus Norwicensis.	Thomas Robertson.
Gulielmus Menevensis.	Johannes Baker.
Robertus Assavensis.	Thomas Barret.
Robertus Landavensis.	Johannes Hase.
Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon. Sudbur.	Johannes Tyson.
Gulielmus Knight, Archidiacon. Richmond.	
Johannes Bel, Archidiacon. Gloucester.	

These were doctors of divinity, and of both laws.

Judge now thyself, loving reader, 'per confessata et allegata;' that is, by these things heretofore confessed, alleged, allowed, proved, and confirmed; by pen set forth, by words defended, and by oath subscribed by these bishops and doctors, if either Martin Luther himself, or any Lutheran else, could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But because these things we write for edification of others, rather than for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go.

The bishops of England were then good Lutherans.

And although the said proofs and arguments, heretofore alleged, might suffice to the full discussion of this matter against the pope's usurped primacy; yet because many do yet remain, who will not be satisfied, to refel therefore and confute this popish article of the pope's

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1534.The
epistle of
Tonstal
and
Stokes-
ley, to
Pole.

vain and proud primacy with as much matter and furniture of reasons and allegations as the writings and testimonies of these bishops and others do minister unto us; we mind (the Lord willing) to annex to these former confirmations of the bishops aforesaid, another supplement also of a certain epistle sent by bishop Tonstal, and by John Stokesley, bishop of London, to cardinal Pole, for a more ample confutation of the usurped power. Concerning the argument of that epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, cardinal Pole, brother to the lord Montague, was attainted of high treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made cardinal of St. Mary Cosmedin; of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of queen Mary. In the mean time, he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certain epistle exhortatory by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king. The copy of which his epistle, for the reasons and arguments therein contained about the same matter, we thought here not unworthy to be put in, or unprofitable to be read. The tenor thereof here followeth.

The true Copy of a certain Letter written by Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, to Cardinal Pole, proving the Bishop of Rome to have no special superiority above other Bishops.¹

*See
Adaenda.*

For the good will that we have borne unto you in times past, as long as you continued the king's true subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you, neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the king's highness heretofore showed unto you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the house that you be come of, nor the wealth of the country that you were born in, should so decline from your duty to your prince, that you should be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the bishop of Rome, to wind with him, going about, by all means to him possible, to pull down and put under foot your natural prince and master,² to the destruction of the country that hath brought you up, and for a vain glory of a red hat, to make yourself an instrument to set forth his malice, who hath stirred, by all means that he could, all such christian princes as would give ears unto him, to depose the king's highness from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that should execute his malice; and to stir, if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm, where the office and duty of all good christian men, and namely of us that be priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietness, all discord to concord; and in doing contrary, we do show ourselves to be but the ministers of Satan, and not of Christ, who ordained all us that be priests to use, in all places, the legation of peace, and not of discord. But since that cannot be undone that is done, secondly it is to make amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigal son spoken of in the gospel,³ who returned home to his father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you would say as he said, in acknowledging your folly, and do as he did, in returning home again from your wandering abroad in service of him, who little careth what cometh of you, so that his purpose by you be served.

And if you be moved by your conscience, that you cannot take the king your master as supreme head of the church of England, because the bishop of Rome hath heretofore many years usurped that name universally over all the church,

(1) This letter was testified by Cuthbert Tonstal, to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to be his own, about fourteen days before his death.

(2) Read his traitorous oration to the emperor, in his book entitled, 'De Ecclesiæ Concordiâ,' moving him to seek the destruction of king Henry, and the whole realm of England. [See App.]

(3) Luke xv.

under pretence of the gospel of St. Matthew, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church:' surely that text many of the most holy and ancient expositors wholly do take to be meant of the faith, then first confessed by the mouth of Peter; upon which faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, the church is builded, Christ being the very lowest foundation stone, whereupon both the apostles themselves, and also the whole faith of the church of Christ, by them preached through the world, is founded and builded; and other foundation none can be, but that only, as St. Paul saith, 'No other foundation can any man lay besides that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.'

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1534.

The place of Matt. xviii. 'Tu es Petrus' expounded.

And where you think that the gospel of Luke proveth the same authority of the bishop of Rome, saying, 'Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail; and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren:' surely that speaketh only of the fall of Peter, known to Christ by his godly prescience, whereof he gave an inkling, that after the time of his fall he should not despair, but return again, and confirm his brethren, as he, being ever most fervent of them, was wont to do. The place doth plainly open itself that it cannot be otherwise taken, but this to be the very meaning of it, and not to be spoken but to Peter: for else his successors must first fail in the faith, and then convert, and so confirm their brethren. And whereas you think that this place of the gospel of John, 'Feed my sheep,' was spoken only to Peter, and that those words make him shepherd over all, and above all, St. Peter² himself testifieth the contrary in his canonical epistle, where he saith to all priests, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is among you;' which he bade them do by the authority that Christ had put them in, as followeth: 'And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive the incorruptible crown of eternal glory.'

The place of Luke xxii. expounded.

The place of John xxi. expounded.

The same likewise St. Paul, in the Acts,³ testifieth, saying, 'Give heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath set you to govern the church of God; where, in the original text, the word signifying 'regere,' to govern, 'ποιμαίνειν,' is the same that was spoken to Peter, 'pascere,' feed, for it signifieth both in the Scripture. And that by these words he was not constituted a shepherd over all, it is very plain by the fact of St. Peter, who durst not enterprise much conversation among the Gentiles, but eschewed it as a thing unlawful, and much rather prohibited than commanded by God's law, until he was admonished by the revelation of the sheet full of divers viands, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: whereas, if Christ, by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' had given such a universal governance to Peter, then Peter, being more fervent than others of the apostles to execute Christ's commandment, would of his own courage have gone, without any such new admonition, to Cornelius:⁴ except peradventure you would say, that Peter did not understand the said words of Christ, for lack of the light which the later men have obtained to perceive, and thereby understand the words of Christ to Peter, better than Peter himself did. And strange also it were to condemn Peter as a high traitor to his Master after his ascension; as he indeed were worthy, if his Master had signified unto him that the bishops of Rome, by his dying there, should be heads of all the church; and he, knowing the same by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' yet, notwithstanding his Master's high legacy and commandment, would flee as he did from Rome,⁵ until his Master, encountering him by the way, with terrible words caused him to return.

See Appendix.

And because this history, peradventure, cannot weigh against an obstinate mind to the contrary; what shall we say to the words of St. Ambrose, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample primacy was given to Paul, as to Peter? Upon these words of Paul, 'He that wrought by Peter,' &c., thus he writeth:⁶ 'He nameth Peter only, and compareth him to himself, because he received a primacy to build a church; and that he, in like sort, was chosen himself to have a primacy in building the churches of the Gentiles.' And shortly after it followeth: 'Of those [that is to say of the apostles] that were the chiefest, his gift,' he saith, 'was allowed, which he had received of God; so that he was found worthy to have the primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as

As great primacy given to Paul, as to Peter.

(1) 1 Cor. iii.

(2) 1 Pet. v.

(3) Chap. xx.

(4) Acts xii.

(5) Of this flying-away of Peter from Rome read before. [See Appendix.]

(6) 'Petrum solum nominat et sibi comparat, quia primum ipse acceperat ad fundandam Ecclesiam; se quoque pari modo electum ut primum habeat in fundandis ecclesiis gentium,' &c.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

Equality of degree among the apostles.

Peter had in preaching to the Jews. And as he assigned to Peter, for his companions, those who were of the chiefest men amongst the apostles, even so also did he take to himself Barnabas, who was joined unto him by God's judgment; and yet did he challenge to himself alone the prerogative or primacy which God had given him, as to Peter alone it was granted among the other apostles. So that the apostles of the circumcision gave their hands to the apostles of the Gentiles, to declare their concord in fellowship, that either of them should know that they had received the perfection of the Spirit in the preaching of the gospel, and so should not need either the other in any matter.' And shortly after saith St. Ambrose, 'Who durst resist Peter the chief apostle, but another such a one? who, by the confidence of his election, might know himself to be no less, and so might reprove boldly that thing which he inconsistently had done.'

This equality of dignity which St. Ambrose affirmeth by Scripture to be equally given to Peter and Paul, St. Cyprian and St. Jerome do extend to all the apostles; Cyprian saying thus: 'All the rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, being endued with like equality of honour and power.' And St. Jerome thus: 'All the apostles received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and upon them, as indifferently and equally, is the strength of the church grounded and established.' The same St. Jerome also, as well in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to Titus, as in his Epistle to Euagrius, sheweth that these primacies, long after Christ's ascension, were made by the device of men; whereas before, by the common agreement and consent of the clergy every of the churches were governed, yea, the patriarchal churches.

The words of St. Jerome² be these: 'Let the bishops understand, that they be greater than other priests, rather by custom, than by virtue and verity of the Lord's ordinance.' And in his said epistle to Euagrius he hath the like sentence, and addeth thereunto,⁴ 'Wheresoever a bishop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, he is of all one worthiness, and of all one priesthood.' And that one was elected who should be preferred before others, it was devised for the redress of schisms, lest any one, challenging too much to himself, should rend the church of Christ. These words only of St. Jerome be sufficient to prove that Christ by none of these three texts (which be all that you and others do allege for your opinion) gave to Peter any such superiority as the bishop of Rome by them usurpeth; and that neither Peter, nor any others of the chief apostles, did vindicate such primacy or superiority, but utterly refused it, and therefore gave pre-eminence above themselves to one, that though he be sometimes called an apostle, yet he was none of the twelve, as Eusebius, in the beginning of his second book, called 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' doth testify, alleging for him the great and ancient clerk Clemens Alexandrinus, saying thus,⁵ 'Peter, James, and John, after Christ's ascension into heaven, although they were by him preferred almost before all others, yet they challenged not that glory to themselves, but decreed that James, who was called Justus, should be chief bishop of the apostles.' By these words, it is clear that James was the bishop of the apostles, not because, as some men do gloss, he was elected by the apostles, but because he had thereby the primacy and honour of a bishop in Jerusalem, above the rest of the apostles.

And one thing is especially to be noted, and also marvelled at, that the bishops of Rome do challenge this primacy only by Peter, and yet St. Paul, who was his equal, or rather superior by Scripture, in his apostleship amongst the Gentiles, whereof Rome was the principal, suffered at Rome where Peter did, and is commonly, in all the Roman church, joined with Peter in all appellations and titles of pre-eminence, and both be called 'principes Apostolorum,' 'the chief of the apostles.' Upon both is equally founded the church of Rome. The accounting of the bishops of Rome many years agreeth thereunto. For

Difference betwixt bishops and priests, how it is come.

James the Just made the bishop of the apostles. Seeing Paul was chief primacy of the Gentiles, it is against reason that the Romans should challenge the primacy by Peter.

(1) 'Hoc erant utique et ceteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis.'—Cyprian. De Simplicitate Clericorum.

(2) 'Cuncti Apostoli claves regni cælorum acceperunt et ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo fundatur.'—Contra Jovinianum.

(3) 'Sciunt ergo Episcopi se magis ex consuetudine, quam dispensationis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores' Cap. I. super Titum.

(4) 'Ilicunque fuerit, Episcopus, sive Roma, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, &c.

(5) 'Petrus, Jacobus, ac Johannes, post assumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipso fuerant omnibus pene prælati, tamen non sibi vindicarent gloriam, sed Jacobum, qui dicebatur Justus, Apostolorum Episcopum statuunt.' [See Appendix to Vol. vi., note on p. 368.]

Eusebius¹ saith, that Clement was the third bishop after St. Paul and Peter, reckoning them both as bishops of Rome, and yet therein preferring St. Paul; with like words, saying of Alexander bishop of Rome, that² Alexander 'obtained the governance of the people by succession, the fifth bishop after Peter and Paul.' Irenæus also saith, as Eusebius reciteth, that³ after the church was once founded and builded, the holy apostles charged Linus with the bishopric; whereby appeareth, that they both jointly constituted him bishop of Rome, and received only their apostleship enjoined to them by Christ. And therefore, if the bishops of Rome challenge any pre-eminence of authority by Peter, they should as well, or rather, challenge the same by Paul, because they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there suffered, resigning first that bishopric to Linus, and all at once.

And if peradventure you will lean to the former preaching there by Peter, which by Scripture cannot be proved, yet then at least St. Paul and his successors in Ephesus should have like primacy, because he founded first that church, though St. John, after that, did build it, as witnesseth Eusebius, saying⁴ The church which is at Ephesus, was founded by Paul, but it was built by St. John. And so Peter should have no other primacy in Rome, but as Paul had in Ephesus, that is to say, to be counted as the first preacher and converter of the people there to the faith of Christ. And as well might all the bishops of Ephesus challenge primacy of all nations, both Gentiles and Jews, by St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, their founder, as the bishop of Rome, by St. Peter, the apostle only of the circumcision, in case he were the first founder, challenging primacy over all. But undoubtedly, this primacy over all, that the bishops of Rome of late do challenge, was not allowed, nor yet known or heard of amongst the ancient fathers, though they had their church of Rome in high estimation, as well for the notable virtuous deeds that the clergy did there show and exercise abundantly to their neighbours (as witnesseth the said Eusebius,⁵ alleging there the epistle that Dionysius Alexandrinus wrote to Soter, bishop of Rome, testifying the same), as for that the city of Rome was the most ample and chief city of the world, witnessing St. Cyprian, saying,⁶ 'Certainly, because that Rome ought, for the greatness thereof, to excel Carthage, there Novatus committed the greater and more grievous offences.'

This St. Cyprian also, when he had ordained and appointed certain decrees and statutes unto the bishop of Rome, did not submit them to his reformation or judgment, but only signified his own sentence to like him also; and yet adding thereunto, that if any bishops (meaning as well of Rome as others) who were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwise think or do, he would not then that his sentence should be to them prejudicial, neither would he thereby compel them to any thing, but would that they should follow their own minds and customs; partly, for that every one of the bishops hath liberty of his own will, and partly, for that every governor shall make an account to God of his own deed, as it appeareth plainly in his epistle to Stephen and Julian. And in the third epistle to Cornelius, towards the end, speaking of the appeal that one Felicissimus, a Novatian, after his condemnation in Africa, made to Rome, he impugneth such appeals, saying,⁷ 'Forasmuch as every pastor hath his own flock committed unto him, which every one ought to rule and govern, and must give account to the Lord of his administration, it is decreed by us all, and we think it both meet and just, that every man's cause and plea should there be heard, where the crime is committed.' This holy and excellent clerk and martyr, St. Cyprian, would never have either impugned their appeal to Rome from their own primacies, or so earnestly have maintained his determinations in the councils of Africa, contrary to the opinion of the bishops of Rome and to their customs, without any submission by word or writing, if the primacy over all, which the bishops of Rome do challenge and usurp, had

Hevy VIII.

A. D. 1534.

The first foundation of a church maketh no primacy.

Appeal to Rome forbidden.

(1) 'Clemens tertius post Paulum et Petrum pontificatum tenebat.' Lib. iii. c. 21.
 (2) 'Quinta successione post Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula sortitus est.'
 (3) 'Fundata et ædificata Ecclesia, beati apostoli Lino officium episcopatus injungunt.' Lib. v. c. 6.
 (4) 'Ecclesia quæ est apud Ephesum a Paulo quidem fundata est, a Joanne verò ædificata.' Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 23. [Rather Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius; this quotation is not quite accurate in the latter clause.—Ed.] (5) Lib. iv. c. 24.
 (6) 'Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit.' Cyr. Lib. ii. ad. Cornelium.
 (7) 'Quia singulis pastoribus portio gregis est ascripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet. rationem sui actus, Domino redditurus,' &c. Cyr. lib. iii. Epist. ad Cornelium.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1534.

been grounded upon the plain Scriptures, as you with some others do think: and it is to be supposed also, that he would in all his epistles have called them 'Patres,' or 'Dominos,' fathers or lords, as superiors; and not always 'Fratres' and 'Collegas,' brothers and fellows in office, as but only his equals.

This thing yet more plainly doth appear by the acts of the councils of Africa in St. Augustine's time: by which it is evident, that though the faith of Christ was by the Romans first brought into Africa (as St. Augustine doth confess¹), yet it was not read, nor known, that the bishops of Rome used or challenged any sovereignty in Africa unto this time. And yet then he did not challenge it by the right of God's word, but by the pretence of a certain canon² supposed to be in the council of Nice; which article could never be found, though it were then very diligently sought for through all the principal churches of the east and south; but only was alleged by Julius, bishop of Rome, out of his own library.

And you may be well assured, that if the Scriptures had made for it, neither the bishop of Rome would have left that certain proof by Scriptures, and trusted only to the testimony of an article of that council, being in doubt and unlikely to be found; nor yet St. Augustine, with his holy and learned company, would have resisted this demand, if it had been either grounded upon Scriptures, or determined in that or other councils, or yet had stood with equity, good order, or reason.³ Howbeit the largeness and magnificence of the buildings of that city, and the ancient excellency and superiority of the same in temporal dominions, was the only cause that in the councils (where the patriarchal sees were set in order) the bishop of Rome was allotted to the first place, and not by any such constitution made by Christ; as appeareth well by this, that Constantinople, being, at the same time of this ordering of the patriarchal sees, most amply enlarged by the emperors, being before a small town, and of no renown, and by them most magnificently builded and advanced with all worldly titles, prerogatives, and privileges temporal, like unto Rome, and therefore called 'Nova Roma,' 'New Rome,' was therefore advanced also to the second see and place:—Antioch in the East (where St. Peter first took the chair before he came to Rome, and where christian men had first their name given them); yea, and Jerusalem (which was the first mother city of our faith, and where Christ himself first founded the faith), and also Alexandria, being rejected to the third, fourth, and fifth places; because at that time they were not in so high estimation in the world, though in the faith of Christ all they were ancients, and some of them mothers to Rome.

Truth it is, that the bishops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the faith amongst themselves, made suits to the bishop of Rome; but that was not for the superiority of jurisdiction over them, but because they were greatly divided, and those countries, as well bishops as others, much infected with the heresies of the Arians, whereof the west was in a manner clear: and among them of the orient, none were counted indifferent to decide those matters, but were all suspected of affection for one cause or other. Wherefore they desired the opinions of the bishops of the west, as indifferent, and not entangled with affections of any of those parts, neither corrupted with any of the Arians, as appeareth by the epistles of St. Basil, written in all their names for the said purpose; in which also it is especially to be noted, that their suit was not made to the bishop of Rome singularly, or by name, but (as the titles do show) to the whole congregation of the bishops of Italy and France, or of the whole west, and sometimes preferring the French and Italian bishops, saying, 'Gallis et Italis,' and never naming the Romans. And for a clear proof that the ancient fathers knew not this primacy of one above all, we need no other testimony but their determination in the council of Nice, that Alexandria, and Antioch, and universally all other primates, should have the whole governance of their confine countries, like as the bishop of Rome had of those that inhabited within his suburbs. And this determination proveth, also, that your three Scriptures meant nothing less than this primacy over all: for God forbid that we should suspect that council as ignorant of those plain Scriptures, to which, since that time, all Christendom hath leaned, as the anchor of our faith. And if you like to read the ancient ecclesiastical histories, there you may see, that Athanasius, and other patriarchs, did execute that primacy, as in making, consecrating, and

The old fathers never knew the primacy of the church of Rome.

(1) Aug. Ep. 162, [nunc 43, cap. 3, § 7.]

(2) Dist. 16. Viginti. [Distinct. xvi. § 13.]

(3) Vide duas Epistolas ad Bonifacium, &c. pap. &c. tomo [1] conciliorum, [Edit. 1538], fol. 307, 308.

ordering of churches, bishops and clerks, in their countries east and south, as the bishops of Rome in that time did, in the west and north.

And if you would yet any thing object against any of these witnesses, then, to eschew contention, and for a final conclusion, let the bishop of Rome stand to his own confession made many years past by his predecessor Agatho, to the emperors, Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius, in his epistle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the synod which he thought to be under the see apostolic; wherein, soon after the beginning of the epistle, he comprehendeth them all under the name of the bishops dwelling in the north and west parts of their empire: so that there, in his own epistle, he confesseth all his subjects and obedienciaries to be only of the north and west. And so it appeareth evidently, by his own confession, that neither by God's law, nor by man's law, he had to do with any person of the east or south; and this his high sovereignty over all, challenged (as you and others say) by Scripture, is brought, as by his own confession doth appear, into a little and straight angle. And this Agatho was not a man unlearned, as appeareth by the acts of the sixth synod of Constantinople, in the fourth act, wherein is written at large and expressed the said epistle and confession. And the primacy of Peter, which ancient doctors speak of, which was only in preaching and teaching the faith of Christ, which he, first among all the apostles, and first of all mortal men, did express with his mouth, did afterwards so adhere to his own person, that it was never delivered either to any successor, or to any other apostle, but chiefly to himself; for all others, afterwards professing the same, spake it according unto him who had professed it before. Moreover, all the apostles (as St. John saith¹) be foundations in the heavenly Jerusalem, and not Peter only. Also Cyprian affirmeth (as is afore said) that all the apostles were of equal dignity and power; which all ancient authors likewise do affirm. For Christ gave the apostles like power in the gospel, saying; Go, and teach all nations, baptizing them,² &c. And St. Paul (as is said before) knew no other primacy given to Peter to preach in any place but among the Jews, as he himself had amongst the Gentiles, as he writeth to the Galatians; whereupon St. Ambrose writing (as is afore said), affirmeth the same. And that the mother of all churches is Jerusalem (as is afore said), and not Rome, the Scripture is plain, in the prophet Isaiah;³ 'Out of Sion shall the law proceed, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem:' upon which place St. Jerome saith,⁴ 'Out of the church, being first founded in Jerusalem, sprang all other churches of the whole world;' and also in the gospel which Christ, before his ascension, commanded his apostles to 'preach throughout all the world, beginning first at Jerusalem;' so that the bishop of Rome's universal power, by him claimed over all, cannot by any scripture be justified; as, if you have read the ancient fathers' expositions of the said scriptures (as we suppose you have, since your letters sent hither concerning this matter), and would give more credence to their humble and plain speaking, than to the later contentious and ambitious writers of that high, and above-the-ideas-of-Plato's subtlety (which passeth, as you write, the lawyer's learning and capacity), we doubt not but that you perceive and think the same.

And where you think that the king cannot be taken as supreme head of the church, because he cannot exercise the chief office of the church in preaching and ministering of the sacraments; it is not requisite, in every body natural, that the head should exercise either all manner of offices of the body, or the chief office of the same. For albeit the head is the highest and chief member of the natural body, yet the distribution of life to all the members of the body, as well to the head as to other members, cometh from the heart, and it is the minister of life to the whole body, as the chief act of the body.

Neither yet hath this similitude its full place in a mystical body, that a king should have the chief office of administration in the same: and yet notwithstanding, the Scripture speaking of king Saul, saith, 'I made thee head amongst the tribes of Israel.'⁵ And if a king amongst the Jews were the head of the tribes of Israel in the time of the law, much more is a christian king head of the tribes of spiritual Israel, that is, of such as by true faith see Christ, who is the end of the law. The office deputed to the bishops in the mystical body, is to be as eyes to the whole body, as Almighty God saith to the prophet Ezekiel; 'I have made thee an overseer over the house of Israel.'⁶ And what bishop

Henry VIII

A. D. 1534.

In the time of Pope Agatho, the see of Rome had no rule over the east and south churches.

Peter's primacy hath no successors.

A prince may be head of his church, and yet not preach nor minister sacraments.

(1) Apoc. xxi.

(2) Matt. xxi.

(3) Isaiah ii.

(4) 'In Hierusalem primum fundata totius orbis ecclesias seminavit.'

(5) 1 Kings xv.

(6) Ezek. iii.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1534.

A bishop
is an eye
in the
head, but
not the
head of
the mys-
tical
body.

The office
of a head.

What is
unity.

Answer to
Cyprian.

The
church
of Rome
hath no
more pre-
rogative
than any
other.

In what
the unity
of the
church
standeth.

soever refuseth to use the office of an eye in the mystical body, to show unto the body the right way of believing and living, which appertaineth to the spiri- tual eye to do, shall show himself to be a blind eye; and if he shall take any other office in hand than appertaineth to the right eye, he shall make a con- fusion in the body, taking upon him another office than is given him of God.

Wherefore, if the eye will take upon him the office of the whole head, it may be answered unto it, it cannot do so, for it lacketh brain. And examples show likewise that it is not necessary always that the head should have the faculty or chief office of administration, as you may see in a navy by sea; where the admiral, who is a captain over all, doth not meddle with steering or governing of every ship, but every particular master must direct the ship to pass the sea in breaking the waves by his steering and governance, which the admiral, the head of all, doth not himself, nor yet hath the faculty to do, but commandeth the masters of the ships to do it. And likewise many a captain of great armies, who is not able, nor ever could peradventure shoot, or break a spear by his own strength, yet, by his wisdom and commandment only, achieveth the wars, and attaineth the victory.

And whereas you think that unity standeth not only in the agreeing in one faith and doctrine of the church, but also in agreeing in one head; if you mean the very and only head over all the church, our Saviour Christ, whom the Father hath set over all the church, which is his body, wherein all good christian men do agree, therein you say truth. But, if you mean for any one mortal man to be the head over all the church, and that head to be the bishop of Rome, we do not agree with you. For you do there err in the true understanding of the Scripture; or else you must say that the said council of Nice, and others most ancient did err, which divided the administration of churches, the orient from the occident, and the south from the north, as is before expressed. And that Christ, the universal head, is present in every church, the gospel showeth; 'Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;' and in another place, 'Behold, I am with you until the end of the world;' by which it may appear that Christ, the universal head, is everywhere with his mystical body the church; who, by his Spirit, worketh in all places (how far soever they be distant) the unity and concord of the same. And as for any other universal head to be over all, than Christ himself, Scripture proveth not, as it is showed before.

And yet for a further proof, to take away the scruples that peradventure do, to your appearance, rise of certain words in some ancient authors, and especially in St. Cyprian's epistles, as that the unity of the church stood in the unity with the bishop of Rome, though they never call him supreme head; if you will weigh and confer all their sayings together, you shall perceive that they neither spake nor meant otherwise; but when the bishop of Rome was once lawfully elected and enthroned, if then any other would, by faction, might, force, or otherwise (the other living and doing his office), enterprise to put him down, and usurp the same bishopric, or exercise the other's office himself (as Novatian did attempt in the time of Cornelius), then the said fathers reckoned them catho- lics that did communicate with him that was so lawfully elected: and the cus- tom was, for one primacy to have to do with another by congratulatory letters, soon after the certainty of their election was known, to keep the unity of the church; and all they that did take part with, or maintain the usurper, to be schismatics, because that usurper was a schismatic; 'Because it was not law- ful for two bishops to be at once together in one church, neither the former bishop, being lawful, to be deposed without his fault were proved.' And this is not a prerogative of the church of Rome, more than of any other cathedral, special, patriarchal, or metropolitanical church, as appeareth in the third epistle of the first book, and in the eighth of the second, and in the fourth book of St. Cyprian to Cornelius; whose words and reasons, although peradventure they might seem to include the unity of the church in the unity of the bishop of Rome, because they were all written to him in his own case, may as well be written unto any other bishop lawfully chosen, who percase should be likewise disturbed, as the bishops of Rome then were, by any factions of ambitious heretics.

(1) Matt. xviii.

(2) Matt. xxviii.

(3) 'Quia non sit fas in eadem ecclesia, duos simul episcopos esse, nec priorem legitimum episcopum sine sua culpa deponi.'

And whereas you think the name of supreme head under Christ, given and attributed to the king's majesty, maketh an innovation in the church, and perturbation of the order of the same; it cannot be any innovation or trouble to the church to use the room that God hath called him to, which good christian princes did use in the beginning, when faith was most pure, as St. Augustine,¹ Ad Glorium et Eleusium, saith; 'One there is, who saith, that a bishop ought not to have been put to his purgation before the judgment seat of the deputy, as though he himself procured it, and not rather the emperor himself caused this inquiry to be made; to whose jurisdiction (for which he must answer to God) that cause did specially pertain.' Chrysostome writeth of that imperial authority thus:² 'He is offended that hath no peer at all upon the earth, for he is the highest potentate, and the head of all men upon earth.' And Tertullian saith,³ 'We honour and reverence the emperor in such wise as is lawful to us, and expedient to him; that is to say, as a man next and second to God, from whom he hath received all the power he hath, and also inferior to God alone, whose pleasure it is so to have it: for thus he is greater than all men, whilst he is inferior but to God alone.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

The imperial authority is next under God.

And the said Tertullian, in his book apologetical, speaking of emperors, saith,⁴ 'They know who hath given to them their government; they know that God is he alone, under whose only power they be; and take themselves as second to God, after whom they be chief above all others.' Theophylact also, on this place in Romans, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,'⁵ saith, 'The apostle there teacheth every man,⁶ that whether he be a priest, or a monk, or an apostle, he should subject himself to princes:' that is, although thou be an apostle, an evangelist, a prophet, or whatsoever thou art, be subject. For, saith he, this subjection overthrows not godliness:⁷ and the apostle saith not only, 'Let him obey,' but saith, 'Let him be subject.'

And if the apostles be subject to princes, much more all bishops and patriarchs, yea the bishops of Rome and all others.

It is written also in the Chronicles,⁸ David said to Solomon, Behold the priests and Levites divided in companies, to do all manner of service that pertaineth to the house of God. Also David did appoint chiefly to thank the Lord, Asaph and his brethren,⁹ &c. And Jehoshaphat the king did constitute Levites and priests, and the ancient families of Israel, for the judgment and cause of the Lord towards all the inhabitants of the earth; and he charged them saying, 'Thus shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect heart.'¹⁰ Furthermore Hezekiah appointed the priests and the Levites in their order, to wait by course, every man according to his office. And it followeth, 'Hezekiah gave commandment to the people dwelling in Jerusalem, that they should give their portions unto their priests and the Levites, that they might attend on the law of the Lord.'¹¹ Where it followeth also, that by the precept of Hezekiah the king, and of Azarias the bishop of the house of the Lord, all things were done, to whom pertained all the dispensation of the house of the Lord. And in the end it is said, Hezekiah did these things in all Jewry; he wrought that which was good, right, and true, before his Lord God, in all the furniture of the ministry of the house of the Lord, according to the law and ceremonies, desirous to seek his Lord God with all his heart, as he did, and prospered therein. Josias also did ordain priests in their offices, and commanded many things.¹²

By all which it may appear, that christian kings be sovereigns over the priests, as over all other their subjects, and may command the priests to do their offices, as well as they do others; and ought by their supreme office to see that all men of all degrees do the duties, whereunto they be called either

(1) 'Ait enim quidam, non debuit episcopus pro consulari iudicio purgari,' &c. August. Epist. 162.

(2) 'Læsus est qui non habet parem ullum super terram: summitas et caput est omnium hominum super terram.' [Ad pop. Antioch. Hom. ii. § 2.]

(3) 'Colimus ergo et imperatorem sic, quomodo et nobis licet et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum.' Tertul. ad Scapulam, &c. [cap. 2.]

(4) 'Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium.' Tertul. in Apologet. [cap. 30.—Eo.]

(5) 'Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit.'

(6) 'Sive sacerdos ille sit, sive monachus, sive apostolus, ut se principibus subdat.' [See App.]

(7) 'Non enim subvertit pietatem hæc subjectio.'

(8) 1 Chron. xxviii. (9) Ib. xvi. (10) 2 Chron. xix. (11) Ib. xxxi. (12) Ib. xxxiv.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534.

General councils called by the emperors.

by God or by the king; and those kings that so do, chiefly do execute well their office. So that the king's highness, taking upon him, as supreme head of the church of England, to see that as well spiritual men as temporal do their duties, doth neither make innovation in the church, nor yet trouble the order thereof; but doth, as the chief and best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good christian kings ought to do. Which office good christian emperors always took upon them, in calling the universal councils of all countries in one place and at one time to assemble together, to the intent that all heresies troubling the church might there be extirped; calling and commanding as well the bishop of Rome, as other patriarchs and all primates, as well of the east as of the west, of the south as of the north, to come to the said councils. As Martian the emperor did, in calling the great council of Chalcedon, one of the four chief and first general councils, commanding Leo, then bishop of Rome, to come unto the same. And albeit Leo neither liked the time, which he would for a season should have been deferred; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in Italy, whereas the emperor, by his own commandment, had called it to Chalcedon in Asia, yet he answered the emperor, that he would gladly obey his commandment, and sent thither his agents to appear there for him, as doth appear in the epistles of Leo to Martian then emperor, forty-first, forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and in the forty-ninth epistle to Pulcheria the empress. And Leo likewise desireth Theodosius the emperor to command a council of bishops to be called in Italy, for taking away such contentions and troubles as at that time troubled the quietness of the churches. And in many more epistles of the same Leo it doth manifestly appear, that the emperors always assembled general councils by their commandments: and in the sixth general council it appeareth very plainly, that at that time the bishops of Rome made no claim, nor used any title, to call themselves heads universal over all the catholic church, as it doth appear in the superscription or salutation of the aforesaid synodical preamble, which is this, word for word: 'To the most godly lords and most noble victors and conquerors, the well-beloved children of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Constantine the great emperor, and Heraclius and Tiberius, Cæsars: bishop Agatho, the servant of the servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the council of the see apostolic, sendeth greeting.' And he expresseth what countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation; for it followeth, that those were under his assembly which were in the north and east parts; so that at that time the bishop of Rome made no such pretence to be over and above all, as he now doth by usurpation, vindicating to himself the spiritual kingdom of Christ by which he reigneth in the hearts of all faithful people, and then changeth it to a temporal kingdom over and above all kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the flesh for the spirit, and an earthly kingdom for a heavenly, to his own damnation, if he repent not: whereas he ought to obey his prince by the doctrine of St. Peter in his first epistle, saying, 'Be ye subject to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as to the chief, or unto governors, as sent of him to the punishment of the evil doers, and to the praise of the good.' Again, St. Paul; 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:'² with other things before alleged. So that this his pretended usurpation to be above all kings is directly against the Scriptures given to the church by the apostles, whose doctrine whosoever overturneth, can be neither the head, nor yet the least member, of the church.

Wherefore, albeit ye have hitherto stuck to the said wrongfully usurped power, moved thereto, as ye write, by your conscience, yet, since now ye see further, if ye list to regard the mere truth and such ancient authors as have been written to you of in times past, we would exhort you, for the weal of your soul, to surrender into the bishop of Rome's hands your red hat, by which he seduced you, trusting so to make you, being come of a noble blood, an instrument to advance his vain glory; whereof by the said hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

In which doing ye shall return to the truth from which ye have erred, do your duty to your sovereign lord from whom ye have declined, and please thereby Almighty God, whose laws ye have transgressed: and in not so doing, ye shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God and your natural sovereign lord,

(1) 1 Pet. ii.

(2) Rom. xiii.

whom chiefly ye ought to seek to please: which thing, for the good mind that we heretofore have borne you, we pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you do not. Amen.

When all other the king's subjects, and the learned of the realm had taken and accepted the oath of the king's supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More refused (as is afore said) to be sworn; who therefore falling into the danger of the law were committed to the Tower, and executed for the same, A. D. 1535. This John Fisher aforesaid had written before against Æcolampadius, whose book is yet extant, and afterwards against Luther.

Also, amongst other his acts, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before: and, shortly after, the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton (called the holy maid of Kent), and found guilty by act of parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other virtues of life this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatsoever his learning was, pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had, to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, that "whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword," and they that stain their hands with blood, seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christ's poor members; in the number of whom were this bishop and sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitten, Bayfield, with divers other good saints of God, were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, to recompense bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon, was as high as London bridge ere ever the pope's hat could come to him. Thus bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, who a little before had put John Frith to death for heresy against the pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for treason against the king, the one the 22d of June, the other the 6th of July, A. D. 1535.

Of sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also recompted a man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was besides, a bitter persecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the gospel, as by his books left behind him may appear; wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury; falsely belying their articles and doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in defence of the gospel, so again, on the other side, such a blind devotion he bare to the pope-holy see of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the scaffold of the Tower-hill, with the axe and all, upon his own neck.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1535.

See Appendix.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an enemy to Christ's gospel.

Blood revenged with blood.

Fisher and More persecutors.

Are be-headed.

Lying books of More.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1535.More a
scoffer
unto his
death.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle,¹ writing of the death and manners of this sir Thomas More, seems to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man: for, as by nature he was endued with a great wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministered some mock in the communication; insomuch that, at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanding his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise, even going to his death, at the Tower gate, a poor woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which, after he was apprehended, she could not come by), and that he would entreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered; "Good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself." Also, when he went up the stair of the scaffold, he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, "When I come down again, let me shift for myself as well as I can." Also the hangman kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is; to whom he answered, "I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honesty² of the striking off my head, my neck is so short." Also, even when he should lay down his neck on the block, he, having a great grey beard, striked out his beard, and said to the hangman, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it;" thus with a mock he ended his life.

There is no doubt but that the pope's holiness hath hallowed and dignified these two persons long since for catholic martyrs: neither is it to be doubted, but after a hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and porthosed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the church of Rome, that is, in taking the bishop of Rome's part, against their own ordinary and natural prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long discourse, and a peculiar tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope, my friend. This briefly for a 'Memorandum' may suffice; that if the causes of true martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbered, and if the end of martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these men standing as it doth, and being tried by God's word, perhaps in the pope's kingdom they may go for martyrs, in whose cause they died; but certes in Christ's kingdom their cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

Exmew,
Middlemore,
Neudigate,
executed
for treason.

The like also is to be said of the three monks of the Charter-house, Exmew, Middlemore, and Neudigate, who the same year, in the month of June, were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certain traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity; for which they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: whom also, because Cope, my good friend, doth repute and accept in the number of holy catholic martyrs, here would be asked of him a

(1) See page 817, edit. 4to. London, 1879. — E.D.

(2) 'Honesty,' credit or honour. — E.D.

question: What martyrs be they, who, standing before the judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these Carthusians did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore, if my friend Cope had been so well advised in setting out his martyrs as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

In the same cause and quarrel of treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of May, were executed with the like punishment John Houghton, prior of the charter-house in London; Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail; Austin Webster, prior of the charter-house of Exham.¹

Besides and with these priors suffered likewise at the same time, two other priests, one called Reginald, brother of Sion, the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth. Divers other Charter-house monks also of London were then put in prison, to the number of nine or ten, and in the same prison died; for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place, hereafter to treat of them more at large.

In the mean time, forasmuch as the aforesaid Cope, in his doughty dialogues,² speaking of these nine worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Master Cope simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him; and first of this John Houghton, that angelical prior of the Charterhouse, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom thus he writeth; "Atqui cum Johannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quam angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, et heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare,"³ &c. By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the author of these dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion and shape, of his excellent body, with such admiration of his personage, that, as he saith, as oft as he calleth the said John Houghton to mind, it seemeth to him even as though he saw an angel in the shape and form of a man: whose eminent virtues, moreover, whose divine gifts and heroic celsitude of mind, no man, saith he, may sufficiently express, &c. And how old was this Master Cope then, would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? for, as I understand, Master Cope, being yet at this present scarce come to the age of forty years, he could not then be above nine years old (the other suffering A.D. 1535); at which age, in my mind, Master Cope had small discretion to judge either of any such angelical proportion of this man's personage, or of his divine qualities and heroic celsitude of his mind; and yet he remembereth him in his dialogues: which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to suspect that these dialogues, printed in Antwerp, A. D. 1566, were

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1535.

Nine Carthusians die in prison, refusing the king's supremacy.

Cope's nine worthies.

Cope's Dialogues suspected not to be his own.

(1) Ex Actis in Termino Paschæ, an. 27 reg. Hen. VIII.

(2) These dialogues were written by Harpsfield, under the name of Alanus Copus; 4to. Antverpiæ, 1566; see Wood's Athenæ Oxon, vol i. p. 491. Bliss.—Ed.

(3) Copus in Dialog. 6. p. 995.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

brought over by Master Cope there to be printed, but were penned and framed by another Pseudo-Copus, whatsoever, or in what fleet soever he was, unless my marks do greatly fail me. But as the case is of no great weight, so I let it pass, returning to other matters of more importance.

Shortly after the overthrow of the pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruin of abbeys and religious houses in England, in a right order and method by God's divine providence. For neither could the fall of monasteries have followed after, unless that suppression of the pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the suppression of those superstitious houses had been joined withal.

Suppression of abbeys first begun in England.

Whereupon, the same year, in the month of October, the king, having then Thomas Cromwell of his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeys, priories, and nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious persons as desired to be free, and all others that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that such monks, canons, and friars as were dismissed, should have given them by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, a secular priest's gown, and forty shillings of money, and likewise the nuns to have such apparel as secular women did then commonly use, and be suffered to go where they would; at which time also, from the said abbeys and monasteries were taken their chief jewels and relics.

A. D. 1536.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were well quieted within the realm, he, like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, forecasting with himself what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other countries about, which were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome, save only a few German princes, and misdoubting the malice of the pope, to provide therefore betimes for perils that might ensue, thought good to keep in, by all means possible, with other princes.

A solemn procession in London, for joy of the French king's health.

And first, to entertain the favour of the French king, who had been sick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of public joy and friendship, the king commanded a solemn and famous procession to be ordained through the city of London, with the waits, and children of the grammar schools, with the masters and ushers in their array: then followed the orders of the friars and canons, and the priors with their pomp of copes, crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them. After these followed the next pageant of clerks and priests of London, all in copes likewise. Then the monks of Westminster and other abbeys, with their glorious gardeviance of crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them, in like sort. Last of all, came the choir of Paul's, with their residentiaries; the bishop of London and the abbots following after in their pontificalibus. After these courses of the clergy went the companies of the city, with the lord mayor and aldermen in their best apparel, after their degrees. And lest it might be thought this procession of the church of London to make but a small or beggarly show, the furniture of the gay copes there worn was counted to the number of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides

See Appendix.

the singing choirs, and chanting of the priests, there lacked no minstrels withal, to pipe at the processions. Briefly, here lacked nothing else but only the ordnance to shoot off also. But because that is used in the processions at Rome, therefore, for difference' sake, the same is reserved only for the pope's own processions, and for none other, in the month of October.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1536.

A piping procession.

This grand procession was appointed for a triumph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the French king's health, as is afore said.

Over and besides this, the king, to nourish and retain amity with kings and princes (lest the pope, being exiled now out of England, should incite them to war against him), directed sundry ambassadors and messengers with letters and instructions. To the emperor was sent sir Thomas Wyat, to the French king sir Francis Bryan, and Dr. Edward Foxe, who was also sent to the princes of Germany; to the Scottish king was sent sir Ralph Sadler, gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

Ambassadors to sundry kings.

In Scotland at the same time were cast abroad divers railing ballets and slanderous rhymes against the king of England, for casting off the lady dowager, and for abolishing the pope; for which cause the aforesaid sir Ralph Sadler, being sent into Scotland with lessons and instructions how to address himself accordingly, after he had obtained access unto the king, and audience to be heard, first declareth the affectuous and hearty commendations from the king's majesty, his grace's uncle, and withal delivered his letters of credence: which done, after a few words of courtly entertainment, as occasion served him to speak, the said sir Ralph Sadler, obtaining audience, thus began in the king his master's behalf to declare, as followeth.

Sir Ralph Sadler, ambassador to the Scottish king.

The Oration of Sir Ralph Sadler, Ambassador to the Scottish King.

Whereas there is nothing, after the glory of Almighty God, in this world so much to be tendered by kings, princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their honour, estimation, good fame, and name, which whosoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural: and unless a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false reports, slanders, and defamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself: the king your uncle, considering the same, and hearing of sundry ballets, criminations, and infamous libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his grace, by your grace's subjects, not only upon trust to find with your grace such natural affection, friendship, and amity, as the nearness of blood between uncle and nephew, necessitude of reverence, proximity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your grace and wisdom will consider how these slanders and defamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate; as the defamation of kings toucheth kings, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your grace his nephew (others he might have sent more worthy; but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent), to desire, pray, and require your grace, according as the nearness of blood, connexion of estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require: beseeching your grace gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder, the malice of these the said slanderers, and to call in again all the said defamatory ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authors and setters forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open proclamations to be made through your realm, that none of the inhabitants there, shall, in any manner of wise, so misuse himself hereafter, upon such great pain and punishment as to your grace and your council shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that others, by their correction, and

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536.

Evil example a pernicious thing in a commonwealth.

by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

The example of such slanders is very pernicious to all kings; for, by such slanders of other princes, the slanderers take boldness so to deal afterwards with their own king, as they have done with others, and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to sedition: of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

Wherefore your grace, at the contemplation of your dear uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good brother and ally the French king, who hath already at Rouen, and sundry places else, caused certain slanderous preachers to be sore punished; and further directed commissions through his realm for repressing the same. As also other princes shall be ready (his majesty trusteth) to do the like in their dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which, in so doing, your grace may be assured, in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your uncle's most sincere and kind heart, to the increase of your amity and alliance, which as to you shall be most honourable, so shall it be no less profitable unto him.

The second point.

And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration, concerning the slanderous and defamatory libels, lest I should seem with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuse your grace's silence, I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your grace, as touching the pope's nuncio, or messenger; of whose late arrival the king's majesty your uncle having partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the special cause of his coming from Rome, and yet fearing, by the common bruit and talk of your subjects, what his errand should be (that is, to practise some annoyance, by his pretended censures against the king's majesty your uncle): he therefore, premonishing your grace before, as fearing the worst, most justly maketh his complaint thereof unto your grace his nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the aforesaid bruits and reports are slanderous to his majesty, and seeing that neither the emperor, nor the French king, nor any other princes, have consented thereto, or understood thereof, the king's majesty, therefore, your uncle, willing to stop those bruits and talks, desireth and most heartily prayeth your grace, at his instant request, to vouchsafe to consider and weigh,

Supremacy of princes.

First, The supremacy of princes, by the holy Scripture granted unto him and other princes in earth, under Christ, upon their churches.

Secondly, To weigh what the gospel and God's word calleth a church.

Also what superstitions, idolatries, and blind abuses have crept into all realms, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, by reason thereof.

Fourthly, What is to be understood by the true censure or excommunication of the church, and how no such can be in the power of the bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his majesty, or any other prince; having so just ground to avoid from the root, and to abolish that execrable authority, which the bishop of Rome hath usurped, and doth usurp, upon all princes, to their great detriment and damage.

As touching the consideration of which four points, although the king's majesty your uncle doubteth not your grace to be furnished and provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discern and judge upon the same; yet, if it shall so please your grace further to know your uncle's mind touching the said points, I assure your highness, in the behalf of your aforesaid uncle his majesty, that he will not stick to send unto you such learned, wise, and discreet men, as shall amply inform you thereof, and of such other things as your grace, having once a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a prince to know.

His request therefore to your highness is, that you will consider of what moment and importance it shall be unto your grace (having the Scots your subjects so evil instructed in the premises), for you to assent and agree to any such censure, and so, by such example, to give such an upper-hand over yourself and other princes, to that usurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendom, wheresoever the true declaration of the truth and word of God shall have free course, to scourge them, unless they will adore, worship, and kiss the feet of that corrupt holiness, which desireth nothing else but pride, and the universal thrall of Christendom under Rome's yokes.

Rome's yokes.

But because the censures of that nuncio be not yet opened, but lie secret and uncertain under muttering, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till further occasion shall minister to me more certain matter to say and to judge. In the mean time, forasmuch as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the king's majesty, that the abbot of Arbroath should be chosen of late and elected to be a cardinal in this your realm of Scotland, his majesty therefore, for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your grace, as the uncle is bound unto the nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not so well the hypocrisy and deceitful guile and malice of the Romans and their practices, as he himself doth, by his long experience; could not but, hearing thereof, advertise your grace, that his advice is, you should not suffer any of your subjects to take upon him that red hat of pride, whereby he shall incontinently, the same being received (unless he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that sort), not only be in manner discharged of his obedience, and become the bishop of Rome's true liege man; but also shall presume of his cardinalship to be your fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then should the bishop of Rome creep into your own very bosom, know all your secrets, and at last, unless you will be yoked and serve their pleasure in all points, your grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance, in the beginning, shall seem to your grace very honourable and pleasant: but wisdom would, to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

The abbot of Arbroath chosen cardinal of Scotland.

His majesty's father, and grandfather to your grace, had a cardinal, whereof he was weary, and never admitted others after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his highness, by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the sort: so well his grace hath known and experienced their mischief, yoke, and thralldom, that thereby is laid upon princes. By reason whereof, as his highness is the more able by his own experience to inform your grace, so of good will and mere propensity of heart, caused partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of dominions adjoining so near together, he is no less ready to forwarn your grace before, wishing that God will so work in your princely heart and noble stomach, that his majesty's monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his nephew, so it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your grace, wisely weighing with yourself, what supreme right princes have, and ought to have, upon their churches and lands where they govern, and what little cause the bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust censures against them: your grace may therein not only stand to the just defence of your dear uncle, but also may endeavour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsel, which, he doubteth not, but shall redound, not only to your grace's honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your realm and subjects; but, especially, to the glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true religion.

Inconvenience that cometh by cardinals

And thus have I expounded unto your grace the sum of my errand and message from the king's majesty your uncle, who, as he would be glad to be advertised, by answer, of your grace's purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf, so, for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be prest and ready, with all diligence, to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly.

The king, considering the present state of his marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the courts of other princes, and also having intelligence of the straight amity intended by the marriages between the emperor and the French king, and also of the pope's inclination to pleasure the emperor; and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French king's council, not greatly favouring his purposes, sent therefore into France, for his ambassador, Edward Foxe, doctor of divinity, his chaplain and counsellor, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attempter himself in those the king's affairs. The contents of which his instructions came to this effect:

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536.

The Sum and Effect of King Henry the Eighth's Message to the French King, by his Ambassador, Dr. Edward Foxe, in defence of his proceedings.

That the said Edward Foxe, first declaring to the French king the most affectionate commendations made on the king's behalf, with declaration of the king's most entire and hearty good will to understand of his prosperity, and the good success of his affairs, which his majesty no less desired than his own; and also, after the king's letters being delivered to him and to other personages of his council, then, after his access made unto the king, he should utter and insinuate unto the king his master's mind and intent in these three special points following.

Three causes to be declared in the king's defence.

The first was, to declare the justness of the king's cause concerning the late marriage with queen Anne, and divorcement of the king from his brother's wife.

The second, to signify and express the injuries done by the pope, as afterwards shall be declared.

The third was, to win and allure to the king's devotion the chancellor of France.

And as touching the declaration of the justness of the king's cause, first he, taking with him certain books printed, containing the determinations of universities in that behalf, with reasons and authorities confirming the same, should distribute the said books to the bishop of St. Line and to other bishops, to Monsieur de Langez, and other of the king's council more; and to prove, after the best fashion, to obtain their approbations of the same books, and with dexterity to essay whether he could induce them of the university of Paris, and other learned men, to send forth this book with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he, being acquainted with all those points and articles of the king's cause, in communicating and conference (as the case required), should not only make answer to such things as should be objected, but also furnish and maintain the justness of that opinion, with his learning, in such sort as he could best invent and excogitate.

The pope's injuries to the king.

As touching the second part, which contained the injuries done by the pope against the king, the said ambassador in that behalf, being a man no less acquainted, than also well beaten and ripe in the manifold misbehaviours of the pope from the beginning of the cause, should declare and express to the French king, how injuriously the said pope had demeaned himself towards the king's highness; first, in sending a commission decretal, and then commanding it to be burned: as also in promising, by schedule of his own hand, not to call the cause out of England; and moreover, approving first the justness of the king's cause, yet, notwithstanding, afterwards going from the same, and doing contrary.

The pope inconsistent in his deeds, and contrary to himself.

Touching all which injuries received at the pope's hand, though the king had great cause justly to complain, yet other injuries there were besides these, wherewith the king most especially was moved. The one was for calling and citing the king's highness to appear at Rome. The other was for rejecting the person of the king's trusty subject and chaplain, Master Kerne, his ambassador, from making such allegations as to the king in that case appertained; besides sundry other no small griefs and inconveniences, which here might be showed and alleged: but in these two special injuries the king thought himself most chiefly touched and aggrieved. In opening and ripping up of these injuries, and first, in the said injurious calling of the king to Rome, instructions were given to the said ambassador to explicate the open violation therein of the most ancient and general councils, the council of Nice, the council of Africa, and the council of Milevis; in which councils the contrary was, for quietness of the world, provided and ordered: declaring withal, how agreeable the same is to all laws, reason, and equity, that princes should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the pope's calling, nor be bound, in a matter of such weight and moment, to send out of their realms and dominions, the writings, instruments, and monuments containing the secrets of their affairs, or to make and trust a proctor, being in so far distant parts, in a matter of such importance, to abide and fulfil that, which the said proctor should agree unto there. The matter

Calleft and citeth the king to Rome.

The pope violateth three councils.

and cause whereof did not so much concern the state of any one prince alone, as it touched the dignity of all other christian kings so nearly, that unless they would suffer themselves to be yoked with the pope's authority, it was time (inasmuch as the pope now made this enterprize on them) to search and know the bottom and ground both of his and of their authority; and if any thing by negligence or misuse had been lost, to recover the same, rather than to suffer it to decay any more. As touching all which griefs, hurts, inconveniences, prejudice, and evil example which might thereof ensue, the king's highness doubted not but that his good brother, the French king, would assist and concur with his highness for maintenance and defence of the same.

For declaration of the second notable grief and injury done by the pope to the king's highness, thus furthermore he was willed to insinuate to the French king, what injury, or rather contumely, the king's highness received at the pope's hand, in not suffering the king's subject and ambassador to allege such matter in defence of his prince, as by law, reason, and equity, was to be heard and admitted, forasmuch as the said ambassador, Dr. Kerne, the king's chaplain, being at Rome at such time as citations were there published against the king's highness, and understanding his grace by them to be called before one Capisucchi, dean of the Rota, was there ready to make answer to the queen's agents' complaint, and had, by the advice of other great learned men, conceived a certain matter containing causes reasonable and lawful, why the king's highness should not be bound to appear there either by himself, or by his proctor: which matter also he did exhibit on the king's behalf, as a true subject by law of nature is bound to maintain and allege in defence of his prince that is absent, and ought, by equity, to preserve him from condemnation. And yet this notwithstanding, the said Capisucchi, not regarding nor considering the matter alleged, demanded whether the said doctor had any proxy from the king or no, for such purpose, and upon default and lack of the said proxy (which was not necessary in this case), proceeded in the principal cause; by reason whereof the said Dr. Kerne appealed to the pope, alleging injury to be done not only to the king's highness, but also to himself, for that such matter as he did allege, was not considered nor regarded, but process made: to which appellation, notwithstanding, the said Capisucchi gave an ambiguous and a doubtful answer; which was, that as much as Dr. Kerne was, by the law, a lawful person, so much he would give place, 'et deferre appellationi;' and otherwise not.

Thus, upon declaration of this doubtful answer, passed certain days, the said Capisucchi promising always to open his said answer and sentence more plainly, and to give a determinate resolution; which he nevertheless did not, albeit he was divers times urged thereunto; but so passed the time, and suddenly returned to process. Whereupon the said Dr. Kerne appealed eftsoons again, and put up a supplication to the pope, for admission of the said appeal; by reason whereof the matter was reasoned in the signature; in which signature by no law it could be showed why the said Dr. Kerne should not be admitted to allege in defence of the king's highness; but only that they there among themselves being the greater number, who were of the emperor's dominions, and fee'd of him (among whom was also the said Capisucchi), gave their voices as the pope said,—that Dr. Kerne should not be heard, 'Sine mandato regie majestatis.' Whereunto when Dr. Kerne replied, saying, Whatsoever they decreed or said, there was no law to maintain and bear it: it was said again by the cardinal D'Ancona, That the pope might judge after his conscience. And, upon this resolution, they determined there to proceed in the principal cause, unless the king would send a proxy; intending by this injury and wrong, to enforce his highness to the exhibition of a proxy there, to his highness's high prejudice, to the pernicious example of the like to be done to other princes, and also to the derogation of the liberties and prerogatives of his gracious realm: unto the observation whereof his highness is bound by his oath, and also by the same oath is bound to recover and restore such liberties and privileges as by any of his predecessors have been lost, diminished, or decayed in time past.

These, with other like injuries and wrongs of the pope done to the king, the aforesaid ambassador, Master Foxe, according as he had in charge and commission, did declare, open, and show unto the

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

The second point.

The king's ambassador could not be heard at Rome.

The pope would have the king to appear by proxy at Rome.

Henry VIII.

French king, to the intent to solicit the said king to do, by his mediation, for the remedy and redressing of those aforesaid injuries and wrongful dealings of the pope in this behalf.

A. D.
1536.

The third part or purpose of this message.

Furthermore, for the third purpose, touching the chancellor of France, forasmuch as he was one of the chief personages whom the French king most trusted in his great affairs (by whose advice all matters of learning were then conduced and trained), the king thought it not unprofitable, by all ways and means, to win and allure his friendship and amity also unto his devotion; either that by his means and dexterity the king's purposes might be advanced the better, or at least for a 'ne noceat;' that is, to mitigate and diminish such favour as he, by the admiral or otherwise, was moved to show to the imperials. For this cause the king, committing in charge to his ambassador aforesaid, willed and instructed him how and what to do, and after what manner to attemperate himself to all occasions and times of opportunity; as first, to deliver to him from the king his letters of credence, and withal to declare and extend the king's most affectuous commendations, with the hearty good will and sincere affection which his highness bare to the said cardinal, chancellor of France; with no less desire, also, most gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold pleasures, gratuities, and kindness done on his part for the king's highness, did worthily deserve. Then, after such words of mollification, to enter into further communication with him in such sort as might best serve his honour.

The vanity and avarice of the cardinal. The fashion of princes' courts to be noted.

And forasmuch as the cardinal was then noted to be much moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetousness, therefore, amongst other communication, it was devised to infer mention of the papality, noting what ways and means might be used to attain unto that dignity: wherein, if the king's highness could stand him in any stead, as he thought the person of the said chancellor most meet for the same, so he would not fail to move and to procure it, to the best furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how desirous the king's highness was, to retain, and make sure unto him, the amity and friendship of the said chancellor, and that his highness, devising by what means and ways he might do the same (albeit his grace knew well, that the faith and sincerity of the said chancellor towards his master was such as no gift, pension, or other offer could advance or increase that good will, which, for his master's sake, he would employ in the king's highness's affairs), thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the said chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him some yearly remembrance, &c.

This was the sum and effect of the message which the king sent unto the French king, and to others of his council, by his ambassador, Master Edward Foxe, which was especially to signify and make manifest to the said French king, the unjust dealings and prejudicial proceedings of the pope, in calling up the king of England to appear at Rome by proxy, which was derogatory to the king's dignity and crown, and also prejudicial both to general councils of the primitive time, and to the ancient laws and statutes of this realm (as is before declared), and no less hurtful for example to all other princes and kings likewise, &c.

Gardiner, ambassador to the French king, who speaks against the king's succession.

This message so done, shortly after was sent to the said French king, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with the king's answer and message again on this manner:

The Answer and Message of King Henry the Eighth to the French King, by his Ambassador Stephen Gardiner.

That forasmuch as the saying of the French king to the ambassadors was this; that notwithstanding all the king's realm should agree and condescend ever so much to the right and title, which the succession procreated by this his

lawful matrimony, hath, in this his realm; yet, when outward parties shall conceive any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and vexation might ensue. Whereunto the king made answer again, declaring that he could not but greatly marvel, that the king his brother, being so wise a prince, and thereto so well expert and learned in chronicles and histories, not only of his own realm, but also of all others, or any of his council, being men of such experience as they were taken to be, would think that the opinion and consent of other outward realms were so highly to be considered and regarded of any prince or king, in establishing or in executing of things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preservation of the rights, pre-eminences, dignity, and state of his realm, and did also notably confer unto the singular benefit and tranquillity of the same, so as the words both of the said king his brother, and of the great master, did pretend: who, furthermore, were not ignorant themselves, that many things have been, by his noble progenitors, kings of France, attempted and done, as well in cases of matrimony, as otherwise, which, in some part, in the opinion of the popes of Rome then being, and, in some part, in the opinion of divers other outward princes, states, seignories, and common people, have been thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet, that notwithstanding, his said progenitors, knowing themselves the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficial to them and to the realm, have not therefore desisted from their said purposes, but, diligently employing their own strength and powers with the succours of their friends, have finally achieved their said enterprises without requiring, or greatly regarding, the opinion or agreement thereunto of outward princes.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Kings in the right of their realms are not bound to the agreement of outward realms.

Again, whereas the chancellor of France made this overture to the said bishop of Winchester, Whether the king would be contented to have indifferent judges to be appointed by the authority of the pope, to determine his cause, with a commission decretal from the same, declaring, 'Quid juris,' &c. The king, by his ambassador thereunto answering, declared, 'That the pope, having done unto him such notable and evident injuries as he had done, it was his office and duty now to labour himself to end this matter, and to study how to make due satisfaction to God, and his justice, which he hath, 'tam indignis modis,' offended and violated, and to deliver himself out of the danger, and the perpetual infamy of the world, which he hath incurred by reason of these his most ungodly doings; and not to look that the king should make any request or suit unto him there-for, or recompense for the same, &c.

The overture of the chancellor of France, to the king, to take indifferent judges by the pope's authority.

Furthermore, whereas the pope, at the request of the French king, had in open consistory prorogued execution of his censures and excommunication against the king unto the first day of November, and word thereof was sent to the king by his ambassadors, from the great master of France, that the king might have the said prorogation made authentically in writing, if he would; the king, answering thereunto, thought it not unprofitable, that his ambassadors resident in France should receive into their hands the possession of the said new prorogation, conceived and written in authentic form and manner, according to the order of the laws.

After this again came other letters to the king from France, namely, from the great master of France, tending to this end; that if the king would do nothing for the pope (meaning, by the revocation of such acts of parliament as were made in the realm of England, to the pope's prejudice), it were no reason, neither should it be possible, for the French king to induce the pope to any gratuity or pleasure for the king in his affairs. Whereunto the king answering again, sendeth word to the French king to this effect:

The king requested by the French king to relent to the pope.

The King's Answer to the French King's Request.

That he trusted and hoped well of the perfect friendship of the French king, his good brother, that he will never suffer any such persuasion to enter into his breast, whatsoever the great master, or any other shall say to the contrary thereof; nor that he will require any thing more of him to do for the pope,

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1536.

The pope
seeketh
not for
justice,
but his
own lucre
and com-
modity.

chancellor, or others, than his council hath already devised to be done in this behalf; especially, considering the words of the said French king's promise made before, as well to the duke of Norfolk, as to the other ambassadors, promising his friendship to the king simply, without requiring him to revoke, or infringe, any such act or constitution made by the realm and parliament to the contrary: persuading, moreover, and laying before the eyes as well of the pope, as of the French king, how much it should redound to the pope's dishonour and infamy, and to the slander also of his cause, if he should be seen so to pact and covenant with the king upon such conditions for the administration of that thing which he, in his own conscience, hath reputed and adjudged to be most rightful, and agreeable to justice and equity; and ought of his office and duty to do in this matter 'simpliciter et gratis,' and without all worldly respects, either for the advancement of his private lucre and commodity, or for the preservation of his pretended power and authority. For surely it is not to be doubted but that the pope, being minded and determined to give sentence for the invalidity and nullity of the king's first pretended matrimony, hath conceived and established in his own conscience a firm and certain opinion and persuasion, that he ought of justice and equity so to do.

The pope
selletth
justice.
Doeth
against
his con-
science.

Then to see the pope to have this opinion indeed, and yet refuse to do this for the king, unless he shall be content for his benefit and pleasure, 'cedere juri suo,' and to do some things prejudicial unto his subjects contrary to his honour: it is easy to be foreseen, what the world and posterity shall judge 'De tam turpi mundinatione justitiæ, et illius tam fœda et sordida lucri et honoris ambitione.' And as for the king's part, if he shall not attain justice now at the mediation of his good brother, knowing the pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfy all his desires, being moved thereunto by justice, and that the let thereof is no default of justice in the cause, but only for that the king would not condescend to his request; it is to the king matter sufficient enough for discharge of his conscience to God and to the world, although he never did execute indeed his said determination. For since his corrupt affection is the only impediment thereof, what need either the king to require him any further to do in the cause, or else his subjects to doubt any further in the justness of the same?

For-
getteth
his old
benefac-
tors and
friends.

The bene-
fits of the
king upon
him,
when he
was taken
by the
duke of
Bourbon.

Albeit if respects to benefits and merits done towards the pope and see of Rome should be regarded in the attaining of justice in a cause of so high consequence as this is, reason would, that if it would please the pope to consider the former kindness of the king showed unto him in time past (whereof he is very loth to enter the rehearsal, 'Ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de aliis fecerit bene'), he should not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be showed unto him; but rather study to recompense him for the old graces, merits, pleasures, and benefits before received. For surely he thinketh that the pope cannot forget, how that for the conservation of his person, his estate and dignity, the king hath not heretofore spared for any respect, in using the office of a most perfect and steadfast friend, to relinquish the long continued good will established between him and the emperor, and to declare openly to all the world, that for the pope's sake, and in default of his deliverance, he would become enemy to the said emperor, and to make against him actual war.

All is lost
that is
done for a
charl.

Besides this, the king hath not failed him with right large and ample subventions of money, for the better supporting of his charges against the enterprises of the said emperor, combining and knitting himself with the French king, to procure the advancement of the said French king's army into Italy, to the charges whereof the king did bear little less than the one half; besides notable losses sustained as well in his customs, subsidies, and other duties, as also to the no little hinderance and damage of his subjects and merchants, occasioned by discontinuance of the traffic and intercourse heretofore used with the emperor's subjects. In doing of all which things, the king hath not been thus respective, as the pope now showeth himself towards him, but, like a perfect friend, hath been always contented frankly, liberally, and openly, to expone all his study, labour, travail, treasure, puissance, realm, and divers subjects, for the pope's aid, and maintenance of the state and dignity of the church and see of Rome. Which things although he doth not here rehearse 'animo exprobrandi,' yet he doubteth not but the same, weighed in the balance of any indifferent man's judgment, shall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that he hath justly

deserved to have some mutual correspondency of kindness to be showed unto him at the pope's hands; especially in the ministration of justice, and in so reasonable and just cause as this is; and not thus to have his most rightful petition rejected and denied, because he will not follow his desire and appetite in revoking of such acts, as be here made and passed for the weal and commodity of his realm and subjects.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Thus ye have heard how instantly the king had laboured, by the means of the French king, to the pope being then in France, for right and justice to be done for the dissolution and nullity of his first pretended matrimony with his brother's wife: which when it could not be attained at the pope's hands, unless the king would recompense and requite the same, by revoking of such statutes as were made and enacted here in the high court of parliament, for the surety of succession and establishment of the realm; what the king thereunto answered again, ye heard, declaring that to be a far unequal recompense and satisfaction for a thing which ought of right and justice to be ministered unto him, that a king therefore should revoke and undo the acts and statutes passed by a whole realm, contrary to his own honour and weal of his subjects, &c.

Here is moreover to be understood, how that the pope, with all his papists, and the French king also, and peradventure Stephen Gardiner too, the king's own ambassador, had ever a special eye to disprove and disappoint the king's succession by queen Anne, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the pope; thinking thereby that if that succession were diminished, the pope's kingdom might soon be restored again in England. But yet, for all their unjust and crafty packing, they were, through God's providence, frustrated of their desired purpose: for, although they so brought to pass the next year following, to annul the order of that succession by a contrary parliament, yet neither did they so annihilate it, but that both king Edward followed, yea, and also the same succession afterwards, by the said king, and other parliaments was restored again; and yet, God be praised, hath hitherto reigned, and doth yet flourish in the realm of England.

The crafty packing of the papists.

The papists frustrated of their purpose.

Now, as we have declared the king's doings in the realm of Scotland and of France, proceeding further in the king's proceedings with other princes, let us see how the king defended himself and his cause before the emperor, sending his ambassador unto him, using these words before his majesty, as here followeth.

The Oration of the King's Ambassador before the Emperor, in Defence of his Cause.

Sir: the king my master, taking and reputed you as his perfect friend, confederate, and ally, and not doubting but you, remembering the mutual kindness between you in times past, will show yourself in all occurrences to be of such mind and disposition, as justice, truth, and equity do require, hath willed me, by his letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what wise he hath proceeded, concerning such marriage as by many years was supposed to have been between your aunt and his grace: in which matter there being two principal points specially to be regarded and considered, that is to say, the justice of the cause, and the order of the process therein, his highness hath so used him in both, as no man may right wisely complain of the same.

Divisions consisting in two parts.

For as touching the justness of the cause, that is to say, of that marriage

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1536.The just-
ness of
the king's
cause.

between him and your said aunt, to be nought, and of no moment, or effect, but against the law of God, nature, and man, and indispensable by the pope, and in no wise available; his highness hath done therein as much as becometh him for discharge of his conscience, and hath found so certain, so evident, so manifest, so open and approved truth, as whereunto his majesty ought of good congruence to give place, and which by all others ought to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtful, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguity; but as a plain, determined, and discussed verity of the true understanding of God's word and law, which all christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly respects prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his highness had used only his own particular judgment and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural subjects (although the same might in his conscience have sufficed), he would not much have repugned, if some others had made difficulty to assent to him in the same, till further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, forasmuch as besides his own certain understanding, and the agreement of his whole clergy to the same in both provinces of this realm, his majesty hath also for him the determination of the most famous universities of Christendom, and most indifferent to pronounce and give judgment in this case: and among them, the university of Bologna (all fear of the pope set apart), concluding against his power, and also Padua (the Venetians' threats not regarded) giving their sentence for the truth and evident words of God's law; there should no man, as seemeth to him, gainsay or withstand, either in word or deed, the truth thus opened; but, for his honour and duty, to the observation of God's law, willingly embrace and receive the same. According whereunto his grace perceiveth also, as well in his realm, as elsewhere, a notable consent and agreement amongst all divines, and such as have studied for knowledge of God's law, without contradiction of any number, unless it be such as, applying their mind to the maintenance of worldly affections, do, either in defence of such laws as they have studied, or for satisfaction of their private appetite, forbear to agree unto the same; the number of whom is so small, as, in the discerning of truth, it ought not to be regarded in a case so plainly described and determined by God's word as this is.

Universi-
ties
standing
with the
king's
cause.Both the
number
and mat-
ter make
with the
king.

And if percase your majesty here, not regarding the number but the matter, shall seem to consider, in this case, not so much who speaketh, as what is spoken; to answer thereunto, I say, Sir! the king, my master, is of the same mind, for his own satisfaction, and taketh himself to be in the right, not because so many say it, but because he being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Nevertheless reason would, and enforceth also, that strangers to the cause, and not parties therein, should be induced to believe that to be truth which such a number of clerks do so constantly affirm; especially not being otherwise learned to be judges of their sayings, as your majesty is not. And if you were, then could your highness show such reasons, authorities, and grounds as cannot be taken away; and be so firm and stable, as they ought not of christian men in any part to be impugned, like as hath been partly heretofore showed by his sundry ambassadors to your imperial majesty, and should eftsoons be done, were it not too great an injury to that which is already passed in the realm, to dispute the same again in any other country: which, being contrarious to the laws and ordinances of his realm, he trusteth your prudence will not require, but take that which is past for a thing done, and justly done; and as for God's part, to leave his conscience to himself, 'qui Domino suo stat aut cadit;' and for the world, (to pass over as a friend that which nothing toucheth you, and not to marvel though the said king my master, regarding the wealth of his soul principally, with the commodity of his person and so great benefit and quiet of his realm), have percase done that which he, for his private fantasy, would had not chanced; like as his highness also would wish it had not happened, that such cause had been given unto him to compel him so to do.

The se-
cond part
of his
oration.

But these things in their outward visage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concern the soul. 'Quid autem prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiat? Primum quærite regnum Dei,' &c. And yet neither is his highness ignorant what respect is to be had unto the world; and how much he hath laboured and travailed therein, he hath sufficiently declared and showed to the world in his acts and proceedings. For

if he had utterly contemned the order and process of the world, or the friendship and amity of your majesty, he needed not to have sent so often and sundry embassades to the pope, and to you both, nor continued and spent his time in delays, as he hath done hitherto, but might, many years past, have done what he hath done now, if it had so liked him, and with as little difficulty then as now, if without such respect he would have followed his pleasure in that behalf. But now I doubt not your majesty doth well remember how often the king, my master, hath sent unto your highness, and that your majesty hath heard also what suits he hath made to the pope, and how the said pope hath handled him again only in delay and dalliance; with open commission given to his legates to determine and give sentence for him by a commission decretal, and secretly to give them instructions, to suspend and put over the same. By which means, and others semblable, he perceived plainly himself to be brought into such a labyrinth, as going forward that way he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to step right forth at once to the maze's end, there to quiet and repose himself at last.

And is it not time to have an end in seven years, or else to seek for it another way? The pope hath showed himself both unwilling to have an end, and also so ready and prone to do him injury, as well in citing him to Rome, as also sending forth certain briefs to his grace slanderous, and for the injustice and iniquity of them, to himself dishonourable; as he gave his highness good and just cause to suspect, whether any end to be made at his hand (if any he would make) might be in his conscience received and followed. For the pope doing injury in some point, why should he be thought a convenient judge, not using himself indifferently in this matter (as many more particularities may be showed and declared), considering there is a general council,¹ willing all matters to be determined where they first began, and that the whole body of our realm hath, for the wealth of the same, by a law established the determination of such causes? by reason whereof the bishop of Canterbury, as metropolitan of our realm, hath given sentence in due judgment for the king's party. It is not to be asked, nor questioned, whether that matter hath been determined after the common fashion, but whether it hath in it common justice, truth, and equity of God's law. For observation of the common order, his grace hath done what lay in him, and enforced by necessity, hath found the true order maintainable by God's word and general councils, which he hath in substance followed with effect, and hath done as becometh him, tendering either God's law, or his person, or the wealth of his realm, like as he doubteth not but your majesty (as a wise prince), remembering his cause from the beginning hitherto, will of yourself consider and think, that among mortal men nothing should be immortal, and suits must once have an end, 'Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo.' And if he cannot as he would, then must his highness do as he may; and he that hath a journey to be perfected, must, if he cannot go one way, essay another. Whatsoever hath been herein done, necessity hath enforced him (that is to say, God's law) in the matter, and such manner of dealing of the pope, as he hath showed unto him in the same, doing sundry injuries without effect of justice, wherein he promised the same. But as for the king's matter to the pope, he shall treat with him apart. As touching your majesty, he taketh you for his friend, and as to a friend he openeth these matters unto you, trusting to find your majesty no less friendly hereafter unto him, than he hath done heretofore.

By these matters thus passed and discoursed to and fro, between the king and these foreign princes above rehearsed, many things are to be understood of the reader, whoso is disposed to behold and consider the state and proceeding of public affairs, as well to the church appertaining, as to the commonwealth. First, how the king cleareth himself both justly and reasonably for his divorce made with the lady Katharine, the emperor's aunt. Secondly, how he proveth and defendeth his marriage with queen Anne to be just and lawful, both by the authority of God's word, and the comprobation of the best and most

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

How the pope dallied with the king.

The king's divorce, and his marriage with queen Anne, lawful

(1) This general council was the first council of Constantinople.

Henry VIII.

famous learned men and universities, and also by the assent of the whole realm.

A. D. 1536.

The pope
sup-
pre-
sed.*See
Appendix.*

Furthermore, for the establishing of the king's succession to the imperial crown of this realm, for the suppression of the pope, and uniting the title of supremacy unto the king's crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appear by the act of parliament set forth A. D. 1534,¹ in these words following :

Denying
of the
king's su-
premac-
y made
treason.

' If any person or persons, after the first of February next, do maliciously imagine, invent, practise, or attempt to deprive the king of the dignity, title, or name of his royal estate, &c., that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premises, their aiders, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws and customs of this realm, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged traitors ; and that every such offence in any the premises committed or done after the said first day of February, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged high treason ; and the offenders therein, their aiders, consenters, counsellors, and abettors, being lawfully convicted of any such offence, shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as are limited and accustomed in cases of high-treason.'

Upon this and such other acts concluded in those parliaments, what stomach the pope took, what stir he kept, and what practices he wrought with cardinal Pole, to stir up other nations to war against us ; what difficulty also there was with the emperor, with the French king, and with the king of Scots, about the matter ; and what labour was used on the king's part, to reconcile the princes for his own indemnity, to keep him from their wars and invasions, and especially to obtain the pope's approbation, and to avoid his censures of excommunication ; and finally, what despiteful injuries and open wrongs the pope wrought against him, upon which pope the king had bestowed so much money and great treasures before, all this, likewise, by the premises may appear.

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our story, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale, being this present year falsely betrayed and put to death ; which William Tyndale, as he was a special organ of the Lord appointed, and as God's mattock to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy, so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to entrap him, and falsely to betray him, and maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God, William Tyndale,²

WHO, FOR HIS NOTABLE PAINS AND TRAVAIL, MAY WELL BE
CALLED THE APOSTLE OF ENGLAND IN THIS OUR
LATER AGE.³

A. D. 1536.

William Tyndale, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from

(1) Stat. 26 Hen. VIII.

(2) See the Latin edition: Basle, 1529, p. 138.—Ed.

(3) Mr. Offer, in his recently published Life of William Tyndale, represents him as the baron, when, in truth, he was only a descendant of the baron. The editor subjoins an extract from an

a child in the university of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. His manners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

The first taste of God's truth in Magdalen college, by Tyndale.

Thus he, in the university of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where, after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great benefited men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

See Appendix

Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

He disputeth with the doctors.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tyndale reported), "Well," said she, "there was such a doctor who may spend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you,

Instructeth Master Welch and his wife in the truth.

unpublished MS. of a descendant of Thomas, the brother of William Tyndale. "Hugh Tyndale, a descendant of Robert, Baron de Tyndale, of Longly Castle, in Northumberland, settled in Gloucestershire during the wars of York and Lancaster, where he passed for some time under the name of Hutchens, having been concerned in the quarrel between the contending families. He married Alicia, daughter and sole heiress of — Hunt, of Hunt Court, in Nibley, near Dursley, Esquire. His son John Tyndale was the father of William Tyndale of Magdalen hall, Oxford, who was born at Hunt Court about the year 1477, and is justly styled The worthy Apostle of the English Reformation."—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D.

1536.

that we should believe you before them?" Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time, and also after that (because he saw it would not avail), he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called 'Enchiridion Militis Christiani,' which, being translated, he delivered to his master and lady; who, after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had: which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.

The
priests
storm
against
Tyndale.

Rudeness
of the
country
priests.

As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places; of whom Tyndale himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being full rude and ignorant (saith he) God knoweth: "who have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their portueses and missals (which yet many of them can scarcely read), except it be 'Albertus, De Secretis Mulierum,' in which yet, though they be never so sorrowfully learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called 'Lindwood,' a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church." Thus these blind and rude priests, flocking together to the alehouse (for that was their preaching place), raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

Tyndale
troubled
by them.

Called
before the
bishop's
chancel-
lor.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is (as he himself declared), that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Appendix.

Tyndale
could not
know his
accusers.

Then when the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser), notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present. And thus Master Tyndale, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old

chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:" and said moreover, "I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

One good old doctor amongst many naughty.

It was not long after, but Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than he did. After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things sorely to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in divinity; and said moreover to him, that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Master Tyndale, answering again, thus said, that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach.

Blasphemy of a blind doctor.

The pope's law preferred before God's law.

To be short, Master Tyndale, being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him, of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry." So that in fine, Master Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and eftsoons came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the town of Bristol, and also in the said town, in the common place called St. Austin's Green.

Tyndale departeth from Master Welch, and cometh to London.

At length, bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extolled him for his learning, Tyndale thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said bishop of London for him; which he also did; and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him. This he did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant

See Appendix.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Tyndale
sueth to
bishop
Tunstal
to be his
chaplain.
Tunstal
refuseth.

of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight; the answer of whom was this: That his house was full; he had more than he could well find: and advised him to seek in London abroad, where, he said, he could lack no service, &c. And so remained he in London the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly disliked him; insomuch that he understood, not only that there was no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having, by God's providence, some aid and provision ministered unto him by Humphrey Munnuth, above recited (as you may see before), and certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany, where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no travail nor diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal. Whereupon, considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, Tyndale thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For first, wisely casting in his mind, he perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right process, order, and meaning thereof were seen.

See
appendix.

Tyndale
departeth
into Ger-
many.

Causes
moving
Tyndale
to trans-
late the
Scripture
into the
English
tongue.

Hiding of
Scripture
the cause
of mis-
chief.

Again, right well he perceived and considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and, with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy

heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about A.D. 1525. After that, he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again by all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament. He wrote also divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," wherein, with singular dexterity, he instructeth all men in the office and duty of christian obedience, with divers other treatises, as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other books also, answering to Sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth, no less delectable, than also most fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worn out by time, the printer hereof, good reader, for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth in print the same in one general volume, all and whole together, as also the works of John Frith, Barnes, and others, as are to be seen, most special and profitable for thy reading.

These books of William Tyndale being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in those quarters; where after he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp, *there,¹ being not idle, but labouring in setting forth the plain declaration and understanding of the Scriptures,* until the time of his apprehension; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

Amongst his other books which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar; which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddess Diana, that is, against their mass, being had everywhere in great estimation, as was the goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven. Wherefore Master Tyndale, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of God's holy truth after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

The New Testament and the five books of Moses translated with Tyndale's prologues

Tyndale goeth into Saxony, and cometh to Antwerp. See Appendix.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 516, as misprinted.—ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1535.

forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but, by God's merciful grace, a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore. Amen!

Darkness
hath
light.Satan an
enemy to
all good
purposes,
especially
to the
gospel.Tyndale
loseth his
books and
copies by
ship-
wreck.
Coverdale
a helper of
Tyndale.

These godly books of Tyndale, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly, so the ungodly (envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest, by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned), began to stir with no small ado; like as at the birth of Christ, Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. But especially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travails of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways may appear. For at what time Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburgh, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship, both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburgh, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A. D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having dispatched his business at Hamburgh, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again.

Thus, as Satan is, and ever hath been, an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of God's word, as by this and many other experiments may be seen, so his ministers and members, following the like quality of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the pope's chaplains and God's enemies, and by their cruel handling of the said Master Tyndale at the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appear.

When God's will was, that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if there had been any such default deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have redressed what was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then of the clergy, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made more

The prac-
tice of
popish
prelates
to keep
the Scrip-
tures
from the
people.

matter, and said that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself, in his own prologue before the first book of Moses, declareth; and addeth further, showing what great pains were taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, he supposeth, they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: showing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the said translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over his head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the froward devices of the English clergy (who should have been the guides of light unto the people), to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndale saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lusts, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea and above God himself.¹

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1536.

Causes
why the
popes
clergy
cannot
abide the
Scripture
in the
common
tongue.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels, how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent; by reason whereof, a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under public authority, but no just reason showed, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works besides, both of his, and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before:² which was about A. D. 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life; which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and sir Thomas More having any poor man under 'coram,' to be examined before them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tyndale, where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had, &c.: all which things when they had diligently learned (as may appear by the examination of Simon Smith and others), then began they to work their feats, as you shall hear by the relation of his own host.

Privy
conspira-
cy of the
bishops
against
Tyndale.

William Tyndale, being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there a house of English merchants; about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore

See
Appendix.

(1) 'Hrec ille.'

(2) The popish prelates procured not only the condemnation of Tyndale's books, but also burned both them and the Testament, calling it 'Doctrinam peregrinam,' strange doctrine.

Henry VIII.

he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

A. D.
1536.

His friendship to Philips, his betrayer.

Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz; and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Pointz; to whom he showed moreover his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips, being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to show him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose, for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should think no less: but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired Pointz before, to help him to divers things; and such things as he named, he required might be of the best, "for," said he, "I have money enough;" but of this talk came nothing but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Master Tyndale should have had warning.

The papists spare no cost to fulfil their malicious enterprises. Philips well informed by the English bishops.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the king and the lady Katharine, who was aunt to the emperor; and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war between the emperor and the king; so that Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him; who, after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their hands, showed himself likewise against the king's own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence

with him to Antwerp, that procuror-general, who is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was not done with small charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips's man came unto him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said, his master would come to him; and so departed: but whether his Master Philips were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, either of the master or of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the officers whom he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings, which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexpert.

Then said Philips, "Master Tyndale! you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said Master Tyndale, "I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, who, being there, might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers that took Master Tyndale afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they took him, and brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procuror-general, where he dined. Then came the procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent, in favour of Tyndale, to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant-adventurers, to Antwerp, commanding them

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

See Appendix.

Philips a traitor, and the betrayer of Tyndale

The simplicity of Tyndale.

How Tyndale was betrayed.

Had to the castle of Filford.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536.

Letters sent from England by lord Cromwel and others in the behalf of Tyndale.

See Appendix.

Letters from the lord of Barrois.

Pointz sent with letters from Brussels to England.

The suit of Philips against Tyndale.

Pointz attached by Philips.

to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them, in favour of Master Tyndale, to the lord of Barrois and others; which lord of Barrois (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. Pointz, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, There were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield); and so Pointz said to him, "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride." Then said Pointz, "If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place;" which was at Maestricht. "If you so do," said the lord, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant-adventurers, and another also to the lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrois's letters also, and received cftsoons answer into England of the same by letters which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Master Tyndale out of prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other letters, of the which he was not dispatched thence in a month after. At length, the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperors council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

When the said Pointz had tarried three or four days, it was told him by one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tyndale should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips, being there, followed the suit against Master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Master Tyndale at liberty, and no man's else.

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procuror-general, the emperor's attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two serjeants at arms; and the same evening was sent to him one

of the chancery, with the procuror-general, who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders, and of his religion; out of which examinations, the procuror-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor, that is, a doctor and proctor in the law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the process were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp where his house was, being twenty-four English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch; and the procuror-general, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly (contrary to all right and equity), before they were sent or delivered: neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue; so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what the contents of the letters or talk should be: saving that at one certain time the provincial of the White Friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial, after dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said Pointz; and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Pointz examined.

Talk between Pointz and a novice.

* The¹ eighth day, the commissioners that were appointed came to the house where Pointz was kept, to have had his answer in writing: he, making no great haste in proceeding, answereth them with a dilatory, saying, he was there a prisoner, and might not go abroad, so as, although he have appointed and named who to be a counsel with him, they came not to him, nor he could not go to them; nor none may come to give counsel in this matter, but such as be licensed and named by you. Then they gave him a day, to make answer against the next eighth day. And Pointz drew his own mind, answering to the whole declaration generally; the which, at the next coming, he delivered them: but that answer they would not take, saying, he must answer to every article particularly; and so they took order, that he should make it ready against the next coming. Thus he trifled them off, from Holantide until Christmas-even, with

(1) The longer narrative given in the first edition, is here substituted for a short passage in recent editions.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536.

dilatories, from eighth day to eighth day. And upon Christmas even, in the morning, they came to him to have had answer, the which was not made, nor any counsel came to him in all that time: howbeit, they would delay the time no longer, but said they, "Bring in your answer this day, or else ye shall be put from it;" so he perceived, that if it were not brought in that night, he should have been condemned without answer. So then, with much ado, he gate the advocate to help him in ordering of answer; but it was long or he came, so that it was past eight o'clock of Christmas-even before his answer were delivered to the procuror-general. And then after, as the time served, at the days appointed, went forth with replication duplic, with other answers each to other, in writing what they could, in answering to the emperor's ordinances. And at such times as the commissioners came to Pointz, that traitor Philips accompanied them to the door, in following the process against him, as he also did against Master Tyndale, as they who had Pointz in keeping showed him.

The process being ended, as the order is there, either party delivered up to the commissioners a bag, with his process in writing, and took an invitorie of every parcel of writing that was within the bag. So it rested in their hands; but, upon sentence, Pointz required, in the time of process, that he might put in surety, and to be at liberty. The which they granted him at the first time, but, afterwards, they denied to take surety for his body. And then he sent a post from the town of Brussels to Antwerp to the English merchants, thinking they would not let him have sticke for lack of their help, in putting in sureties for him, considering the cause, with the circumstance; and for that they put him thereto themselves; although they had made him no promise for his charges and pains taken, as Pointz reporteth of them that they did indeed, the which as yet he hath to make it appear.

But, to pass over this, and to make the matter short: if the fore-said merchants, such as were of the town of Antwerp, had, at the time, been surety for him, then the matter had been altered from crime to civil; but when Pointz had delivered to them his answer, they demanded of him, for his charges, money, or sureties. The charges was much to reckon for the two officers' meat, and drink, and wages, beside his own charges; so as it was about five shillings every day. For all the while he was prisoner, he was not in a common prison, but in the keeping of two officers in one of their houses. So they demanded sureties to be brought within eight days for the charges, but then they denied him to take surety for his body, to make answer at liberty. Pointz, considering that they altered in their purposes, as well by more as in that; and perceiving by other things (as also it was told in secret), it would have cost him his life if he had tarried, yet Pointz granted them to put in sureties, requiring of them to have a messenger to send; not for that he reckoned to have any, but to make dilatory, or else they would have sent him to a stronger prison. But Pointz dilayed them, thinking, if he could, to make a scape; yet he did make a good face, as though he reckoned to have been in no danger; which if he had not so done, it was very unlike he should have escaped with his life out of their hands. And at the eighth day the commissioners came again to

Pointz, and there received both their bags with the process, one of the procuror-general, and one of Pointz, delivering either of them an invitorie of such pieces of writing as were delivered in the bags, and demanded sureties of Pointz, according to the order they took when they were last with him. Pointz alleged that he had divers times required them which had him in keeping to get him a messenger, as he also had done, but made no great haste to have any; for he reckoned it should be a sufficient dilatory, whereby to have another day. And with much alleging of the impossibility, for that he could get no messenger to send forth, at the last, they put him apart, and agreed to give him a day eight days after, and called him in again, and commanded the officer to get him one; as they did. And so Pointz sent him with letters to the English merchants, the which at that time were at Barrowe. Howbeit, he reckoned to prove to get away before the return again of the messenger, for he perceived his tarrying there should have been his death; and therefore, to put in a venture to get away, and so he might save himself (for, if he had been taken, it would have been but death, if he had been prisoner there in their hands at that time about twelve or thirteen weeks): so he tarried not the coming again of the messenger, but, in a night, by a mean he conveyed himself, and so, by God's help, at the opening of the town gate in the morning gat away. And when it was perceived that he was gone, there was horse sent out after him, but, by the means that he knew well the country, he escaped and came into England. But what more trouble followed to Pointz of the same, it serveth not for this place to rehearse. Master Tyndale, still remaining in prison, was proffered an advocate and a procuror for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; the which he refused to have any, but sayde, he would make answer for himself, and did: but, it is to be thought, his answer will not be put forth. Notwithstanding, he had so preached to them there who had him in charge, and such as was there conversant with him in the Castle, that they reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they knew not whom they might take to be one.*

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh (as is before signified), and, upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford, A.D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half), it is said, he converted his keeper, the keeper's daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were with Tyndale conversant in the castle, reported of him that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator-general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "Homo doctus, pius, et bonus," that is, "a learned, a good, and a godly man."

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

See Appendix.

The condemnation and martyrdom of Tyndale, A. D. 1536.

His prayer.

Commendation of Tyndale, by them that were about him.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536.*See
Appendix.*

The same morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a letter to the keeper of the castle, which the keeper himself brought to the house of the aforesaid Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after; which letter, with his examinations and other his disputations, I would, might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the keeper's daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the castle prisoner, there was much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the university of Louvain (which was not past nine or ten miles from the place where he was prisoner), in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine.

*God's
Judgment
upon
Phillips.*

*That¹ traitor, worse than Judas to man's judgment in the act doing, only not comparing to Christ, and that the Scriptures hath already judged Judas, otherwise not so good; for Judas, after he had betrayed his Master and Friend, was sorry, acknowledged and confessed his fact openly, declared his Master to be the very Truth, despising the money that he had received for doing the act, brought it again and cast it before them. This traitor Phillips, contrariwise, not lamenting, but rejoicing in that he had done, not declaring the honest goodness and truth of his friend, but applied, in all that he could devise, to declare him to be false and seditious, not despising the money that he had received, nor bringing it again, but procured and received more, wherewith to follow the suit against that innocent blood to the death; the which endured about one whole year and a half, that he let no time therein, but all that time followed with most diligent attendance to and fro, and from Louvain to Brussels, and to Filford, with process to have sentence against him. And having there no other thing to do, nor applied himself with nothing else; the which was not done with small expenses and charges, from whomsoever it came. And, as I have heard say there in that country, Master Tyndale found them in the university of Louvain (the which was not past nine or ten English miles from there he was prisoner) enough to do.

And yet, in all that while, if they had not taken to help them an ordinance of the emperor's making (the which ordinance was made by the advice and counsel of the pope's soldiers, for the upholding of his kingdom, and also joined with his own laws), they knew not else how to have brought him to his death by their disputing with him in the Scriptures; for he was permitted to dispute, in answering to them by writing. And that traitor Phillips was not satisfied with that he knew to have money enough, as himself before had said to Pointz: but, as Judas did run away with the bag when he went to betray Christ, with the which he went his way (the other apostles thought he had gone to have bought things necessary, but he went to appoint with the Jews for the taking of his master, Christ); so, in like manner, this traitor Phillips, the same morning that he brought his travterie to purpose, with bringing Master Tyndale into the hands of God's enemies, took money of him under a colour of borrowing, and put it into his bag, and then incontinent went his ways therewith, and came with his company of soldiers, the which

(1) For the passage distinguished with asterisks, see Edition 1563, pages 519, 520.—Ed.

laid hands upon him as before, and led him away. And about one whole year and a half after, he was put to death at Filford, with fire;* and, albeit this Philips rejoiced awhile after he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with lice.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

God's judgment upon Philips.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called, in these our days, an apostle of England, it were long to recite. Among many others, this, because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpass, which hath unto me been credibly testified by certain grave merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive; the story whereof is this: There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of merchants as they were at supper, a certain juggler, who, through his diabolical enchantments of art magical, would fetch all kinds of viands and wine from any place they would, and set them upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master Tyndale heard of it, he desired certain of the merchants, that he might also be present at supper, to see him play his parts. To be brief, the supper was appointed, and the merchants, with Tyndale, were there present. Then the juggler, being required to play his feats, and to show his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At last, with his labour, sweating, and toiling, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at supper, who disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

The power of God's saints against the devil.

As concerning the works and books of Tyndale, which extend to a great number, thou wast told before, loving reader! how the printer hereof¹ mindeth, by the Lord's leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them. And as touching his translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies; to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt hear and understand what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words, written in his epistle to John Frith, as followeth, "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me," &c.

Tyndale's works looked for, to be all set out in one volume. See Appendix.

The faithful dealing of Tyndale in translating the New Testament.

And as ye have heard Tyndale's own words, thus protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of John Frith, for Tyndale his dear companion and brother, thus declaring in his answer to Master More, as followeth:

(1) 'The printer hereof,' John Daye.—ED.

Henry
VIII.

The Testimony of John Frith, in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning William Tyndale.

A. D.
1536.The
words of
Tyndale
to John
Frith.

And Tyndale I trust liveth, well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth this: 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws,' &c. Judge, christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, who beholdeth the heart.

Thus much out of Frith. And thus, being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tyndale, it shall be requisite now that the reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the king and nobles of the realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be seen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndale's Supplication to the King, Nobles, and Subjects of England.¹His first
petition.

I beseech the king's most noble grace, well to consider all the ways by which the cardinal, and our holy bishops, have led him since he was first king; and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain boast of the cardinal is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet with all matters, and have spent for our prelates' causes more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all nations, and a mock and a scorn of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the French king, and wearied them; the king of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages: as one who should say, we paid for all men's dancing. We monied the emperor openly, and gave the French king double and treble secretly; and to the pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinand had money sent openly to blind the world withal, yet the saying is, through all Dutch-land, that we sent money to the king of Poland, &c.

The king
of Eng-
land pays
for all.Tyndale's
second
petition.

Furthermore, I beseech his grace also to have mercy on his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Testament to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which, for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.

His third.

Thirdly, my petition is to his grace, to have compassion on his poor subjects, that the realm utterly perish not with the wicked counsel of our pestilent prelates. For if his grace, who is but a man, should die, the lords and commons not knowing who hath most right to enjoy the crown, the realm could not but stand in great danger.

His
fourth.

My fourth suit and exhortation is to all the lords temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the king's grace, and humbly desire his majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed: and if he or she fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly; and let all the lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the knights, and squires, and gentlemen, and

(1) Ex lib. Tynd., 'Praxi prelatorum.'

the commons above eighteen years old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see no other likelihood, but it will cost the realm of England, &c.¹

Further, of all the subjects of England this I crave—that they repent; for the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, saith Paul, in 1 Thess. ii. We be all sinners a hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us, therefore, each forgive others, remembering the greater sinners the more welcome, if we repent; according to the similitude of the riotous son.² For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood is their treasure, to pay for their sins. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits are the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins.

Finally, if the persecution of the king's grace, and other temporal persons, conspiring with the spirituality, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shall show them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle (which is the sin against the Holy Ghost), then ye shall see, even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, homeward, to shed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible.

These things thus discoursed, pertaining to the story and doings of Tyndale, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private letters and epistles, whercof, among divers others which have not come to our hands, two special he wrote to John Frith, one properly, under his own name, another under the name of Jacob; but, in very deed, it was written and delivered to John Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequel hereafter. The copy and tenor of the epistles here followeth.

A Letter sent from William Tyndale unto Master Frith, being in the Tower.

The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John! I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it at a stay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all!

Dearly beloved! however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord; and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God;³ for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he had laid down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren.⁴ Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.⁵ For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body; according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.⁶

Dearly beloved! be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may,

(1) I pray God this be not a prophecy against England.

(2) Luke xv.

(3) 1 Pet. ii.

(4) 1 John ix.

(5) Matt v.

(6) Rom. viii. Phil. iiii.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Boldness of spirit.
Death, after denying, evil spoken of by the adversaries.
Obedience to God.

at his coming, be made like to his, immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, who choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none but that will abjure, rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not. But, might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore, of pure pride and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths, what their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you, and make you strong; and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine:¹ yea and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. 'Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem;' to look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

Perseverance to the end.

Bilney.

Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words, with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you; neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you, let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved.² If the pain be above your strength, remember, whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

William Tyndale.

Martyrs for the gospel.
See Appendix.

Two have suffered in Antwerp, 'In die sancte crucis,' unto the great glory of the gospel; four at Ryselles³ in Flanders, and at Luke⁴ hath there one at the least suffered; and all the same day. At Rouen in France they persecute, and at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful, and remember that among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

If, when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

George Joy at Candlemas, being at Barrowe, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N., to deliver them; and to purchase license, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and book-binders in Antwerp, and for an English priest, that should print.

This chanced the ninth day of May.

Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

William Tyndale.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tyndale, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

(1) To look for no man's help, bringeth God's help.

(3) Lisle.—Ed.

(2) Matt. xxii.

(4) Liège.—Ed.

Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus, is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keep you alow by the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh; and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable; and then, as a faithful minister, set abroach the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them (I mean the law of God, and mercy of Christ), that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1536

Deeds without faith, are sin.

The law of God, and the mercy of Christ.

Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us.¹ Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative: whether constant or obstinate, I commit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them.² George Joy would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure, of both parties. If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will: for as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within in the heart, in spirit and verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved), hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel.³ You perceive my mind: howbeit if God show you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

See Addenda.

I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth, but to advenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones.⁴ Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if aught be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

Ubiquity cannot be proved.

Worldly wisdom, so far as it may serve God's glory, may be used.

Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart! there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say (till others agree with you), 'Methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding.' Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another

Lowly walkings.

(1) Master Tyndale here beareth with time.
 (2) By the affirmative, he meaneth the opinion which M. Luther and the Saxons do hold of the Sacrament.
 (3) Master Tyndale again beareth with time.
 (4) 'Eating the whore's flesh,' is to spoil the pope's church only for the prey and spoil thereof

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536.Upright
handling
in the
transla-
tion of
Tyndale.A low
heart
maketh
a man
high with
God.

hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God, to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted: your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me; remembering that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you; but now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it: for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and who was once my scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not.

The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph: and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

I hope our redemption is nigh.

William Tyndale.

This letter was written A. D. 1533, in the month of January: which letter, although it do pretend the name of Jacob, yet understand, good reader, that it was written in very deed to John Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence hereof, read Frith's book of the sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus; "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doing, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience," &c.; which epistle John Frith himself witnesseth that he received from Tyndale, as in his testimony above appeareth.

THE DEATH OF THE LADY KATHARINE, PRINCESS DOWAGER,
AND THAT OF QUEEN ANNE.

The same year in which William Tyndale was burned, which was [Jan. 8th.] A. D. 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died lady Katharine, princess dowager, in the month of January.

[May, 19th.] After whom, the same year also, in the month of May next

following, followeth the death also of queen Anne, who had now been married to the king the space of three years. In certain records thus we find, that the king, being in his jousts at Greenwich, suddenly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and, the next day after, queen Anne, his wife, was had to the Tower, with the lord Rochford her brother, and certain others, and, the nineteenth day after, was beheaded. The words of this worthy and christian lady at her death were these :

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1536.

The Words of Queen Anne at her Death.

Good christian people ! I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death ; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die ; but I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler, or a more merciful prince was there never ; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me ! To God I commend my soul.

And so she kneeled down, saying, “ To Christ I commend my soul : ” “ Jesu, receive my soul. ” Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off.

Queen Anne beheaded.

And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that to such as wisely can judge upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the king, the third day after, was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind, so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such queens before her borne the crown of England. Principally this one commendation she left behind her, that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Commendations of her.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amiss. Also, how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate ; insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds ; besides the great piece of money which her grace intended to impart into four sundry quarters of the realm, as for a stock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ’s gospel all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the world’s end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that she placed Master Hugh Latimer in the bishopric of Worcester, and also preferred

Her mild nature in taking admonition.

Her great alms.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Dr. Shaxton to his bishopric, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true faith she bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many : for that when king Henry was with her at Woodstock, and there, being afraid of an old blind prophecy, for which neither he nor other kings before him durst hunt in the said park of Woodstock, nor enter into the town of Oxford, at last, through the christian and faithful counsel of that queen, he was so armed against all infidelity, that both he hunted in the aforesaid park, and also entered into the town of Oxford, and had no harm. But because, touching the memorable virtues of this worthy queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her virtuous life (the Lord so permitting) by others who then were about her, I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

Parliament
always
constant.*See
Appendix.*

This I cannot but marvel, why the parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty-eighth year of the king (which parliament three years before had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful), should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and disable the said marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted.¹ But more I marvel, why the said parliament, after the illegitimation of the marriage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of her body as to misuse herself with her own natural brother, the lord Rochford, and others ; being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

But in this act of parliament did lie, no doubt, some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christ's gospel, and sincere religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily considered, that this christian and devout Deborah could lack no enemics amongst such a number of Philistines, both within the realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroad in embassy, was not altogether asleep ; the suspicion whereof may be the more conjectural, for that Edmund Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, and then ambassador in France, succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plain papistry, as in the sequel of their stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

Lawful-
ness of
queen
Anne's
succe-
sion.

And as touching the king's mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty setters-on, he seemed to be sore bent both against that queen, and to the disheriting of his own daughter ; yet unto that former will of the king so set against her then, I will oppose again the last will of the king, wherein, expressly and by name, he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow, the succession of his marriage to stand good and lawful.

Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that virtuous queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of

(1) Stat. in 28 Hen. 8. cap. 7.

God's favour, in maintaining, preserving, and advancing the offspring of her body, the lady ELIZABETH, now queen, whom the Lord hath so marvellously conserved from so manifold dangers, so royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such virtuous patience, and with such a quiet reign hitherto, that neither the reign of her brother Edward, nor of her sister Mary, to hers is to be compared; whether we consider the number of the years of their reigns, or the peaceableness of their state. In whose royal and flourishing regiment we have to behold, not so much the natural disposition of her mother's qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and offspring of that godly queen.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of cardinal Pole, and of Paulus Jovius, that popish cardinal, who, measuring belike other women by his courtezans of Rome, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble queen: ¹ to answer again in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and judgment of so many noble protestants and princes of Germany, who, being in league before with king Henry, and minding no less but to have made him the head of their confederation, afterwards, hearing of the death of this queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily papists, who, seeing the pope to be repulsed out of England, by the means chiefly of this queen, and fearing always the succession of this marriage in time to come, thought by sinister practice to prevent that peril before, whispering in the king's ears what possibly they could, to make that matrimony unlawful; and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Again, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy against lady Elizabeth), being then abroad with the French king, and the great master of France, ceased not, in his letters, still to put the king in fear, that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unless he undid again such acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession: which thing when they had now brought to pass after their own desire (that both now the queen was beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disherited), they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of queen Anne, the king, within three days after, married lady Jane Seymour, of whom came king Edward, as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

In the mean time, as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul III., bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to help forward for his own advantage; who, seeing his usurped kingdom and seat to be darkened in the countries of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him; and therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Defence of her, against privy back-biters.

See Appendix.

The protestants of Germany forsake king Henry for the death of queen Anne.

The wily practices of the papists.

God's providence still disappointeth the papists. The king marieth lady Jane

The seat of the beast darkened.

(1) Paulus Jovius can find no immorality in all Rome, but must come and pick matter, where none is, in England. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

be there, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretences, as to suppress heresies, and to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set up in divers great cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world; unto which bull first the protestants of Germany do answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that council, being indicted at Mantua, in the pope's own country. Whose declaration, with their causes grave and effectual, being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy here to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speed in our story, I will pretermitt the same, and only take the oration or answer of our king here; wherein he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or to send, at the pope's call, to this council indicted at Mantua: whose oration or protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to express as followeth:²

See Appendix.

A Protestation in the Name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Pope's Council, at his call.

The pope's craft espied.

Seeing that the bishop of Rome calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with ourselves, what so great a preparance of wits should mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romanish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his lusts to be laws: we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, hath called a council, to which he knew well either few or none of the christian princes could come. Both the time that he indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these popish bulls? whither go they not astray? What king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not think that Paul, the bishop of Rome, goeth sooner about to make men believe that he intendeth a general council, than that he desireth one indeed? No! who can less desire it, than they that do despair of their cause, except they be judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We, who very sore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the realm and common weal, need neither to come ourselves, nor yet to send our procurators thither; no, nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us, that we come not at his call, who hath no authority to call us?

The king not bound to come at the pope's call.

Who be they that have place, in the pope's council. The place not indifferent.

No reason that the pope should judge his own cause.

But for a season let us (as a sort of blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority so to do, yet, we pray you, may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this council, where ye shall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and stablish errors? Do not all men perceive, as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion, these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the common weal of Christendom may look for there, whereas Mantua is chosen the place to keep this council at? Is there any prince not being of Italy, yea, is there of Italy any prince, or other dissenting from the pope, that dareth come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare speak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if (the bishop of Rome being judge, no man repining, no man gainsaying) the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority, now quailing and almost fallen, be set up again?

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. x.

(2) See Appendix.

Is this the way to help things afflicted? to redress troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the Roman bishops (who, in very deed, are, if ye look upon either their doctrine or life, far under other bishops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and so to use no further power; or else, whether they may make laws, not only unto other bishops, but also to kings and emperors? O boldness! meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul that now lordeth, or any of his, earnestly go about (if they alone, or at least without any adversary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that now are crept into the church, and there be bolstered up by such councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

It is very like that these, who prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money. Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy, were called into question, would either in despite of God's law maintain their dignity, or, to say better, their intolerable pride, is it like that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend old evil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people. The one doth not traffic with the other; at least, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their merchandise, none of their stuff. We will retain them of our council no more. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, shall have none other place with us than all bishops' decrees have; that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest, peradventure, men shall think us to follow our senses too much, and that we, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

Wherefore we protest, before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us, that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than to see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of this faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief shall decay in England. We, who in all this cause seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trodden truth, and troubled religion, in their place again, and to do all that shall lie in us, to finish such controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendom. Only we will all christian men to be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they be esteemed willing to take away errors, who indeed, by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death, may speak against any error or abuse.

We would have a council; we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be such as christian men ought to have; that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be a holy council, where every man may go about to set up godliness, and not apply all their study to the oppressing of truth. We will it be general, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man who seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankly utter his mind: for then it shall seem general, either when no man that dissenteth from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that be present are not letted by any just terror, to say boldly what they truly think: for who would not gladly come to such a council, except it be the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? If he, who indeed can never think

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1534

The bishop of Rome, learning and life, far under other bishops.

Paul the pope proleth for profit.

England taketh her leave of the pope for ever.

Refuseth the pope's merchandise.

Goeth not from the unity of faith, although it goeth from the pope.

The faith of England, catholic.

What a true general council ought to be.

The conditions.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1536.The pope
would
judge his
own
cause.Hath no
power to
summon
councils.How the
pope can
watch his
time.An ene-
my to
Christ.Hateth
the truth.A trou-
bler of
christian
realms.He marks
whereat
he shoot-
eth.His craft
in steal-
ing a
general
council.

himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, be evermore made his own judge, and so controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth, than general councils?

And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogance: By what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In time past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent and commandment of the emperor, kings, and princes: why now taketh the bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, 'It is more likely that bishops will more tender the cause of religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, or princes.' The world hath good experience of them, and every man seeth how faithfully they have handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how virtuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooseth such a time as this is, to keep a council, much intendeth the redress of things that now are amiss? that he seeketh the restoring of religion, who now calleth a council, the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, so bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other christian prince can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome! Occasion long wished for offereth herself unto you: take her! she openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, show them that this is a jolly time to deceive princes in.

O fools! O wicked men! May we not justly so call you? Are ye not fools, who, being long suspected, not only by princes, but by all christian people, in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a general council, plainly show the whole world, that by these your conciliables, your hutter-mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful, catholic, and general council? Are you not wicked, who so hate truth, that except she be utterly banished, ye will never cease to vex her? The living God is alive, neither can Truth, his darling, he being alive, be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury; or, if it may be called to all these, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not men to be of such shameful boldness, to show apertly that they be enemies unto Christ himself? on the other side, who will not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light suspicion, as it hath been hitherto, that you will no reformation of errors; but every man seeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear against the truth. Every man seeth how many miserable tragedies your pretence of a unity and concord hath brought into Christendom. They see your fair face of peace hath served sedition, and troubled almost all christian realms. They see ye never oppugn religion more than when ye will seem most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of deceits: Reason, to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodliness; Virtues to serve Vices; Holiness to be slave to Hypocrisy; Prudency to Subtlety; Justice to Tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for itself, and not against itself. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God; Christ against Christ. They be glad that subtlety hath done no more hurt to religion in time past, than now constancy doth good to truth. They see the marks that ye have shot at, in all your councils past, to be lucre, moneys, gains. They see you sought your profit, yea, though it were joined with the slaughter of truth. They see, ye would ever that sooner injury should be done to the gospel, than that your authority, that is to say, arrogant impudency, should in any point be diminished.

And, we pray you, what may Paul the bishop of Rome seem now to go about, who, seeing all princes occupied in great affairs, would steal (as he calleth it) a general council? what other thing, than hereby to have some excuse to refuse a general council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of religion shall be given unto the princes of Christendom? He will think he may then do as princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, because princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawl not one with another for religion: and whereas dissension is amongst us, we yet for

our parts do say, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to settle religion: for except first princes agree and (war laid aside) seek peace, he loseth his labour that seeketh a general council. If the bishop of Rome may keep his council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty decrees? If they, who would come if they had leisure, be absent, and we, who though we safely might come, will not lose any part of our right; trow you, in all our absence, that the bishop of Rome will not handle his profit and primacy well?

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1536.

Paul! how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a city so far set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, who, when he may tarry at home, will pass through so many jeopardies of life? Can he who cometh to Cremona, a city not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the bishop of Rome's friend, that is (as the common sort of deceived people do interpret) a heretic? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a general council, may not Mantua seem too little to receive so many guests? Put these two together: all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape all those, the very place where the council is kept is more to be suspected than all the way. Do ye not know all civil laws to compel no man to come to any place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no safe-conduct to pass and return by the dominions of other princes. And if we had a safe-conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashness, that where just terror might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed ourselves to such perils? Surely he, who, the time being as it is, things standing as they do, will go from England to Mantua,¹ may be careless, if he lack wit: sure of his arrival, or return from thence, he cannot be; for who doth not know how oft the bishops of Rome have played false parts with them that in such matters have trusted to their safe-conducts? How oft have they caused, by their perfidy, such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe, and go safe? These be no news, that popes are false, that popes keep no promise either with God or man; that popes, contrary to their oaths, do defile their cruel hands with honest men's blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

Time and place prettily picked of the pope. What a heretic is among the papists.

Falsehood of popes no new thing.

We will, these now laid apart, turn our oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, king Henry VIII., and all Englishmen. Is it unknown to any man, what mind Paul the bishop of Rome beareth to us king Henry VIII., to us his nobility, to us his grace's bishops, and to us all his grace's subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped power and proud primacy? for expelling of his usurped jurisdiction, and for delivering of our realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even inflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men, by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our country. These three years he hath been occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the commons of England, now corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let pass what letters he hath written to christian princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good vicar of Christ, by his doing, showeth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh he playeth Christ's part well, when he may say, as Christ did,² 'I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about;' and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withal, but such as cruel man-quellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vex other princes oft, seeing they recompense our favour showed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

His hatred against England.

The pope bringeth not peace, but the sword to the earth - otherwise than Christ did.

We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon Roman bishops be lost. God be with such ingrate carles, unworthy to be numbered amongst men: certes such, that a man may well doubt whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evil, but

Benefits cast away upon the pope.

(1) The way to Mantua long and dangerous.

(2) 'Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium.'

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1536.

they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their seditious intents sooner to show their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps amongst the lambs of our flock. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then, as they would have us now do. No, no! as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruel malice. No, let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive, and are deceived.

The
popes
curses
not
feared
in
England.

They have, by sundry ways, made us privy, how much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the judgment of Julius, of Clement VII., of Paul III., nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should sustain no hurt because we justly rejected their primacy, that other princes would begin to do likewise, and to shake off their shoulders the heavy burdens that they so long have borne against Scripture all right and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no passage unto England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toss, to trouble all men. They can scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, license to spoil our citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorful custom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful that we require things lawful of them that will be under no laws. They think we do them wrong, because we will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see that we will buy no longer chalk for cheese. They see they have lost a fair fleece, vengeable sorry that they can dispatch no more pardons, dispensations, totquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they do foolishly, who give gold for lead, more weight of that, than they receive of this. They pass not, though Peter and Paul's faces be graven in the lead, to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy saints' visages, to the beguiling of the world.

His
trump-
pery
dis-
patched
out
of
England.

Gold
given
for
lead.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever,¹ but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth ask counsel from him and his, when we lust to be deceived, when we covet to be in error: when we desire to offend God, truth, and honesty. If a man may guess the whole work by the foundation, where deceits begin the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? What can you look for in this Mantuan council, other than the oppression of truth and true religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as every man doth, bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evils may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they lust, can yield some part of their right. They are content that some of their decrees, some of their errors and abuses, be reprehended: but they are never more to be feared, than when they show themselves most gentle; for if they grant a few, they ask many, if they leave a little, they will be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bless him; who seldom do good, but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, come whoso will to these shops of deceits, to these fairs of frauds, we will lose no part of our right in coming at his call, who ought to be called, and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither for this matter, &c.

The
popes
founda-
tion
is
all
deceit.
He
doth
a
few
things
well,
that
many
evils
may
the
better
proceed.

He
ought
to
be
called,
and
not
to
call.

The
popes
again
prorogues
his
council.

And so the king, proceeding in the said his protestation, declareth moreover, how the pope, after he had summoned his council first to be kept at Mantua, the 23d day of May, A. D. 1537, shortly after directed out another bull, to prorogate the same council to the month of November; pretending, for his excuse, that the duke of Mantua would not suffer him to keep any council there, unless he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the town. And therefore, in his latter bull, he prorogueth this assembly, commanding patriarchs,

(1) God grant!

archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others of the spirituality, by virtue of obedience, and under pain of cursing, to be present; but showeth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they should come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named; for as good a council nowhere to be called, as where it could not be; and as well no place served him that intended no council, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, than to name such as he purposed not to come to; for so should he break no promise, who maketh none. And so, going forward in his oration, toward the latter end the king thus inferreth by his words of protestation, saying:

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1536.

No! we will the pope and his adherents to understand that which we have oft said, and now say, and ever will say: 'He nor his hath no authority nor jurisdiction in England.' We give him no more than he hath: that is never a deal. That which he hath usurped against God's law, and extorted by violence, we, by good right, take from him again. But he and his will say, we gave them a primacy. We hear them well: we give it you indeed. If you have authority upon us as long as our consent giveth it you (and you evermore will make your plea upon our consent), then let it have even an end where it began: we consent no longer, your authority must needs be gone. If we, being deceived by false pretence of evil-alleged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refused, why may we not, our error now perceived, your deceit espied, take it again? We princes wrote ourselves to be inferiors to popes. As long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the laws civil, and also the laws of God, be on our side. For a free man born doth not lose his liberty, nor hurt the plea of his liberty, though he write himself a bondman.

Princes, as they gave the pope primacy, so they take it from him again.

Again, If they lean to custom, we send them to St. Cyprian, who saith, that custom, if truth be not joined with hit, is nothing but 'erroris vetustas,' that is, 'an old error.' Christ said, 'Ego sum via, veritas, et vita:' 'I am the way, the truth, and life:' he never said, 'Ego sum consuetudo,' 'I am the custom.' Wherefore, seeing custom serveth you on the one side, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth Christ admonish you to seek no primacy, to prefer yourselves before nobody; no, to be obedient unto all creatures! Your old title, 'servus servorum,' evil agreeth with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters so plain: we only desire God, that Cæsar and other christian princes, would agree upon some holy council, where truth may be tried, and religion set up, which hath been hurt by nothing so sore, as by general—not general—councils: errors and abuses grow too fast. 'Erudimini qui judicatis terram;' 'Get you learning, you that judge the earth,' and excogitate some remedy for these so many diseases of the sick church. They that be wisest, do despair of a general council: wherefore we think it now best, that every prince call a council provincial, and every prince to redress his own realm. We make all men privy to what we think best to be done for the redress of religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or some other better. Our trust is, that all princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that princes may enjoy their own, and priests of Rome content themselves with what they ought to have. Princes, as we trust, will no longer nourish wolves' whelps; they will subscribe no more to popish pride, to the papacy, &c.

Custom.

The pope's title and his dignity agree not together.

Let every prince reform his realm, and tarry not for councils.

Favour our doings, O christian princes! Your honour and ancient majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing pertaining so much to a prince's honour as to set forth truth, and to help religion. Take you heed that their deceit work not more mischief than your virtue can do good, and everlasting war we would all princes had with this papacy. As for their decrees, so hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan assembly things be well done, ye take them; but not as authorized by them, but that truth, and things that maintain religion, are to be taken at all men's hands. And even as we will admit things well made, so, if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1536.

of their evil grounded primacy, or that may hurt the authority of kings, we protest unto the whole world that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have, christian readers! our mind concerning the general council. We think you all see, that Paul, and his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, friars, with the rest of the rabblement, do nothing less intend, than the knowledge or search of truth. Ye see this is no time meet, Mantua no place meet, for a general council. And though they were both meet, yet except some other call this council, you see that we need neither to come, nor to send. You have heard how every prince in his own realm may quiet things amiss. If there be any of you that can show us a better way, we promise, with all hearty desire, to do that which shall be thought best for the settling of religion, and that we will leave our own advices, if any man show us better; which mind of ours we most heartily pray God that gave it us, not only to increase in us, but also to send it unto all christian princes, all christian prelates, and all christian people.

A little before the death of queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, wherein were given to the king, by consent of the abbots, all such houses of religion as were under three hundred marks; which was a shrewd prognosticate of the ruin of greater houses, which indeed followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived before by many, who then said, that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

The
papists'
purpose
disap-
pointed.

Although the proceeding of these things did not well like the minds of the pope's friends in England, yet, notwithstanding, they began again to take some breath of comfort, when they saw the aforesaid queen Anne dispatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose (as is afore showed) and that double wise. For first, after they had their wills of queen Anne, the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son king Edward; and also for that the lord Cromwell, the same time, began to grow in authority, who, like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, was enough, alone, to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him in life here to continue; whose story hereafter followeth more at large.

Queen
Jane mar-
ried to
the king.
Lord
Cromwell
groweth
in autho-
rity.

Altera-
tion of re-
ligion a
little be-
ginneeth.

Shortly after this aforesaid marriage of the king with this queen Jane Seymour above mentioned, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, by the consent of the clergy holding then a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul, a book¹ was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people; wherein they treated specially but of three sacraments, baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper; where also divers other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, as that certain holidays were forbidden, and many abbeyes began to be suppressed. For this cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion, wherein they had been so long nursled, did rise up in a great commotion, to the number well near of twenty thousand, having for their captain a monk, called doctor Makerel, calling himself then captain Cobler; but these rebels, being repressed by the king's power, and desiring pardon, soon brake up their assembly. For they, hearing of the royal army of the king coming against them, with his own person there present, and fearing what would follow of this, first the noblemen and gentlemen, who before favoured them, began to withdraw themselves, so that they were destitute of captains; and at last they, in

Commo-
tion in
Lincoln-
shire.

A monk
stirrer of
the com-
motion.

(1) See for the contents of this book p. 163 infra.—ED.

writing, made certain petitions to the king, protesting that they never intended hurt towards his royal person. These petitions the king received, and made this answer again to them as followeth.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1536.

The King's Answer to the Rebels in Lincolnshire.

First, we begin to make answer to the fourth and sixth articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of councillors, I never have read, heard, or known, that princes, councillors, and prelates, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, or of ability, to discern and choose meet and sufficient councillors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one the most base of the whole realm, and of the least experience, to find fault with your prince, for the electing of his councillors and prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's laws, to rule your princes, whom you are bound, by all law, to obey and serve with both your lives, lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

As for the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know, that this is granted us by all the nobles spiritual and temporal of this realm, and by all the commons in the same, by act of parliament; and not set forth by any councillor or councillors upon their mere will and fantasy, as you full falsely would persuade our realm to believe.

Suppression of religious houses.

And where ye allege that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the act) to stand; wherein if they amend not their living,¹ we fear we have more to answer for, than for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many, or the most part, have not past four or five religious persons in them, and divers but one, which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing of vice, and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unnaturality may we impute to you, and all our subjects that be of that mind, which had lever such an unthrift sort of vicious persons should enjoy such possessions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we, your natural prince, sovereign lord, and king, who do and have spent more of our own in your defences, than six times they be worth?

As touching the Act of Uses, we marvel what madness is in your brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you, to cause us to break those laws and statutes, which, by all the noble knights and gentlemen of this realm (whom the same chiefly toucheth), have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you, the base commons of our realm.

The act of uses.

Also, the grounds of all those uses were false, and never admitted by law, but usurped upon the prince, contrary to all equity and justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realm of England, in Westminster-hall: whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that, and in the rest; and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less meet and decent for you, in such a rebellious sort, to demand the same of your prince.

As touching the Fifteenth which you demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint-hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us, with your insurrections, and such rebellious demeanour, to remit the same? or think you that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and show a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your sovereign lord and king to release the same, the time of payment whereof is not yet come? Yea, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth

The act of fifteenth.

(1) In these visitations of religious houses, horrible it is to read, what wickedness and abomination were there found and registered by the visitors.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

penny of the charges which we have, and daily do sustain, for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure that by your occasions of these ingratitude, unnaturalness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (who have always been as much dedicated to your wealth, as ever was king) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your king and sovereign lord, the rest of our realm, we doubt not, hath; and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if, according to your former letters, you submit not yourselves.

The act of first fruits.

As touching the first fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by act of parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our subjects: and we have known also that ye our commons have much complained also in times past, that the most part of our goods, lands, and possessions of the realm, were in the spiritual men's hands; and yet, bearing us in hand that ye be as loving subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your prince and sovereign lord should have any part thereof (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our commons), but do rebel and unlawfully rise against your prince, contrary to the duty of allegiance and God's commandment. *Sirs!* remember your follies and traitorous demeanours, and shame not your native country of England, nor offend any more so grievously your undoubted king and natural prince, who always hath showed himself most loving unto you; and remember your duty of allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your king, both by God's commandment and the law of nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftsoons, upon the aforesaid bonds and pains, that you withdraw yourselves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our laws and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief to be delivered to our lieutenant's hands or ours, and you yourselves to submit you to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy of: for doubt you not else, that we and our nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if ye give not to us place of sovereignty, and show yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects, and no more intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to us your king, and such noblemen and councillors as we list to elect and choose to have the ordering of the same.

And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use yourselves towards us like true and faithful subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter; and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, than, by your obstinacy and wilfulness, to put yourselves, your wives, children, lands, goods and chattels, besides the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruin, by force and violence of the sword.

Commo- tion of Lincolnshire assuaged.

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the king's answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, each mistrusting the other, who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own house in peace: but the captains of these rebels escaped not all clear, but were afterwards apprehended, and had as they deserved.¹

Popish insurrection in Yorkshire.

After this, immediately, within six days upon the same, followed a new insurrection in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation and lying tales of seditious persons, especially monks and priests; making them believe, that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels, and other ornaments, should be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house,

(1) Ex Ed. Ital.

but should give tribute there-for to the king : but their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other counsellors.

The number of these rebels was nearly forty thousand, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and ' Jesus ' written in the midst.

This their devilish rebellion they termed by the name of a ' Holy Pilgrimage ; ' but they served a wrong and a naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice, with a painted eake in it, on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy and feigned sanetity, pretending thereby to fight for the faith and the right of holy church.

As soon as the king was certified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed against them, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with a great army, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

These noble captains and councillors, thus well furnished with habilitment of war, approaching towards the rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to battle, first with policy went about to essay and practise how to appease all without bloodshedding ; but the northern men, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts : which when the nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacify their furious minds, utterly set on mischief, they determined upon a battle. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set ; but see the wondrous work of God's gracious providence ! The night before the day of battle came (as testifieth Edward Hall), fell a small rain, nothing to speak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small ford, and that men in a manner, the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit, could tell they ever saw before ; so that that day, even when the hour of battle should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the armies (being thus disappointed as it is to be thought, only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered), could take no place ; then, by the great wisdom and policy of the said captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection ; and they were promised that for such things as they found them aggrieved withal, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted ; and that their articles should be presented to the king, that by his highness's authority, and the wisdom of his council, all things should be brought to good order and conclusion : and with this order every man quietly departed, and those who before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

' A Domino factum est istud.'

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkshire, and the king lying the

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

A holy pilgrimage.

The king's power against the rebels in the north.

Blind stubbornness of superstitious people, rebelling, where they have no cause.

A great miracle of God, for the cause of his gospel.

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1537.*

Popish priests rebelling against the king.

same time at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of the said town of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all they that took part with the Yorkshiremen, whom he called God's people, did fight in God's quarrel; for which both he and the priest were apprehended and executed.

Divers other priests also, with others about the same time, committing, in like sort, treason against the king, suffered the like execution. Such a business had the king then to rid the realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

‘*Tantæ molis erat, Romanam evertere sedem!*’

But God's hand did still work withal, in upholding his gospel and trodden truth against all seditious stirs, commotions, rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary; as both by the stories before passed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

The year next after this, which was A. D. 1537, after that great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also and gentlemen, amongst whom were the lord Darcy, the lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Percy, sir Francis Bygot, sir Stephen Hamilton, sir John Bulmer and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the abbots of Jervaux and of Rivaulx, &c.; in the month of October following, the same year, was born prince Edward. Shortly after whose birth, queen Jane, his mother, the twelfth day after died in childbed, and left the king again a widower, who so continued the space of two years together. Upon the death of which queen Jane, and upon the birth of prince Edward her son, these two verses were made which follow:

Prince Edward born. Death of queen Jane. See Appendix.

‘*Phœnix Jana jacet nato Phœnice: dolendum
Secula Phœnicis nulla tulisse duas.*’

Here, by the way, is to be understood, that during all this season, since the time that the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates (who were yet in subjection under the pope), bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither were here lacking privy setters-on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God, by contrary occasions, had not stopped their intended devices. For first the pope had sent cardinal Pole to the French king, to stir him to war against the realm of England.

The pope stirreth war against England by cardinal Pole.

Secondly, whereas the French king, by treaty of perpetual peace, was bound yearly to pay to the king of England, at the first days of May and November, about ninety-five thousand crowns of the sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand crowns at the said two terms, for recompense of salt-due, as the treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the emperor and the French king, both, retained Granector, a traitorous rebel against the king, and condemned by act of parliament, with certain other traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the king at his earnest suit and request.

(1) These verses were thought to be made by Master Armigyl Wade.

The French king also, digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance with Clement, the bishop of Rome, in marrying the dauphin to his niece, called Katharine de Medicis.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1537.

The said French king moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his daughter to the king of Scots: all which events were prejudicial; and put the king, no doubt, in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant prince), to see the pope, the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, so bent against him.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French king was so set on by the pope, and so linked in marriage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the realm of England, yet notwithstanding he, hearing now of the birth of prince Edward, the king's son by queen Jane, and understanding also, by the death of the said queen Jane, that the king was a widower, and perceiving, moreover, talk to be that the king would join in marriage with the Germans, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors resident then in France for the king, were Stephen Gardiner, with Dr. Thirleby, &c.; which Stephen Gardiner, what he wrought secretly for the pope's devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all! But this is certain, that when Dr. Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, was sent into France by the king (through the means of the lord Cromwell), to succeed Stephen Gardiner in embassy, which was about A. D. 1538, he found such dealing in the said bishop of Winchester as was not greatly to be trusted; besides the unkind parts of the said bishop against the aforesaid Bonner, coming then from the king and lord Cromwell, as were not to be liked.

A. D. 1538.
Dr. Bonner the king's ambassador in France.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe, the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions, between these two; and especially what despiteful contumelies Dr. Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader! that this Dr. Bonner all this while remained yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favourer of Luther's doctrine, and was advanced only by the lord Cromwell, whose promotions are here to rehearse: first, he was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Blaydon, of Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton; then he was made bishop of Hereford, and, at last, preferred to be bishop of London: the chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron and setter-up; as the said Bonner himself, in 'all his letters, doth manifestly protest and declare; the copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibit, but for prolonging my story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see how the coming up of Dr. Bonner was only by the gospel (howsoever he was afterwards unkind unto the gospel), this one letter of his, which I will here infer, written

In the beginning a favourer of the truth, and a Lutheran.

Lord Cromwell the only setter-up of Bonner. Bonner's coming up was by the gospel.

Henry VIII.

to the lord Cromwell out of France, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

A. D.
1538.

A Letter of Dr. Bonner, the King's Ambassador resident in France, sent to the Lord Cromwell, declaring the order of his promotions and coming up.¹

Bonner confesseth himself much bound to the lord Cromwell.

My very singular especial good lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honourable good lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me so poor a man, and of so small qualities, expressing indeed sundry ways the good effects thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your honourable good lordship, and thought it always my duty (as indeed it was), both to bear my true heart again unto your lordship, and also, remembering such kindness, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might then lie in my small power to do.

Preferred to the bishopric of Hereford.

But where, of your infinite and inestimable goodness it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of legation from such a prince as my sovereign lord is, unto the emperor and French king; and next after, to procure and obtain mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the bishopric of Hereford, I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatness of your lordship's benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompense it, and say, as Virgil writeth,

‘Grates persolvere dignas non opis est nostræ.’

Acceptation.

Surely, my good lord, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite this your lordship's most special kindness and bountiful goodness at any time, unless I should use that civil remedy called in law ‘acceptilation,’ which great debtors especially are accustomed to procure at the hands of their creditors; whereby yet nevertheless your goodness, the only doer thereof, should rather be increased, than my duty towards the same thereby diminished. And ‘cessio honorum’ (the only extreme refuge and help of poor debtors, devised also in civil²) might somewhat help herein, saying that it is not possible that I should come ‘ad tam pinguem fortunam’ (whereupon that remedy is grounded), whereby I may recompense and requite this debt worthily.

The promotion of Bonner.

So that in conclusion there resteth this; that unless your lordship's self do loose me, as you have bound me, I shall (and that full gladly) remain continually your most bounded beadsman. And sir, I most humbly beseech your good lordship, in the honour of God, seeing this thing is begun and advanced only by your goodness and means, you will, to the intent the act may be wholly your own, stretch out your goodness, not suffering the rest to be perfected otherwise than by your own hands; wherein, as I must and shall acknowledge myself to be exceedingly beholden unto your good lordship, so shall I the same more esteem and set by, during my life, having so attained it by your only goodness: and verily, if your good lordship be not better to me herein than I can (unless it be of your own goodness) desire you, I know not how I shall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right, honest, and good, yea, and such as one of far better qualities than I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet, considering that of divers of them, that is to wit, Leicester, Blaydon, Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton, the first fruits, tenths, and charges borne, I have not received clearly one penny, I am now never a whit the more able to bear the great charges of this.

I shall therefore herein, and in all things else pertaining hereunto, seeing your lordship is so great a patron, and will needs bind me for ever to be your own (as indeed I will), refer altogether unto your goodness, beseeching you to take the order and disposition of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late bishop standeth bounden for the first fruits, tenths, or other duties which by statute may be demanded of his successor; but I fear it greatly, and

(1) Out of Bonner's own hand writing.

(2) Here seemeth to lack some word, but that I would not alter any thing in his own copy.

besech your lordship that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforce me the more to speak and trouble your good lordship, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good, I have, of five hundred crowns remaining forty, bestowed upon horses, mule, mulet, raiment, and other necessaries, standing debtor to Master Thirleby nevertheless, and also to Master Dr. Heynes, for one hundred marks, or fast upon, to them both. And besides this, such is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my servants have fallen sick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1538.

Over and besides these displeasures coming unto me by not having their service, and others to keep them, and also wanting mine other servants in England, which, though I have sent for them, yet neither they, neither my horses or stuff are come, I must and do take patience, trusting it will mend.

Upon the closing up of this letter, and depeach of this bearer, God willing, I will pack up my gear, and to-morrow betimes follow the French king, who yesterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haste toward Paris. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve your good lordship in health.

At Blois, the 2d of September, in the evening.

Scribbled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your lordship's beadsman, and at commandment,

EDMUND BONNER.

Divers other letters of Dr. Bonner, beside this, remain in writing, unto the like effect and purport, which here also I might add for a further demonstration hereof; but this one, instead of many, may suffice. Now to our purpose again, which is to declare how this Dr. Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings; and contrariwise, how Stephen Gardiner did halt then both with God and with the king: also what unkindness and contumelies the said Bonner received at Gardiner's hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved against the other, remain, consequently, by their writings and records, to be opened. For the more evident demonstration whereof, they that have the letters of the said Dr. Bonner, written from France to the king and the lord Cromwell, may right well perceive. And first, to note what a gospeller he was: in his letter from Rouen he, speaking of his trusty companion, and bearer of his letters (who was belike Dr. Heynes), giveth this report both of him and of himself; saying, "If this bearer had been so much desirous to please the emperor, and follow his religion, as he was studious to serve truly your grace, and to advance the truth, he had not wanted," &c. And again: "And besides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran, wherein, for company, I was joined, such was their goodness," &c. Again, in another letter written to the lord Cromwell, these words he hath, speaking of his companion Dr. Heynes. "Especially for that the said Dr. Heynes, by his upright dealing herein, and professing the truth, neither got thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honest folks to be a Lutheran. The less he pleaseth in Spain, the better argument it is, that his intent was to serve none but the king's highness and the truth," &c.

Dr. Bonner all this while showed himself to be a good man, and a good gospeller.

Rancour and heart-burning between Winchester and Bonner.

Bonner declareth himself a gospeller.

Reckoned a Lutheran.

Bonner and Heynes noted for Lutherans.

And furthermore, in another minute, writing to the lord Cromwell of Stephen Winchester, and of his churlishness toward him, thus he saith: "And there found I, in Master Dr. Thirleby, much kindness,

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Winchester against Bonner.

Winchester also against Barnaby, because the lord Cromwell favoured him.

and in the bishop of Winchester as little," &c. And in the same letter it followeth: "And if I had received any entertainment of the bishop of Winchester, I would likewise have sent you word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him," &c.

Also in another letter, the said Bonner, writing to the lord Cromwell concerning one Barnaby and himself, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of Winchester, used these words following. "And, my good lord, I beseech you to continue your good favour to this honest poor man Barnaby, who is body and soul assuredly your own, and as well beloved of the bishop of Winchester as I am: and of my troth I suppose and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the bishop hath against him, is because your lordship, of your charitable goodness, doth love and favour him.

Another Letter of Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Winchester, and also declaring how he was promoted by the said Lord Cromwell, to the Bishopric of Hereford.

My very singular especial good lord, according to my most bounden duty, I recommend me right humbly unto your good lordship, advertising the same, that the 29th of the last month, about four of the clock at afternoon, there arrived here Barnaby with your lordship's letters, dated at Ewrige the 24th of the same: and thinking that at his said arrival, the bishop of Winchester, Master Thirleby, and I, had been all lodged together, whereas in very deed we had several lodgings, he went straight to the bishop of Winchester's lodging (Master Thirleby and I being then walking in the fields), and the bishop incontinently inquired of him, not how the king's grace did, as was his duty, but (as Barnaby told me) inquired of him where he left the king's grace at his coming away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing: and, finally, what news were in England. To the which questions, when Barnaby had made answer, saying that he left the king's grace at Byrling, and that Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing; and withal, that he had no letters from them, nor any other to him; and finally, for the news, that the king's highness had given me the bishopric of Hereford: the bishop (as Barnaby reporteth, and I doubt not but he saith truly) cast down his head, making a plaice-mouth with his lip, and afterwards lifting up his eyes and hands (as cursing the day and hour it chanced), seemed so evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnaby drink, or tarry supper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Master Medow, and showed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily; semblably as he doeth every thing that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnaby perceived that I was not there, and that also this comfortable countenance and good cheer were made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with Master Thirleby, as is before; and was by chance communing with him of the bishop of Winchester, giving him advertisement that he should not be abused by the said bishop, who, I said, made him, not for any hearty love, I thought, he bare unto him, but either in despite of me, to whom he thought it should be greatly displeasent; either else under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him, and to serve his own crafty purposes by him.

Winchester inquired not how the king did.

See Addenda

The plaice-mouth of Winchester against Bonner. Winchester against Bonner's preferment.

Bonner made bishop of Hereford.

And soon after the departure of Master Thirleby from me, who then went to the bishop to supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with Barnaby, whose salutation was after that sort, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially I having no expectation or hope of such thing as he rehearsed unto me. And surely, my good lord, I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your lordship's letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the prosperous estate of the king's highness, and of your good lordship. Which known, I besought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and also, as was my duty, did give most humble thanks to the king's highness, and

to your said good lordship. And hereupon, keeping your lordship's letters still in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Master Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate these my news and great good fortune with him;¹ and not finding him there, I read over your lordship's letters, sending the same afterwards to Master Thirleby; and perceiving, by Barnaby, that he had other letters for me, which he told me he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that, your lordship's second letter sent to me, and also the other sent to Master Wyat, &c.

Your lordship's most bounden beadsman,

And always at commandment,

EDMUND BONNER.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1538.

When the king, by the advice of the lord Cromwell, and others of his council, had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to return from the emperor, and to be resident in France, in the place of Winchester and of Dr. Thirleby, he sent his letters to the said bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby, showing his pleasure unto them in that behalf, with this clause in the same letters contained in express words as followeth.

And whereas the said Master Bonner wanteth furniture of stuff and plate meet for that office, our pleasure is that you, Master Thirleby, shall deliver unto him by indenture, all the plate you have of ours in your custody, and that you, my lord of Winchester, shall furnish him with all such other stuff, as shall be necessary for him; wherein as you shall do unto us pleasure, so we shall be content at your return, to satisfy you for the same, &c.²

The bishop of Winchester receiving these letters from the king, and being loth to come into England (whatsoever the matter was), also hearing that Dr. Bonner should succeed him, his disdainful nature did stomach him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedy but that the king's commandment must be done, first he sendeth the king's letter, with his also, to the emperor's court, unto Master Bonner, and to Dr. Heynes, willing them in all haste to repair to Lyons within two days. Beside these letters of Winchester, Dr. Thirleby adjoined his letters also, with like quickness, to the said Dr. Heynes and to Bonner, the contents whereof here follow.

A Letter of Doctor Thirleby to Heynes and Bonner.

With my hearty commendations, and the desire of your company, and now so much rather that I shall thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliverance from trouble to ease, from a strange country to mine own, from the waiting upon him³ that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the service of him whose prosperity and love I account as my life;⁴ these shall be to pray you to make no less speed hither, than you would make to a good feast when that you be hungry. Master Bonner shall know many things, but when you come I shall tell you more, so that you haste you. Come, I pray you; I would fain be at home. I saw not my master these four months. When as you, Master Bonner, shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to go to Bonvise; he is a good money-maker: in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, 'hastily,' I would have written, and the sooner the better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the last of July,

By him that hath loved you well,

And now will love you better,

If you haste you hither,

THOMAS THIRLEBY.

(1) See how Bonner rejoiceth at his great good fortune; as though he had not enough before, having four livings, and being meetly well sped for one man.

(2) The king's pleasure was not regarded by the bishop of Winchester.

(3) He meaneth here the French king.

(4) The king of England, he meaneth.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1538.

At the receipt of these letters, Dr. Bonner and Dr. Heynes did put themselves in a readiness to repair incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to the purport of their letters. But Winchester and Thirleby, not abiding their coming, made haste away from Lyons to La Barella, where Bonner, riding in post after Winchester, overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words passed between them, and what great misliking Bonner had of him for special causes here in this bragging matter or brawling dialogue, under following, may appear; which, for thy recreation, and the further understanding of Winchester's qualities, I wish thee, loving reader! to peruse and consider.

But first, here is to be noted, that the king and the lord Cromwell, at what time they had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to be resident ambassador in France, required in their letters, that he should advertise them by writing, what he did dislike in the doings and behaviour of certain persons whom they did then note unto him. Whereupon the said Dr. Bonner sendeth this declaration of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as followeth:

A Declaration sent by Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, describing to him the evil behaviour of Stephen of Winchester, with special Causes therein contained, wherefore and why he disliked him.¹

Com-
plaints of
Bonner
against
Winches-
ter.
Vain-
glorious
pride
of Win-
chester.

First, I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that when any man is sent in the king's affairs, and by his highness' commandment, the bishop, unless he be the only and chief inventor of the matter and setter-forth of the person, he will not only use many cavillations, but also use great strangeness in countenance and cheer to the person that is sent: over and besides, as small comfort and counsel as may be in the matter; rather dissuading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his message, than emboldening and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had myself with him, as well at Rouen, the first time I was sent to Rome, commanded by the king's highness to come by him, and at Marseilles, the time of the intimation of the king's protestation, provocation, and appeal; as also lately, going to Nice, touching the general council, and the authority of the bishop of Rome; and finally, now last of all, at my return from Spain, where neither my diligence in coming to him, and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the king's letters written unto him in my favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart and cankered malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do; as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth.

What ex-
perience
Bonner
hath of it.

When riding in post I came to La Barella, a post on this side Lyons, the 7th day of August, he being in bed there, I tarried till he, rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second chamber; and at his coming thither, he said, 'What, Master Bonner! good morrow! Ah sir, ye be welcome;' and herewithal he put out his hand, and I, kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said, 'Come on, let us go and walk awhile into the fields;' and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would wait upon him. His going to the fields (as appeared afterwards), was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me, calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss; or utterly deny them, if that made for his purpose. And by chance, rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master Thirleby, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The bishop that perceiving, and withal, that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his servants to call Master Thirleby; but yet, afore his coming, the bishop could not be idle,

Malicious
stomach
of Win-
chester.

See
Addenda

(1) Out of the copy of Bonner's own letters, by his own hand writing, which I have to show.

but said this to me : ' Master Bonner ! your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you : In good faith you can have nothing of me.' ' Nothing, my lord !' quoth I, merrily speaking, ' marry, God forbid ! that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodness that hath a great deal.' ' In faith,' quoth he, ' ye shall have nothing of me : marry, ye shall have of Master Thirleby, his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things, that he may spare ; and which he hath kept for you.' ' Well, my lord !' quoth I, ' if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for myself otherwise, and provide it if where I may get it.'

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1538.

Dialogue between Bonner and Winchester.

And here the bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not show myself greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the king's highness. ' Tell me one thing,' quoth he, ' that you want.' ' One thing,' quoth I, ' marry, amongst many things that I want, I want napery.' ' That shall ye not need,' quoth he, ' here in this country :' and here he began to tell a long tale, that none used that, but Master Wallop and he, in the beginning : which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, descending by his negatives : ' My mulets,' said he, ' ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide others for them again : my mulet-cloths ye cannot have, because mine arms are on them, not meet for you to bear : my raiment (I being bishop), that is not meet for you.' And so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

Winchester will do nothing for Bonner, and Bonner will give no thanks to Winchester.

Winchester's negatives.

And here came Master Thirleby, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honest sort : to whom the bishop rehearseth again his negatives, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him : and this rehearsed he still on end I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a Pilate's voice ; so that all his company, standing more than three or four pair of butt lengths off, heard him.

Thirleby present. The Pilate's voice of Winchester.

See Addenda.

When I saw that he would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, ' My lord ! I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of master doctor here, let me give him thanks that deserveth it, and trouble you therein no more : but leaving communication therein, let me desire and pray you, that we may commune of the king's matters ; and that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your counsel in that behalf.'

The bishop was so hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear, but needs would return again, and show why that I could have nothing of him. ' My lord !' quoth I, ' here is still on end one tale, which methinketh, seeing that I understand it, ye need not so oft repeat it, especially seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you.' ' Ye lie,' quoth he, ' I said not so.' ' I report me,' quoth I, ' to Master Thirleby here present, whom I shall desire to bear record of your sad and discreet honest behaviour with me.' ' I say you lie,' quoth he. ' My lord !' quoth I, ' I thank you.' ' I do not say,' quoth he, ' that ye shall have nothing of me ; but I say you can have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity between these two manners of speaking :— I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore ye shall have nothing ; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing ;—for in the one is an honesty in the speaker, which would, if he could, do pleasure ; and in the other there lacketh that honesty.'

Winchester more respective to his own, than to the king's affairs.

'Ye lie' quoth Winchester.

His old sophistication.

' My lord !' quoth I, ' to examine whether I shall have nothing, because ye can spare nothing ; or shall have nothing, though ye have plenty, because ye will I shall have nothing, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore, seeing ye bide upon this, that I shall have nothing, I will thank you for nothing, and provide otherwise for myself.' ' Dirt in your teeth !' quoth he, ' and provide as ye will.' ' Bishop-like spoken, by my faith,' quoth I, ' and well it becometh you to speak thus to me.' ' Yea marry ! doth it become me,' quoth he : and repeating the words again, said with a sharp accent, ' Have nothing of me ? Dirt in your teeth !' ' Well, my lord !' quoth I, ' this needeth not, saving that ye have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willingly hereby to ease your stomach against me.' ' Yes marry,' quoth he, ' it needeth for me, though it

†

(1) Bishop-like spoken.

(2) Mark the mellifluous and honey-mouthed words of Winchester to Bonner.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

needeth not for you; for I intend,' quoth he, 'I would ye should know it, to justify myself to the king in all things.' 'If ye do so,' quoth I, 'ye shall do the better.' 'Nay,' quoth he, 'I do it, and will do it.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can do.' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I can do it.'

'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'seeing the king's highness hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his highness's letters that his grace hath done, me thinketh, ye having so great plenty of all things, and I so great need thereof, coming post, as I do, ye go about as evil to justify yourself to the king, as any one that I have seen. And I wiss, my lord,' quoth I, 'I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I should have been both better welcome, and better entreated of you, than now I am, even and it had been for no other respect, than because I am an Englishman.'

The sto-
mach of
Gardiner
against
Bonner.

'I shall tell you,' quoth he, 'for the king's sake, ye may look to have: but for your own sake, ye get nothing.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all; and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the king, and none to you.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye get nothing:' and I tell you again,' quoth I, 'that I will thank you for nothing.' And here the flesh of his cheek began to swell and tremble,¹ and he looked upon me as he would have run me through; and I came and stood even by him, and said, 'Trow you, my lord!' quoth I, 'that I fear your great looks? Nay, faith! do I not. Ye had need to get another stomach to whet upon than mine, and a better whetstone than any ye have; for, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, ye would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you,' quoth I, 'if I were not bridled, and had not other respects both to the king's highness, my sovereign lord, and also unto others that may command me, I would have told you, ere this time, my mind after another sort.' 'Tell me?' quoth he, 'dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my lord!' quoth I, 'ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to speak as indiscreetly and bedlamly, as ye do:² but surely ye shall not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you, I shall show how I am handled of you.' 'Marry, spare not,' quoth he. 'Well, my lord!' quoth I, 'you have here full well played the part of a bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if ye yourself be not ashamed, or, coming to yourself (for now your anger is such that you hear not yourself), be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wisdom; and the oftener you use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonesty.'

All the
company
ashamed
of Win-
chester's
talk.

'Lo!' quoth he, 'how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will you not hear,' quoth he, 'this wise man?' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I would you could hear with indifferent ears, and see with indifferent eyes, yourself. Ye have made a brabbling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master Thirley hath done for me.' 'I look for no thanks of you,' quoth he; and said withal, looking spitefully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. 'Well!' quoth I, 'and methinks I know you well enough too; wherefore, as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, sir,' quoth I, 'because ye say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you do, say it, and I shall make answer.'

Brabbling
for no-
thing.
Spiteful
looks of
Winches-
ter.

I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his own naughty nature he hath made me an image after his own fantasy, or else believed the report of such in conditions, as he is himself, who, in malice, I suppose, and disdain, may be compared to the devil in hell, not giving place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the thousand crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they were come out. And further I said, that seeing they had been 'simpliciter' given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the king's highness; and I said, that if they were twenty thousand, he should break so many sleeps, afore he should have any part thereof, entreating me as he did. 'Well,' quoth he, 'you have them.' 'That is truth,' quoth I, 'and nothing thankful to you.' 'Why then,' quoth he, 'seeing you have here divers

(1) The like trembling and leaping of his veins and flesh for anger, did Master Bucer also note in this Winchester's disputing with him in Germany. Vide Bucerum De Cœlibatu.

(2) Stephen Gardiner, 'bedlam like.'

things of Master Thirleby's, and all other things are "parabilia pecunia," which you have, ye may make thereby good provision for yourself.' 'That is truth,' quoth I; 'and that can I and will do, though ye tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet,' quoth I, 'one thing may I tell you: ye are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mace, having a horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'choose you, ye may provide and you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provision for yourself.' 'I thought,' quoth he, 'departing from Lyons, to have made easy journeys, and to have followed the court till you had come, and now come you, squirting in post, and trouble all.' 'I came forth in post,' quoth I, 'by the commandment of the king my master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his grace's letters; and seeing that I had no horses for the journey, methought better to ride in post than go afoot.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'I will not depart hence this twelvemonth, except ye be otherwise provided.' 'Provided?' quoth I, 'I must tarry till I may be provided for horses, if ye speak of that provision: and seeing that this riding in post grieveth you, it causeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I shall succeed you. I have here already two gowns and a velvet jacket, so that you shall not be letted an hour by me.'

'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you,' quoth he, 'though you care not for the king's honour, but wretchedly do live with ten shillings a-day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the king's honour.' 'And I tell you again,' quoth I, 'I will and do consider the king's honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be, that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you,' quoth I, 'though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick, if any thing be to be spent for the king's honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedness and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a false lie, and ye show your wisdom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.' 'I cannot tell,' quoth he, 'but this was openly rehearsed by Master Brian's servants at my table.' 'Yea, was?' quoth I. 'Yea, marry, was it,' quoth he. 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for, of my fidelity, that week that Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty pounds in the charges of the house!' 'This, they say,' quoth he. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'and therein they lie.'

And here I showed him, that being well settled at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Master Wyat would not rest till he had gotten us to Villa Franca, where, even upon the first words of Master Heynes, he was right well content to take of us twenty shillings by the day; which was not during ten days: whereas, at his coming to us to Nice, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Master Wyat from Villa Franca, in post, into England, we found ourselves, our servants, all Master Wyat's servants, to the number of sixteen, all his acquaintance, who, dinner and supper, continually came to us; sometime twelve, sometimes ten, and, when they were least, six or eight; and for this we had not one penny of Master Wyat. And yet at our coming from Barceloua, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Master Wyat twenty-eight livres, and to his servants five livres, besides forty shillings that privately I gave to some, being of gentle fashion, out of mine own purse: so that I told him, it was neither Master Wyat, nor Mason, that found us and our servants, but *we* paid for the finding of them: and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other men to have all the thanks.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Winchester putteth Bonner to his shifts.

Churlish dealing of Winchester.

Angry that Bonner should succeed him.

Reproved to his face of false slander.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1538.

The bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, 'By my troth,' quoth he, 'I tell you as it was told me, and master doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more,' quoth he, 'they said that Master Heynes would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'I shall therein make Master Heynes himself judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.'

Winches-
ter's wild
head.

Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the bishop's wild head, I held my peace; and by and by was he in hand again with them, as fast as ever he was. 'My lord!' quoth I, 'I desired ere while your lordship to make an end of this communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would (where ye have spoken indiscreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the king's letters, with multitude of words, and great countenance) I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the king's: for if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the king's sake: that is, nothing at all.'

He re-
gardeth
not the
king's
letters.

Bonner
out-
scolded
by Win-
chester,
and dri-
ven to si-
lence.

Here both of us were talking together; but I held on still, and ever enforced him to this: 'My lord!' quoth I, 'this is the only thing that I shall desire of you; that whereas the king's grace hath here, in the French Court, divers affairs (as I take it), ye would therein instruct me in the state thereof, and give me your best counsel and advice: and this I protest unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you; and if ye will not, I shall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no answer at all.'

For all this the bishop ended not; but in conclusion, when he saw that he could by no means induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his lodging and chamber.

Bonner
taketh
his leave
of Win-
chester.

It being dinner time, and all things provided, and standing afore him, and he turning his back from me into a window—I, at his turning towards me again, put off my bonnet, and said, 'God be with you, my lord!' He gave no answer to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to go. Whereupon, returning to my lodging, which was in Master Thirleby's chamber, I caused my dinner to be provided; and when it was almost ready, the bishop's steward, called Myrrel, came for me (whether sent from the bishop or not, I cannot tell), and I told him my dinner was provided for, and withal, that my lord his master had given me such a breakfast, that I needed no dinner nor supper; and so the steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to dinner at Master Thirleby's lodging, and after dinner I went to the bishop's lodging, who, at my coming, very gently put off his bonnet, and so we walked together quietly awhile; and shortly after, the bishop began after this manner: 'Master Bonner! to-day we communed of provision for you, and because ye shall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you: I will provide and make ready for you mules, mulets, horses, servants, money; yea, and all things that shall be necessary.'

Winches-
ter's good
will
cometh
upon him
at last.

'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is a large offer, and a great kindness come upon you; I marvel,' quoth I, 'that I could hear nothing of this to-day in the morning.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'this will I do; for know you, that I will consider the king's honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the king will pay me again.' 'My lord!' quoth I, 'I have sent my servant already to Lyons, to make provision for me, and I have sent others abroad here in the town and country, to do the same: ye shall never need to trouble yourself herewith.' 'I will,' quoth he, 'you shall not say, another day, that ye could not be provided for.' 'My lord!' quoth I, 'let me have instructions in the king's matters, and as for other things I shall not ask of you, because this day ye made me so plain answer.'

Winches-
ter's offer
to Bonner
being
refused,
they part.

After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Ferrara that night, where he intended to be lodged. And so the bishop, bidding me farewell, took soon after his horse, riding to Ferrara to bed; and by the way I overtook him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Ferrara, lodging at the post-house, and even as the bishop came into the town, stood at the post-house door; to whom the bishop said, 'We shall see you soon, Master Bonner!' 'Yea, my lord!' quoth I, thinking that thereby he had desired me to supper, and at supper-time I went to his

lodging, having others to eat my supper at home, and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giving any thing to me, saving, at the coming of the fruit, he gave me a pear,¹ I trow, because I should remember mine own country. After supper, he walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being ambassador for the count Mirandula; and after a good space we returned, and bade the bishop good night.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

I did not after that night dine or sup with the bishop, till he came to Bourges in Berry, where, upon the depeach of Francis, and closing up of our letters sent to the king's highness, the supper was so provided, and set upon the board; and the bishop in washing, standing so between me and the door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should wash with him and sup. And I suppose, all the way from Barella to Blois, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time, saving at Moulines (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the king's affairs here in France), and at Varron (when he, answering to my requests in writing, delivered me his book of his own hand for mine instructions, the copy whereof is now sent herewithal), there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who, I think, knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your lordship. I myself was out of credence with the bishop, not being appliable to his manners and desires.

Winchester's book of instructions delivered to Bonner.

And surely, as Master Thirleby told me at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the bishop, the bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his flesh in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the bishop make men believe, that he would gladly come home: which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for letters out of England, from Master Wallop and Master Brian, whom he taketh for his great friends. And Master Wyat himself reckoned, that the bishop should have come into Spain, or else my lord of Durham; so that the bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons: and coming to Varennes, and there, hearing by the ambassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayonne, to meet the emperor, by and by he said, 'Lo! where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night), we would to the Court and present him, and take our leave.' But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, he was nothing hasty. No; coming to Moulines afore him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

Winchester's flesh trembleth at the coming of Thirleby. Loth to return into England.

Bonner called Master Diligence

I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any, joined in commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride to himself, with some dishonour to the king, as who saith, there was among all the king's ambassadors but one able to maintain a table, and that were he; or else he doth the same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone; which, I suppose verily, hath been his intent.

The second complaint: Winchester would be alone.

I mislike in the said bishop, that whereas he, for his own pomp and glory, hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silks, with their chains about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with excessive fare, and exceeding expenses many other ways, he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commanded to do by the king's grace; and that is his answer commonly, when his friends tell him of his great charges; and so, under colour of the king's commandment and honour, he hideth his pride, which is here disdained.

The third: the pomp and glory of Winchester.

I mislike in the said bishop, that he, having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the king's affairs, than, relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the king's highness' matters and business may be advanced and set forth) to him that he taketh for his adversary.

The fourth: given more to his own affections than to the king's affairs.

I mislike in the said bishop that he ever continually, here in this court of France, made incomparably more of the emperor's, king of Portugal's, Vene-

(1) Bonner seemeth by this pear, to be a Worcestershire man.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1538.

The fifth:
Winches-
ter, sus-
pected to
be im-
perial.
The
sixth:
Bonner,
like a
true gos-
peller,
complain-
eth of
papists.
Win-
chester
suspected
of untrue
dealing.

tians', and duke of Ferrara's ambassadors, than of any Frenchmen in the court, which, with his pride, caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French king, but was imperial.

I mislike in the bishop that there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and such mutual confidence, between the said bishop and M., as naughty a fellow, and as very a papist, as any that I know, where he dare express it. The bishop, in his letters to Master Wyat, ever sendeth special commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to Master Heynes and me, being with Master Wyat, as we perceived by the said letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the bishop, that he thinketh there is none such; and he told me at Villa Franca, that the bishop, upon a time, when he had fallen out with Germain, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that he would speak with Germain, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it: and what the matter was, he would not tell me; that young fellow Germain knoweth all. And Preston, who is servant to the bishop of Winchester, showed me one night in my chamber at Blois, after supper, that Germain is ever busy in showing the king's letters to strangers, and that he himself hath given him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he, considering how the bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further.

Things in
the aforesaid
declaration
to be
noted.

In this declaration of Dr. Edmund Bonner, above-prefixed, sent to the lord Cromwell, divers things we have to note: First, as touching Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; here we have a plain demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Dr. Bonner aforesaid, showing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before, by the king's commandment so to do.

Gardiner
revolteth
to pa-
pistry.

Secondly, In the said Stephen Winchester, this we have also to note and understand, that as he here declareth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his book 'De Obedientia') to papistry, joining part and side with such as were known papists; so he seemeth likewise to bear a like secret grudge against the lord Cromwell, and all such whomsoever he favoured.

Thirdly, As concerning the before-named Dr. Edmund Bonner, the author of this declaration, here is to be seen and noted, that he, all this while, appeared a good man, and a diligent friend to the truth; and that he was favoured of the lord Cromwell for the same.

Bonner's
coming
up, only
by the
gospel.

Fourthly, That the said Dr. Bonner was not only favoured of the lord Cromwell, but also by him was advanced first to the office of legation, then to the bishopric of Hereford, and lastly to the bishopric of London; whom the said Dr. Bonner, in his letters, agniseth, and confesseth to be his only patron, and singular Meeenas.

Which being so, we have in this said Dr. Bonner greatly to marvel, what should be the cause that he, seeing all his setting-up, making, and preferring, came only by the Gospel, and by them of the Gospel's side, he being then so hated of Stephen Gardiner, and such as he was; being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the Gospel (as appeareth both by his preface before Gardiner's book 'De Obedientia,' and by his writings to the lord Cromwell; also by helping forward the printed bibles at Paris), could ever be a man so ungrateful and unkind afterwards, to join part with the said Stephen Gardiner against the Gospel (without which Gospel he had never come to be bishop either of Hereford, or yet of London), and now to

abuse the same bishopric of London, to persecute that so vehemently which before so openly he defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that he himself was reported once to say to the French king in the cause of Grancetor; to wit, that he had done therein against *God,¹ against* his honour, against justice, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his oath so often made, against his own doctrine and judgment which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues between him and his setters-up, and against all together; and, to conclude, against the salvation of his own soul, *which² would God he would have mercy upon, although he had showed want of mercy unto others!*

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1538
His own words reported against him.

But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Dr. Bonner's legation; who, being now ambassador in the court of France, as ye have heard, had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; for the king's pension to be paid; for the matters of the duke of Suffolk; for certain prisoners in France. Item, for Grancetor the traitor, and certain other rebels to be sent into England, &c. Touching all these affairs, the said Dr. Bonner did employ his diligence and travail to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's mind, and discharge of his duty in such sort as no default could be found in him; save only that the French king, one time, took displeasure with him, for that the said Bonner, being now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the king's pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly), used these words to the French king (as the French king himself did afterwards report them), saying, that he had done, in deliverance of that aforesaid Grancetor, being an Englishman, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the king of England; yea, and against all together, &c. These words of bishop Bonner, although he denieth to have spoken them in that form and quality, yet howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, insomuch that he, answering the lord ambassador again, bade him write these three things unto his master:

Printing the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris.

Diligence of Bonner in legation.

His words to the French king.

Bonner bidden to write to the king.

First, Among other things, that his ambassador was a great fool.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better justice there in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king beside this, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French king took these words of bishop Bonner

(1 and 2) See Edition 1570, in loc —ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1538.Bishops
bolder in
princes'
matters
than in
the cause
of Christ.

so to stomach (as the lord chancellor said), was this: For that the kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only, upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had been well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldness, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his master's behalf. But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this bishop, and many others, that they, in earthly matters, and to please terrene kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldness and forwardness; and in Christ's cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should only attend upon and tender, they are so remiss, cold, and cowardly.

To these letters of the French king, the king of England sent answer again by other letters, in which he revoked and called home again bishop Bonner, giving unto him, about the same time, the bishopric of London; and sent in supply of his place sir John Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardiner: which was in February, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

The oath of Dr. Edmund Bonner, when he was made bishop of London, against the pope of Rome.

Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's dominion; but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the church of England; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend, the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority; and all other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head in the earth of the church of England. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be; and in no wise do, or attempt, or to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilated. So help you God, &c.

In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, electus et confirmatus Londinensis episcopus, huic præsentis chartæ subscripsi.

ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS, A. D. 1536.

It will be judged, that I have lingered, peradventure, too much in these outward affairs of princes and ambassadors: wherefore, leaving these bye-matters pertaining to the civil state awhile, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my story in order again, of such occurrences as belong unto the church, first showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the behoof of his subjects. Wherein, first, is to be understood, that the king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full prince in his own realm, although he well perceived by the wisdom and advice of the lord Cromwell and other of his council, that the corrupt state of the church

had need of reformation in many things; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were, to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them only about the matter of the pope's title, he durst not by and by reform all at once (which notwithstanding had been to be wished), but leading them fair and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the lord Cromwell had lived); and therefore first he began with a little book of articles (partly above touched),¹ bearing this title: "Articles devised by the king's highness, to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people," &c.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1536.

The king
and his
council
bearing
with the
weakness
of the
people.

The Contents of a Book of Articles devised by the King.

In the contents of this book, first he set forth the articles of our christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king's preface going before, followeth the declaration of three sacraments; to wit, of baptism, of penance, and of the sacrament of the altar; in the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the church of Rome.

Of three
sacra-
ments.

Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our justification, he declareth, that the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his passion and blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our justification; yet good works, with inward contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in remission of our sins; that is, our justification: and afterwards, we, being justified, must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments, &c.

Of justi-
fication.

As touching images, he willeth all bishops and preachers to teach the people in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, as thus: that they be representers of virtue and good example, and also, by occasion, may be stirrers of men's minds, and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins; and so far he permitteth them to stand in churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of idolatry, he chargeth all bishops and preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no idolatry unto them, in censuring of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

Of images.

And likewise for honouring of saints, the bishops and preachers be commanded to inform the people, how saints, hence departed, ought to be revered and honoured, and how not: that is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent virtues planted in them, and for their good example left us, teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our prayers in that they may; but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God; and so forth: charging the said spiritual persons to teach their flock, that all grace, and remission of sins, and salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who only is a sufficient mediator for our sins; that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ and no other.

Of
honour-
ing of
saints.

No medi-
ation but
by Christ.

From that he cometh further to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church; as in having vestments used in God's service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulchre, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies; all which old rites and customs the aforesaid book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things: but so that the people withal must be instructed, how the said ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but that to be referred unto God only, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

Of rites
and cere-
monies.

(1) See p. 144, *suprà*.—*Er.*

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1536.

Of purgatory.

And so, concluding with purgatory, he maketh an end of those articles, thus saying thereof, that because the book of Maccabees alloweth praying for souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a custom, so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced; as to make men believe, that by the bishop of Rome's pardons, or by masses said at 'Scala Cœli,' or elsewhere, in any place, or before any image, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to heaven; and such other like abuses, &c.

Milk for
new
weak-
lings.Injunc-
tions for
abrogat-
ing cer-
tain holy-
days.

And these were the contents of that book of articles, devised and passed, by the king's authority, a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; wherein, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed church, yet notwithstanding, the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, instead of a little beginning till better come.

And so consequently, not long after these articles thus set forward, certain other injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the harvest-time, the keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their corn, hay, fruit, and other such-like necessary commodities; the copy and tenor of which injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

See
Appendix.

The King's Injunctions, restricting the Number of Holy-days.

Forasmuch as the number of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more, by men's devotion, yea, rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was, and should be, not only prejudicial to the common weal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as of decay of good mysteries and arts profitable and necessary for the commonwealth, and loss of man's food (many times being clean destroyed through the superstitious observance of the said holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of harvest), but also pernicious to the souls of many men, who, being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And since the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other holy-day instituted by man: it is therefore by the king's highness's authority, as supreme head in earth of the church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

Feasts of
dedica-
tion kept
all on
one day.
Church
holy-days
forbid-
den.

First, that the feast of dedication of churches shall, in all places throughout this realm, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October, for ever, and upon none other day.

Item, that the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as heretofore hath been used; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery; and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said feast of Church Holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a holy-day by this ordinance following.

Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur

either in the harvest-time, which is to be counted from the 1st day of July unto the 29th day of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-days; but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, of the Blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as wherein the king's highness's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment; all which shall be kept holy and solemnly of every man, as in time past hath been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be lawful unto all priests and clerks, as well secular as regular, in the aforesaid holy-days now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days, in their churches; so as they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in high holy-days, nor do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

Finally, that the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering-days.

And for further declaration of the premises, be it known that Easter term beginneth always the 18th day after Easter-day, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

Trinity term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the Octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the 11th or 12th day of July.

Michaelmas term beginneth the 9th or 10th day of October, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of November.

Hilary term beginneth the 23d or 24th day of January, and endeth the 12th or 13th day of February.

In Easter term, upon the Ascension-day; in Trinity term, upon the Nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas term, upon Allhallows-day; in Hilary term, upon Candlemas-day, the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday.

After these articles and injunctions thus given out by the king and his council, then followed moreover, as time served, other injunctions besides, concerning images, relics, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucre's sake; also for the 'Paternoster,' Creed, and God's commandments, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points more, necessary for religion; the words of which injunctions here also ensue.

Other Injunctions, given by the authority of the King's Highness, to the Clergy of this his Realm, designed for the Reformation of the Church.

See Addenda.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord God 1536, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign lord Henry the Eighth, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head of the church of England, the twenty-eighth year, &c. I Thomas Cromwell, knight, lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness's honour, the public weal of this realm, and increase of virtue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resident or having cure of souls, or any other spiritual administration within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The first is, that the dean, parsons, vicars, and others having cure of soul any where within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all others, all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction within this

Confirmation of the king's supremacy.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Holy-days in the harvest time put down.

Four offering-days.

Easter term.

Trinity term.

Michaelmas term.

Hilary term.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1536.

Against
the pope's
primacy.

realm, and for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority and jurisdiction within the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and afterwards at leastwise twice every quarter of a year, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is within his dominion the highest potentate and power under God, to whom all men within the same dominion, by God's commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience afore and above all other potentates in earth.

Item, whereas certain articles were lately devised and put forth by the king's highness's authority, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation (whereof part were necessary to be holden and believed for our salvation, and the other part do concern and touch certain laudable ceremonies, rites, and usages of the church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic order in the same), the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall so open and declare, in their sermons and other collations, the said articles unto them that be under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern, which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation; and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politic order of the said church, according to such commandment and admonition as have been given unto them heretofore by the authority of the king's highness in that behalf.

The
king's ar-
ticles to
be read
to the
people.

Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as be under their cure, the articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain superstitious holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same articles; and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things wholesome, provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and public authority for the weal, commodity, and profit, of all this realm.

Images
abolish-
ed.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any entreatments to the pilgrimages of any saints, otherwise than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king's majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation, as though it were proper and peculiar to that saint to give this commodity or that; seeing all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other; for without him it cannot be given: but they shall exhort as well their parishioners, as other pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of charity; persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labour, travail, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages; and it shall profit more their soul's health, if they do bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

Pilgrima-
ge, for-
bid

Prayers
in the
mother-
tongue.

Also, in the same their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, the 'Paternoster,' the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue, and the same, so taught, shall cause the said youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent this may be the more easily done, the said curates, in their sermons, shall deliberately and plainly recite of the said Paternoster, Articles, or Commandments, one clause or article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing the same be to be sold, to them that can read, or will desire the same; and thereto that the said fathers and mothers, masters and governors, do bestow their children and

vants, even from their childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said sermons and collations, as otherwise, the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors, being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness; lest at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness, forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, some to theft and murder, who, afterwards brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and governors, who suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth; whereas, if they had been brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should (being rulers of their own family) have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonweale.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide, that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special license given by the king's majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure, not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not err: and always let them see that neither they, nor their vicars, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

Item, That every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm shall, on this side the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will, to look and read thereon; and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that (using a sober and a modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same) they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy, to the judgment of them that be better learned.¹

Also the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner and supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at tables or cards playing, or any other unlawful game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise; and that they always do those things that appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the commonweal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be example to all others to live well and christianly.

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

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the executing of the said premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1536.

For
bringing
up of
youth in
some art
or occupa-
tion.

Placing
of good
vicars
and cu-
rates.

Every
parish to
provide a
Bible in
English.
See
Appendix.

Priests
not to
haunt
ale-
houses.

Parsons
not resi-
dent, to
pay the
fortieth
part to
their
parishes.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1538.

Every
beneficed
man
worth a
hundred
pounds to
find a
scholar at
the uni-
versity.
Beneficed
men to
maintain
their
man-
sions.

within this deanery, having yearly to spend in benefices or other promotions of the church, a hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispense, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; who, after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices, or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom.

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

All which and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerks and beneficed men, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duties according to these injunctions.

After these injunctions and articles afore expressed (which were given in A. D. 1536) it was about the space of two years when other injunctions also were published, to the further instruction of the people in the proceedings of religion, whereby both the parsons of churches and the parishes, together, were enjoined to provide in every church to be a Bible in English: also for every parishioner to be taught by the minister, to understand and say the Lord's Prayer and Creed in their own vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitful injunctions, the tenor whereof here followeth.

See
Aduenda.

Further Injunctions of the King, exhibited A. D. 1538.

In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head under Christ of the church of England; I, Thomas lord Cromwell, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king's said highness for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the discharge of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you N. these injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, under the pain hereafter declared.

First, That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king's highness's injunctions given unto you heretofore in my name by his grace's authority, not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default now, after this second monition, continued, upon further punishment to be straightly extended towards you by the king's highness's arbitrement, or that of his vicegerent aforesaid.

For the
Bible to
be set
up in
churches.
See
Appendix.

Item, That ye shall provide, on this side the feast of N. next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church, that ye have cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same, and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item, That ye shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture.

Item, That ye shall, every Sunday and holy-day through the year, openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need require, one article or sentence of the Paternoster or Creed in English, to the intent they may learn the same by heart; and so, from day to day, to give them one like lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Paternoster and Creed in English by rote: and as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do: and, that done, ye shall declare unto them the Ten Commandments, one by one, every Sunday and holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1538.

The Lord's Prayer to be learned in English.

Item, That ye shall, in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the Paternoster in English, and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to them, that every christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and admonish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following: or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls), so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other injunctions from the king's highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's board, as shall be found ignorant in the premises: wherefore do ye thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Item, That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every other cure ye have, one sermon every quarter of a year at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and not to repose their trust or affiance in other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to feigned relics or images, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads not understood nor minded on, or such like superstition: for the doing whereof ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, That such feigned images as ye know, in any of your cures, to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set before any images or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth about the cross of the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre; which, for the adorning of the church and divine service, ye shall suffer to remain still: admonishing your parishioners, that images serve for none other purpose but as the books of unlearned men that can no letters, whereby they might be admonished of the lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls. And therefore the king's highness, graciously tendering the weal of his subjects' souls, hath travailed in part already, and more will hereafter travail, for the abolishing of such images as might be occasion of so great offence to God, and so great danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

Images pulled down.

Item, That in all such benefices or cures as ye have, whereupon you be not yourself resident, ye shall appoint such curates in your stead as both can by ability, and will also, promptly execute these injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, that ye are bound to do in every behalf accordingly; and profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with declaration of the word of God: or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same, if they do otherwise.

Good ministers to be placed.

Item, That you shall admit no man to preach within any of your benefices or cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.Pilgrimages and
images
abandoned.

by the king's highness, or his grace's authority, or by the bishop of the diocese; and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling and setting forth of pilgrimages to feigned relics or images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly, afore the same, recant and reprove the same; showing them, as the truth is, that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

The word
of God
to be
preached
without
stop or
interruption.

Item, If ye do or shall know any within your parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these injunctions, or a fautor of the bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected and extirped; ye shall detect the same to the king's highness, or his honourable council, or to his vicegerent aforesaid, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

Register
book for
every pa-
rish.

Item, That you and every parson, vicar, or curate, within this diocese, shall, for every church, keep one book of register, wherein ye shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burying, made within your parish for your time; and so for every man succeeding you likewise; and also therein set every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened or buried: and for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings, christenings and buryings, made the whole week before: and that done, to lay up the said book in the said coffer as before; and for every time the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said church three shillings and four pence, to be employed on the reparation of the same church.

Item, That ye shall, once every quarter of a year, read these and the other former injunctions given unto you by authority of the king's highness, openly and deliberately, before all your parishioners; to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

Tithes to
be paid.
See
Addenda.

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

Becket's
days abro-
gated.

Item, That no parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting day that is commanded and indicted by the church, or of divine prayer, or of service, otherwise than is specified in the said injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transposed by the king's highness's authority; the evens of such saints, whose holy-days be abrogated, only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting days, except also the commemoration of Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be clean omitted, and instead thereof the ferial service used.

Knolling
of Aves
forbidden.

Item, That the knolling of the Aves after service and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the bishop of Rome's pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their aves between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

Suffrages
of saints
rejected.

Item, Whereas, in times past, men have used, in divers places in their processions, to sing 'Ora pro nobis,' to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following, as 'Parce nobis Domine,' and 'Libera nos Domine,' it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit 'Ora pro nobis,' and to sing the other suffrages, being most necessary and effectual. All which

and singular injunctions I minister unto you and to your parishioners, by the king's highness's authority, to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you, by the same authority, to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the king or his vicegerent for the time being shall be seen convenient.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

By these articles and injunctions thus coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king then deserved the title of his supreme government, given to him over the church of England; by which title and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion here in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates, had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his council, how by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock, drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs and idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation: whereunto he provided not only these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but also procured the bishops to help forward, in the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people; according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a bishop to preach at Paul's cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

The king better deserving the name of supreme governor than the pope.

Amongst these bishops, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, and a great persecutor of the poor flock of Christ (as is before sufficiently recorded), made a sermon before the king, upon Good Friday, this present year 1538, at Greenwich, seriously and effectuously preaching, on the king's behalf, against the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome; the contents of whose sermon wholly to express, were here too long and tedious. So much as may suffice for our purpose I thought should remain to posterity, beginning at his theme, which then he took in hand to treat upon, written in Hebrews xiii., as followeth.

The Sermon of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, on Good Friday, before the King at Greenwich, A. D. 1538. The theme from Hebrews xiii.

The words of the apostle are these, 'Habemus altare de quo edere non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo deserviunt. Quorum enim animalium inferitur sanguis pro peccato in sancta per pontificem, horum corpora cremantur extra castra. Propter quod, et Jesus extra portam passus est. Excamus igitur ad eum extra castra, improprium ejus portantes!'

These are the words of the apostle; many things contained in few words; and the English thereof is this: We have an altar; we have an altar (saith the apostle), an altar, and a sacrifice upon this altar. And they that serve at the tabernacle may not eat of this altar, may not eat of this sacrifice that is offered upon this altar. For the apostle here, 'per metonymiam,' doth put the altar for that which is the sacrifice upon the altar. The blood of those beasts that were slain for the sacrifice, was brought into the holy, secret, high place of the temple where the ark was, between the high altar (as we will say) and the veil, by the bishop, and there offered up for the sin of the people. The bodies of the beasts were burned without the pavilions or tents. For which, 'propter

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

quod,' for which what?—for the fulfilling of which mystery, also to verify and fulfil the figure, and that the thing figured might be correspondent to the figure, Jesus suffered without the gate, to sanctify the people by his blood. Let us go out therefore, and suffer with Christ, bearing his opprobries and rebukes. These be the words of the apostle now taken.

I will, by the help of our Lord God, declare these words in order, even as they do stand. Here is an altar; here is a sacrifice; here is a bishop who did offer this sacrifice; here is a tabernacle; a serving of the tabernacle; the blood of the sacrifice which was offered by the bishop for the sins of the people, in the most holy place of the temple; and the bodies of the beasts (whose blood was offered) were burned without the tents. And this was done the tenth day of the seventh month. Ye hear now the words of the apostle, wherein appeareth the manifest figure of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which we this day do honour.

In these words the apostle toucheth the figure of the law, and bringeth it to a spiritual understanding; for it was commanded in the law, in the book of Numbers,¹ the tenth day of the seventh month, in the feast that was called the feast of the propitiation of mercy, of remission, or the feast of purgation, when the people were purged; at which time they should take a calf and a kid, and slay them; whose blood the only bishop should bring 'in sancta sanctorum,' into the most holy, solemn, and secret place of the temple, wherein the bishop never came, unless he brought with him blood to offer in sacrifice. 'Almost all things after the law, or in the law, were cleansed in blood, and by blood; and without the effusion of blood was no remission,' saith the apostle²: and in that place of the temple called 'sancta sanctorum,' the bishop prayed and offered for the people. The flesh and corpse of the sacrifice was burned without the tents, without their pavilions; and it was not lawful to any that did serve the tabernacle, to eat of the flesh of that sacrifice.

Here is a manifest figure (as I said) of the passion of our Saviour Christ. The altar that was consecrated and hallowed in this solemnity of the blood of the eternal testament, was that holy cross that Christ suffered on; which as on this day he did consecrate, hallow, dignify, and dedicate; and did adorn and deck the same with the members of his most precious body, more gloriously than if it had been embroidered and inserted with precious stones. For as gold, which is the most precious metal, is made more precious when it is set with precious stones, and is dignified therewith, whether it be altar, image, crown, ring or ouch; so was the altar, the holy cross, beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious, with the members of that most precious stone Christ, which is, as Peter saith,³ 'the lively stone which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approved stone, for a corner stone,' for the chief stone in the building of his church, for the stone that joineth the walls of the church together, for the stone whereupon the faith of Christ and his church is builded: a precious stone, a stone of price, a stone of high value, far passing in the estimation of a good christian man all other precious stones in the world. This precious stone Christ, with the members of his most precious body, did deck, adorn, and make precious this altar of the cross, when his body was by the Jews, with violence, extremely strained upon the same, that all his bones (as testifieth the prophet) might be numbered.⁴ Upon this altar was the great sacrifice of the world offered, Christ himself. He was the sacrifice, and he was the priest. 'He offered up himself to God his Father, for the sin of man,' saith the apostle.⁵ He offered himself a pure, clean, immaculate host to God, to redeem the world, to sanctify sinners, to justify man.

This Christ, the Bishop of good things to come (as the apostle witnesseth), entered once into the place called 'sancta sanctorum,' not only of the temple; but 'in sancta sanctorum,' into that holy place of places, into heaven. He entered with sacrificed blood, like a bishop. 'Not with the blood of goats or calves, not with the blood of rams or bulls, but with his own precious blood.'⁶ For if the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of the burned calf sprinkled

(1) Numb. xxix.

(2) 'Quia omnia fere in sanguine secundum legem mundabantur, et sine sanguinis effusione non sit remissio.' Heb. ix.

(3) 'Lapis vivus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a Deo electus, probatus angularis et preciosus. 1 Pet. ii.

(4) Psalm xxii.

(5) 'Obtulit semetipsum immaculatum Deo, ut sanctificaret inquinatos.' Heb. ix.

(6) Ibid.

The stone
Christ.Christ the
sacrifice
of the
world.

abroad, were sufficient to the making clean of the flesh, how much more then is the blood of Christ, who by the Holy Ghost did offer up himself to God, a most pure, most clean, and immaculate sacrifice, able to purge, cleanse, and make fair our consciences from the works of death, and to live in the living God?

This is our great bishop, as the apostle saith,¹ 'We have a great bishop, which did penetrate the heavens, whose name is Jesus the Son of God.' This is our great bishop, our high bishop, our universal bishop. This is the head bishop of all bishops, and of all the world, named of God (as the apostle saith²) to be our great bishop, properly called 'Summus Pontifex,' the highest bishop of bishops. For this is he only that is 'Summus, maximus, et universalis Pontifex.'

The bishop of Rome therefore ought herein to be abashed, ashamed, and to abhor his own pride. For in this he outrageously doth offend God, and blasphemeth him, in that he presumeth to take this high name from our bishop, Christ; in that he taketh away, as much as lieth in him, the glory of God, the majesty appertaining unto Christ; in that he taketh upon him these names appropriate only to Christ, the highest bishop, the greatest bishop, the universal bishop,³ the bishop of all the world. I much marvel how he dare be so bold to usurp and take these great names upon him. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to take from God that which naturally belongeth unto him; than to take from God his glory and honour: than to vindicate and take upon him such high names, as besee meth no Christian man to usurp. God said by his prophet, 'I will not give my glory away to any other,⁴ to any creature. He doth reserve the glory, that laud and honour that belongeth only unto him, unto himself; no man may attempt so far, no man may take so much upon him.

Peter! Peter! thou wast once bishop of Rome, and the first bishop of Rome; Didst thou ever take this name upon thee, Summus, Maximus, Universalis? No, no, no. And why? For the Holy Ghost was in thee. Thou wouldest take no more upon thee, than God gave thee. Thou wast not desirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou soughtest for, was for the glory of God; as all that will read thy sermons, thy epistles, and thy life, shall soon perceive. Look! a great number of bishops that next followed Peter in the same see; what were they? Holy martyrs, holy livers, who never attempted thus far. Let the bishop of Rome therefore acknowledge his great fault, his high folly, his unlawful usurpation, his unpriestly presumption, and humble himself to Christ and God, his great bishop. Would God he would reform himself! would God he would keep himself within that compass of his authority, and encroach no more upon other men's jurisdictions, but diligently keep and overlook his own diocese, and be content with that! would God he would look upon his predecessor St. Gregory in his register,⁵ who was a bishop of Rome, a holy man. Let him learn there how he did rebuke John, at that time the bishop of Constantinople, for taking on him so highly, in such names: universal bishop, highest bishop, greatest bishop; and how he proved it to be against the law of God. He saith there, in one place, to this proud bishop John, 'What answer shalt thou make in that strait examination at that last judgment to Christ the head of the universal holy church, that goest about to have subject unto thee all the members of Christ, by taking on thee the name of universal bishop?' In another place again in the same book he saith unto him, 'Who art thou, that dost presume to usurp a new name upon thee of universal bishop, contrary to the statutes of the gospel and decrees?'

God forbid that ever this blasphemy should come in the hearts of christian people! in which the honour of all priesthood is taken away, when a man shall rashly and arrogantly take that name upon him. Let this bishop of Rome therefore humble himself unto our great universal bishop, Christ; humble himself under the mighty hand of God; and know what the apostle doth write⁶ of the honour and power of this Christ our great high bishop. He is (he saith) 'Pontifex misericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans cælum, compatiens infirmitatibus nostris, offerens dona et sacrificia pro peccatis nostris, condolens iis qui ignorant et errant: Qui potest saluum facere a morte, offerens preces et supplicationes cum clamore valido et lachrymis, et exauditus est

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1538.

The
pride of
the pope;
blas-
phemeth
God.No
greater
blas-
phemy
than in
the pope.Peter
never
took
upon
him at
Rome as
the pope
doth.

(1) 'Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetravit cælos, Jesum Filium Dei.' Levit. xvi. Heb. iv.

(2) Heb. v. (3) 'Summus pontifex, maximus pontifex, universalis pontifex.'

(4) 'Non dabo gloriam meam alteri.' Isai. xlii.

(5) Gregorius in Registro, lib. iv. indictione xxx. Epist. xxxviii.

(6) Heb. ii. iii. iv. v. vii. viii. ix.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.The titles
attributed to
Christ, in
scripture.

Misericors.

Potens.

Omnipotens.

Fidelis.

See
Appendix.The
second
office of a
bishop is
to pray.

pro reverentia sua : Pontifex appellatus a Deo: Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis : Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alii) prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populo : Pontifex sedens in dextris Dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrans sancta sanctorum, per proprium sanguinem. Hic est Pontifex confessionis nostræ.

Let all earthly bishops learn of this heavenly bishop Christ. Some of these properties are appropriate and belong only to God, and not to man. In some we ought to follow him, in some we cannot, nor ought to do. This our high and great Bishop is 'misericors,' saith the apostle, merciful. A merciful bishop, ready to forgive, ready to remit those that have offended him. He is not cruel nor vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow him.

He is 'Potens,' a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weak and feeble bishops, not able to do any thing but by his permission and help. He is able to make sick, to make whole; to make rich, to make poor; to set up, to put down. 'Potens,' a mighty bishop, mighty and able to remit sin,¹ to forgive, to save both body and soul from damnation. 'Potens,' a mighty bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: 'Omnis potestas a Domino Deo est;' all power is of him. And, as he himself witnesseth, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.'² 'Potens salvare a morte;' he can save the body, and save the soul: he can deliver the one and deliver the other from everlasting death. Who can forgive sin but he?³ 'Est potens;' he is a mighty bishop! Of him and by him emperors, kings, magistrates, and potestates, bishops, priests, with all others that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turn the wind, to make the wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it rain, now clear; the sun to shine, the water to flow, to ebb, with such other, but only he? This is our mighty Bishop. 'Potens,' a mighty bishop: yea, 'omnipotens,' almighty. He can do all; nothing is to him impossible. 'Ipse dixit, et facta sunt omnia.' Mandavit, et creata sunt universa: potens ergo est.⁴ He is a mighty Bishop. We are not so.

'Fidelis Pontifex.' He is a faithful Bishop: faithful. He is a faithful bishop to God, referring all lauds, all honour and glory, to his Father. In all things that he did, miracles or other, he took never the more upon himself. He was also a faithful bishop to the world; for he did all that belonged to the office of a good bishop. The very office of a bishop⁵ is, prædicare, orare, et sacrificare, sive offerre: to preach, to pray, to do sacrifice, or to offer. He preached to his people; he taught the world most wholesome doctrine, whereby he called the people to God; he converted sinners; he called them to penance. He made them weep and lament their sins; they followed his person, they followed his word, they followed his ensample. They came out of all coasts to see him, to hear him, to learn of him. They forsook meat and drink, house and home; and followed him wheresoever he went, as well in wilderness as elsewhere: insomuch that after they had followed him three days, he, being moved with pity, lest they should perish for lack of food, being in the wilderness far from succour, he fed them twice miraculously. Once in the desert with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men, besides women and children, and there were left twelve great baskets, twelve maunds full of brokelets and offals at that meal.⁶ At another time he fed in the wilderness to the number of four thousand men, besides women and children, with seven loaves, and a few little fishes, and there were left of fragments, seven maunds full.⁷

The second office of a bishop he fulfilled also, for he prayed. He was most devout in prayer, so to teach all bishops and preachers not to presume on their wit or learning, neither on their capacity, memory, fair tongue or utterance; but that the preacher do studiously apply his book, with all diligence, to study how to speak, what to speak, before whom he shall speak, and to shape his sermon after the audience. The preacher ought also, besides his study and preaching, to pray: for by devout prayer he shall attain, perceive, as much or more, as by study or learning, for without prayer the words will little prevail. Look in Christ's life, and thou shalt find that in every thing he went about, he

(1) Rom. xiv.

(2) 'Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra.' Matt. xxviii.

(3) 'Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus?' Mark ii.

(4) Psa. xxxiii.

(5) 'The office of a bishop: If he had placed here, 'administrare sacramenta,' for 'sacrificare' his partition so might have stood.

(6) Matt. xv.

(7) Matt. xv.

prayed, to show the valiancy, the virtue, and strength of prayer: to show our necessities, our weakness and feebleness of nature. He prayed for his people (as Luke witnesseth)¹ the space of one whole night. And what a marvellous devout prayer made he for his people in the mount, the night afore his passion, when the chalice of death was represented unto him; when he sweat water and blood; when he cried thrice, Let this chalice,² let this passion and blood, let the virtue thereof, pass from me unto all mankind. Let every man have the virtue and merit thereof; let it work in all folks; let every faithful man and woman be partaker thereof; let it not be lost, but work to the world's end. This was a marvellous, devout, merciful prayer.

And again, suffering and hanging on the cross, he offered up for his people his prayers and supplications with a huge cry, with a piteous voice, with a lamentable and deadly shriek, and with weeping tears,³ to God his Father; he, hanging on the cross, even when the spirit should depart the body, not then forgetting his people, at the hour when all the people forget both the world and themselves. Which cry was so huge and great, so marvellous, and of that effect, that the heavens trembled thereat, the angels mourned for pity, the sun lost his light, the veil in the temple rived in two, the earth quaked, the stones rent asunder and brake in gobbets, the graves opened, the dead bodies rose to life, and appeared in the city. The centurion, and those that kept Christ, to see the execution done, cried, 'Vere, filius Dei erat iste!' 'This was the undoubted Sou of God.' His prayer and weeping tears were so pleasant unto the Father that he was heard; 'Exauditus est pro reverentia sua.' He was heard, and why? For it was so entire, so devout, so reverently done, in such a manner and fashion, with such a zeal grounded upon such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his own. And for that he did the very office of a bishop, so entirely to pray, and so reverently to offer up himself in sacrifice for his people, he was heard; he was heard; his prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good bishop, to offer sacrifice for his people. Every bishop, every bishop, for his diocesans and for the whole universal church. In these three we ought, as much as we may, to follow Christ.

Thus this Christ was and is 'Pontifex fidelis,' a faithful Bishop: faithful; faithful in his word, true in his promise, deceiving no man, but profiting all. In all that he did or spake, he sought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God; teaching thereby all bishops of the world, in all that they go about, to do it unto the praise and glory of God. And herein we ought also to follow him.

'Magnus Pontifex.' He is the great Bishop, the high bishop, the supreme bishop, the universal bishop over all the world. No great bishop but he. None high, none supreme nor universal bishop, but he.

And herein the bishop of Rome outrageously usurpeth upon God, as he doth upon the world, to take the honour and names (only to God appropriate) to himself, and doth grievously blaspheme and offend God therein. Greater blasphemousness cannot be, than to ascribe to God that which no ways belougeth unto him, or to take from God that which is unto him appropriate. It is meet therefore he do betimes, and in season, leave his unjust encroachments both against his Lord God, and also against the world, lest he do provoke God to pour out all his vials of wrath upon him, the vœs, I mean the maledictions and vengeance that John speaketh of in the Apocalypse.⁴ I would advise him to cease the injuries which he hath done, and daily doth, against thee, Christ, our great, high, universal Bishop, lest thou excommunicate and strike him; lest thou show thy wrath and judgment against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretensed authority. For thou wilt be known, thou wilt be known to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great universal and supreme Bishop, whatsoever the bishop of Rome shall attempt to the contrary; and thou wilt punish his worldly arrogancy, and strike when thou seest thy time. And though it be long ere thou strike, yet let him beware, for strike thou wilt, if thou be utterly provoked; and when thou dost strike, thy stroke is great, thy stroke is dreadful and sore. It vanquisheth the body, it slayeth the soul, it damneth both. Beware, therefore, thou bishop of Rome! and be content with thine own diocese, with thine own charge, as other bishops are with theirs: for further than thine own diocese thy jurisdiction doth not stretch.

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1538.

The cry of Christ on the cross.

The heavens trembled, angels mourned, the sun lost his light, the veil rived, earth quaked, stones rent, graves opened, the dead rose.

Third office of a bishop.

Magnus.

The pope blasphemeth God.

What is blasphemous.

The stroke of God is slow but sure.

The pope's power stretcheth no further than his diocese.

(1) Luke vi. (2) 'Transeat a me calix iste.' Matt. xxvi. (3) 'Preces et supplicationes cum clamore valido et lachrymis.' Heb. v. (4) Apoc. ix.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

Questions to be asked of the pope in the last judgment.

The pope maketh all things a money matter.

Pontifex
Maximus.

The pope's pride will have a fall.

Humilis.

The humility of Christ.

Com-
patiens.
Christ
full of
com-
pas-
sion.

A marvellous blindness in thee therefore, to take upon thee to answer for all the world, and art not able to answer our great bishop Christ for thyself at the dreadful day of judgment, when he shall ask but these few questions of thee? Quomodo intrasti? Quomodo rexisti? Quomodo vixisti? Quomodo pavisti? Quæ et qualia exempla dedisti? Quid ad meam gloriam fecisti? et hujusmodi. How didst thou enter into the bishopric? by me, or by the world? unlawfully or lawfully? by simony or freely? by labour, by paction, or called of God? How didst thou rule thy cure, thy diocese? Didst thou pray for thy people? Didst thou preach me to thy diocesans? Didst thou give them ghostly and bodily food? Didst thou minister spiritual and ghostly salves¹ (the sacraments I mean), to heal the sores of their souls? How didst thou live? Didst thou cast away the care, the glory and pomp of the world? Didst thou follow me in humility, in charity, in compassion, in poverty, in cleanness, and in chaste living?

How didst thou govern thy diocesans? Didst thou not make of all things that thou didst meddle with a money matter, in selling that which was not in thee to sell nor give, which thou calledst thy pardons, thy commissions, thy briefes, thy delegacies, reservations, exemptions, appellations, bulls, and dispensations? Didst not thou, under these pretences, and other like doings, deceive the world? What answer shalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great bishop Christ, when he shall visit thee and all thy diocese, me and all my diocese; yea, when he shall visit all the world? What answer shall you then make? I think verily thou shalt then have enough to do, yea, and more than thou canst wind thyself out of, to make answer for thyself, for thine own diocese, and for thine own diocesans, though thou usurp not upon other men's, as thou dost. The apostle writeth of Christ humbly, and calleth him 'Magnum Pontificem,' the great bishop. And he of Rome is not with this word contented, but will have a higher word for himself, in the superlative degree, 'Maximum Pontificem,' the greatest bishop. Oh! where is the humbleness and meekness that should be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the world, how can he for shame suffer such blasphemous words to pass in his name, to his great shame and rebuke; to the great danger of his soul, and to the perilous example unto others! Oh, fie upon pride! It is a common proverb, 'Pride will have a fall.'

Our bishop Christ was 'humilis;' meek, lowly, and humble in heart. He rode not upon any palfrey or courageous horse, but upon an ass; and that but once. He never was borne pompously abroad in a chair, upon men's shoulders. He never proffered his foot to any body to kiss. We read that he washed the feet of his disciples and wiped them.² We read that Mary Magdalen proffered to have kissed his feet, but he did prohibit her, saying, 'Noli me tangere;' 'Touch me not.' He would not suffer the woman then to touch him. He never had guard to defend him. He never followed the pomp of the world. He disdained not to go upon the ground with his bare feet.³ What shall I say? He gave ensamples enough to the bishop of Rome, to me, and all bishops, to be meek and humble: he to know himself, and we ourselves, as, if he and we diligently look in Scripture, we shall find. And herein, in meekness, we are bound to follow him.

'Compatiens infirmitatibus.' This bishop Christ had compassion of our infirmities, of our frailties. It is impossible for a man to know the afflictions of a miserable person, that never suffered himself affliction; that never had experience of pains; that never felt what pain meant. But this bishop, Christ, had experience of our nature, how weak, how feeble the nature of man is; how weak of himself to do any good work without the help of God, how feeble to resist temptations. He suffered and felt the infirmities and pains of this natural body. He hath, therefore, compassion upon man, when he doth see him fall. He sorroweth his ruin, teaching bishops in especial, afore all others, to have compassion and pity upon the sinner, to help him spiritually, to comfort him ghostly, to help him to arise from sin, to allure him to penance, to draw him to virtue, to make him know God, to fear his justice, to love his laws; and thus to seek, all the ways that he and we can, to save the sinner's soul, for whom he shall make answer to God for his own diocesans; soul for soul, blood for blood, pain for pain, hell for hell, damnation for damnation. For which soul, our great

(1) Nay, rather, ghostly doctrine you should say.

(2) John xiii.

(3) Matt xx.

bishop, Christ (as the apostle doth witness),¹ did offer gifts and sacrifice himself, having compassion of them that by ignorance and by error did sin and offend God. Even when he was in his greatest agony upon the cross, he cried to his Father, 'Forgive them, Father, forgive them; they know not what they do:'² they are ignorant people; they know not what is what, or what danger they run into by thus entreating me. 'They know not their offences; 'forgive them, Father, forgive them.' In this compassion we ought also to follow our great bishop, Christ.

It followeth in the former letter, 'Est Pontifex appellatus a Deo.' 'He is a bishop, and so named of God:' he is the very bishop. He offered up the very sacrifice, the sacrifice of his own most blessed body and blood, whereby the sin of the world was put away. Every bishop of the world is not named a bishop by God: for some come into that office, not by the Holy Ghost, nor elect of God (as John saith); not entering 'in ovile ovium per ostium, sed ascendens aliunde.'³ Some there are, that enter into the fold of the sheep of God not by the door. Some there be that enter in, having charge and cure of soul, not by God, but by worldly means, by worldly labour, by importune suits and intercessions of friends, or by their own unlawful labour, by simony, and such other ways. Such are not named bishops by God. Such enter not by the door, not by him that saith,⁴ 'I am the door, I am the way, I am the life, I am the truth; I am 'pastor bonus,' the very true and good bishop, that entered by God. And all that enter otherwise than by God, Christ calleth them 'fures, et latrones;' thieves, spoilers, ravengers, devourers, and deceivers of the sheep.⁵ Their living shall declare the same; for such as so wilfully do enter, do study their own profits and commodities. Such receive the fruits, and do nothing for them; such suffer their sheep to perish for lack of bodily and ghostly food and sustenance, for lack of preaching, for lack of giving good counsel, for lack of good living, for lack of good ensample. And such, for the most part, live untaughtly, carnally, fleshly, viciously, pompously, worldly, and not bishoply nor priestly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Christ saith,⁶ 'Qui intrat per me salvabitur, et ingredietur, et egredietur, et pascua inveniet.' 'He that entereth by me shall be saved.' 'Et ingredietur, et egredietur;' 'And he shall go in, and he shall go out.' What is that to say, 'He shall go in, and he shall go out?' I think, he meaneth by going in, that he shall have grace to enter studiously into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to study, and to profit in the laws of God. 'Et egredietur:' and he shall explain and truly interpret and publish it unto the people. 'Et pascua inveniet:' and he shall find there plenty of spiritual food for himself and for his people, to edify their souls, to instruct and call them to the knowledge of God, to feed them plentifully, that they shall not lack necessities to their souls. Let us therefore so live, that we may be called 'Pontifices appellati a Deo.'

This our great bishop, Christ, is also 'Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis, sedens a dextris Dei, emundans conscientias nostras a peccatis, intrans sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem.'⁷ He is 'sanctus,' a holy bishop, and willeth us to be holy in our conversation, applying ourselves unto godliness, to the service of God, to live like bishops, like priests, pure, clean, chaste, devout, studious; faithfully labouring in his word; praying, doing sacrifice, and ever to be godly and virtuously occupied.

He is 'Innocens:' an innocent. He never sinned, he never offended in word, thought, or deed. 'Innocens:' annoying no creature, profiting all folks, meekly suffering adversities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproaches, without grudge or contradiction. 'Innocens et simplex; simplex, sine plica:' 'an innocent, without plait or wrinkle,' without error or doubleness, without hypocrisy or dissimulation, without flattering or glossing, without fraud or deceit; not serving the body, or the world, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heavenly Bishop.

'Impollutus:' He was undefiled. He lived clean without spot or blot, without wem⁸ or stain. No 'immunditia' in him, no uncleanness nor filthiness; but all pure and clean, all chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godliness; insomuch that he was 'segregatus a peccatoribus;' clean segregate from all kind of uncleanness, from all manner of sins, and from sinners.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Pontifex appellatus.

All bishops he not called of God.

Sanctus

Innocens

Simplex.

Impollutus.

Segregatus a peccatis.

(1) Heb. v.

(2) Luke xxiii.

(3) John x.

(4) 'Ego sum ostium; ego sum via, veritas, et vita.'

(5) John x.

(6) John xiv.

(7) Heb. vii.

(8) 'Wem,' a blemish in cloth.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.Excel-
sior.

Segregate from them, not from their company; for, as Matthew writeth, publicans and sinners came and ate and drank with him and his disciples in the house of Levi; and he also came as a physician, to heal the sinner. And yet he was segregate from them, as touching their ill livings, not being participant with them in sin;¹ but came only to heal them, and to rid them from sin and sores of the soul. He entered the heavens, not with the blood of kid or goat, but with his own proper blood. For which, and for his holiness and perfectness, 'Excelsior cœlis factus est;' he is extolled and exalted above all angels and beatitudes; above all the heavens, sitting on the right hand of the Father; whom all the heavenly creatures do worship, honour, and do reverence unto; where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

Magnus.

This our bishop purgeth our conscience, as witnesseth the apostle; he cleanseth our souls; he maketh us inwardly beauteous and fair. The bishop of Rome lacketh many of these notable virtues. He hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is (as we all are sinners) a sinner: to whom this word 'magnus,' great, is not convenient, nor can be in him any ways verified; for he cannot forgive sin as our Bishop doth, nor justify as he doth, neither enter 'in sancta sanctorum,' with his own blood, as he did. How can he then be called a great bishop, who is (as we be all sinners) a sinner, a breaker of the laws of God, and who daily doth, or may, fall and sin? And for that cause, the law commanded that every bishop and priest should first offer hosts and sacrifice for his own sins, and afterwards for the sins of the people. How can he therefore be called a great bishop or priest?

Our Bishop, we speak of, is the very great bishop. No dole, no fraud, no guile, was ever found in his mouth. And when the prince of the world, the devil, came to him, he could find no point of sin in him. Wherefore Gabriel the archangel, showing his nativity unto Mary his mother, said, 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of God.'² And again it is written of him, 'A great prophet is risen among us.'³ Sin maketh a man small and little; little in reputation before God and man. Virtue maketh man great, and of high reputation. Show me one place in Scripture, where you have read that a sinner was called great: I trow it shall not be found. Will you hear who were called great in Scripture? It is written of Isaac, 'He profited greatly in virtue, and was made great;'⁴ great in reputation of the world. Moses was called 'magnus,'⁵ great for his virtue: Abraham and John Baptist likewise. Now Jesus our bishop is called 'Magnus Episcopus,' 'Magnus Sacerdos,'⁶ and after him never bishop is called 'magnus,' in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of man; unless it be in comparison one of another (and so saints and holy livers are called great in respect of sinners, or other mean livers). But where Christ our bishop cometh, there he, not in comparison of others, but 'simpliciter,' by his own magnitude and greatness, and of himself, ever was and is great, of whom it is written, 'A summo cœlo egressio ejus; et occurus ejus usque ad summum ejus;'⁷ and as the apostle also proveth in many places, by express words. But now there is no bishop or priest in this world that may worthily of himself be called great, or who ought to take this name 'Magnus' upon him.

No sinner
called
great in
the Scrip-
ture.

This is he therefore of whom it is written, 'The great Bishop above all others.'⁸ And as he is called, and in very deed is, 'the Herdsman of herds-men,' 'the Bishop of bishops,' 'the Prophet of prophets,' 'the Holy of holiest,' 'the Lord of lords,' 'the King of kings';⁹ even so is he called, and verily is 'Episcopus magnus.' Therefore the prophet did add, 'Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis:' the great Bishop or Priest; great of himself; great in virtue and power; great of himself, and great in comparison afore all others. And therefore the apostle said, 'We have a great Bishop which did penetrate the heavens, Jesus the Son of God.'¹⁰

(1) 'Quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato.' Matt. ix.

(2) 'Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur.' Luke i.

(3) 'Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos.' Luke vii.

(4) 'Quod proficiebat valde, et factus est magnus valde.' Gen. xxvi.

(5) Exod. xi.

(6) Luke i.

(7) Psalm xix.

(8) 'Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis.' Levit. xxi.

(9) 'Pastor pastorum,' 'Pontifex pontificum,' 'Propheta prophetarum,' 'Sanctus sanctorum,' 'Dominus dominantium,' 'Rex regum;' 'ita et Magnus magnorum est.'

(10) 'Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui penetravit cœlos, Jesum Filium Dei.'

Here may ye now see, how the bishop of Rome doth wrongfully encroach upon our great Bishop, Jesus Christ, to take from him not only this name 'Magnus'; and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, viz. Maximus, 'Summus,' 'Sanctissimus,' 'Beatissimus,' 'Universalis,' and such other; the greatest, the highest, the holiest, the blessedest and universal, in the superlative degree; and yet there is no great bishop but Christ only, no supreme bishop but he only; none holy, none blessed, none universal bishop but only he. The bishop of Rome, and all other bishops, are but underlings and unworthy suffragans, unto this bishop, Christ.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1538.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the apostle) is 'Pontifex nostræ confessionis;' the bishop whom we do confess to be our great bishop, our high bishop, our supreme bishop, our holy, blessed, and universal bishop; which names are reserved only unto Christ, and to no earthly bishop: not to the bishop of Rome, not to the bishop of Jerusalem, not to the bishop of Antioch, or of Constantinople, nor to any other bishop. No earthly bishop may presume to take upon him these high and holy names, only to God appropriate.

The pope encroacheth upon Christ.

God! of thy goodness thou mayest, and I trust wilt, once make this vain-glorious bishop of Rome first to know and acknowledge thy Son Christ to be the only supreme and universal bishop of the world: secondarily, to know himself, his weakness, his frailty, and his presumption; to know his office and bounden duty unto thee; to know his own diocese, and to usurp no further: thirdly, to have a low, humble, meek heart and stomach, to fear thee, God, and thy judgments; to acknowledge his own faults and usurpations; and to redress the same.

Now to return unto our matter, it followeth in the letter first taken; 'De quo edere non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo deservunt,' &c.

And thus much out of John Longland's sermon against the pope.

You heard before, by the king's injunctions above expressed, and directed out A. D. 1538, how all such images and pictures as were abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished; by virtue of which injunctions, divers idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, Thomas Becket, with many more; having engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false jugglings, as the blood of Hayles,¹ and such like, wherewith the simple people a long time had been deceived: all which were espied out, and destroyed.

Images and pilgrimages destroyed.

Among divers other of these foul idols, there went also, in the same reckoning, a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named Darvell Gatheren; which, in the month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield; with which idol also was burned at the same time, and hanged for treason, friar Forrest, of whom some mention was partly touched before, in the story of cardinal Wolsey.

The Welsh idol of Darvell Gatheren

Friar Forrest,²

EXECUTED FOR REBELLING AGAINST THE KING'S SUPREMACY.

* Forsomuch³ as the number of years doth lead us thereunto, we will somewhat touch and speak of friar Forrest; although he be unworthy of place, and not to be numbered, in this catalogue.*

This Forrest was an observant friar, and had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the king's subjects, that the king was

(1) Hayles in Gloucestershire, where they pretended to show some of our Saviour's blood.—Ed.
(2) See Grafton's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 462. Edition 1809.—Ed. (3) See Edition 1563, p. 571.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

See Addenda.

Friar Forrest burned in Smithfield.

not supreme head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto." And being further accused of divers damnable articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the church. Upon this his submission having more liberty than before he had, to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was; and when his abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, and afterwards hanged in Smithfield in chains, upon a gallows quick, by the middle and arm-holes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burned to death.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's most honourable council, and the nobles of the realm, to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if he had any spark of repentance in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scriptures, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance: but he was so froward, that he neither would hear, nor speak. A little before, the aforesaid image, called 'Darvell Gatheren,' coming out of Wales, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the aforesaid friar, as is said, was set on fire; which the Welchmen much worshipped, and had a prophecy amongst them, that this image should set a whole forrest on fire: which prophecy took effect; for he set this friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, and would not let it go, but so impatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life. * Upon¹ the gallows was set, in great letters, these verses following:

' David Darvell Gatharn,
(As saith the Welshmen),
' Fetched outlaws out of hell ;'
Now is he come with spear and shield,
In harness to burn in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwell.

And Forrest the friar,
That obstinate liar,
That wilfully shall be dead,
In his contumacy
The gospel do deny,
The king to be supreme head.* *

The ruin and dissolution of abbeys and monasteries.

In the months of October and November the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, followed also the ruin of the abbeys and religious houses, which, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell (or, rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God), were suppressed, being given a little

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 571, 572.—ED.

(2) These verses form part of *The Fantasy of Idolatry*, which may be found on a subsequent page in this volume.—ED.

before by act of parliament into the king's hand; whereupon not only the houses were rased, but their possessions also disparted among the nobility, in such sort as all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion were then so rooted out of this realm from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by God's grace, no possibility hereafter left, for the generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his gospel, saying, 'Every plantation, being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots,' &c.¹

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1538.

The History of the worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson,

WITH HIS TROUBLES, EXAMINATIONS, AND ANSWERS, AS WELL BEFORE WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND OTHER BISHOPS, AS ALSO BEFORE KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, BY WHOM AT LENGTH HE WAS CONDEMNED TO DEATH, AND BURNED IN SMITHFIELD, IN A. D. 1538.

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert, being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge; where, after he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith, and there remained the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Otford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries; having five and forty articles ministered against him, whereunto he rendered answer again by writing: which answers, forasmuch as they contain great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplify the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The copy both of the articles, and also of his answers, here in order followeth.

Lambert, preacher to the English house at Antwerp, accused by one Barlow, and brought to London.

Articles, to the number of five-and-forty, laid to Lambert.

Imprimis, Whether thou wast suspected or infamed of heresy?

Heresy.

II. Whether ever thou hadst any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned? and how long thou didst keep them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

III. Whether thou wast constituted priest, and in what diocese, and of what bishop?

IV. Whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife?

Priests' marriages. Necessity.

V. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity?

(1) Matt. xv.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The sacrament of the altar.
Baptism.

Matrimony.

Sacrament of orders.

Sacrament of penance.

Sacrament of confession.

Confirmation and extreme unction.

Unwritten verities.

Purgatory.

Praying to saints.

Mediators.

Pilgrimage.

Lent-fast.

Worshipping to images.

Praying for souls departed.

Merits.

Preaching without license.

Laymen to preach.

The pope's excommunication.

Saying of matins.

Scripture in the mother-tongue.

VI. Whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation? and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ, in likeness of bread and wine?

VII. Item, What opinion thou holdest touching the sacrament of baptism? whether thou dost believe that it is a sacrament of the church, and a necessary sacrament unto salvation, and that a priest may baptize; and that the order of baptizing ordained by the church is necessary and wholesome?

VIII. Item, Whether thou believest that matrimony be a sacrament of the church necessary to be observed in the church, and that the order appointed by the church for the solemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

IX. Item, Whether thou dost believe orders to be a sacrament of the church, and that saying of mass, ordained by the church, is to be observed of priests? whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned; and whether the order of priesthood were invented by man's imagination, or ordained by God?

X. Item, Whether penance be a sacrament of the church, and necessary unto salvation; and whether auricular confession is to be made unto the priest, or is necessary unto salvation? and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free priest, under necessity of salvation, to be confessed unto a priest, and not unto any layman, be he ever so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a priest, in cases permitted to him, may absolve a sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoin him wholesome penance?

XI. Item, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the sacrament of confirmation and extreme unction be sacraments of the church, and whether they do profit the souls of them that receive them: and whether thou believest the aforesaid seven sacraments to give grace unto them that do duly receive them?

XII. Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient? and whether some things upon necessity of salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

XIII. Whether thou believest that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

XIV. Whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

XV. Whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us?

XVI. Whether thou believest that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints?

XVII. Whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the canon law, and received in common usage of christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth), are to be observed?

XVIII. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints?

XIX. Whether thou believest that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed, and being in purgatory?

XX. Whether men may merit and deserve, both by their fastings and also by their other deeds of devotion?

XXI. Whether thou dost believe that men, prohibited of bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion before a higher judge?

XXII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God, or no?

XXIII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God?

XXIV. Whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, doth oblige and bind them before God?

XXV. Whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?

XXVI. Whether thou believest that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their mother-tongue?

XXVII. Whether is it lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their

reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language?

XXVIII. Whether thou believest that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church, are to be praised?

XXIX. Whether thou believest that the pope may make laws and statutes, to bind all christian men to the observance of the same, under pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God?

XXX. Whether thou believest that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay-people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the sacraments of the same?

XXXI. Whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying?

XXXII. Whether a priest, marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, and begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly?

XXXIII. Item, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore troubled and stirred with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for remedy of the same, do sin deadly?

XXXIV. Item, whether thou dost ever pray for John Wickliff, John Huss, or Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the Council of Constance, or for any of them, since they died? or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss, and saved?

XXXV. Item, whether thou hast accounted them, or any of them, to be saints, and worshipped them as saints?

XXXVI. Item, whether thou dost believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, and the Council of Constance also, doth represent the universal congregation or church?

XXXVII. Item, whether thou dost believe the same things which the Council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith, and soul's health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians?

XXXVIII. Whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the whole general council of Constance, were duly and rightly done, and so, for such, by every catholic person they are to be holden?

XXXIX. Whether thou believest that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics are to be named, and that their books and doctrines have been, and now be, perverse; for which books, and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics?

XL. Item, whether thou believest or affirmest, that it is not lawful in any case to swear?

XLI. Whether thou believest that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy?

XLII. Item, whether a christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly?

XLIII. Item, whether thou believest that St. Peter, as Christ's vicar, hath power upon earth to bind and loose?

XLIV. Item, whether the pope, ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being expressed, be the successor of St. Peter?

XLV. Item, whether thou hast ever promised, at any time, by an oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles, seeming to you and your accomplices, right and consonant unto the faith; and that you certify us touching the order and tenor of the said opinions and conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your adherents, and promised to be adherent unto you in this behalf?

Henry VIII.

A. D.

1538.

Making of laws.

Excommunication.

Justification.

Difference between a Latin and a Greek priest.

Praying for Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague.

General councils.

Council of Constance.

Whether Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome were heretics.

Oaths.

The number of sacraments.

Power of Peter.

Power of the pope.

Henry
VIII.

The Answers of John Lambert to the Forty-five Articles.

A. D.
1538.The
speech of
people di-
verse and
incon-
stant.See
*Adiudenda.*Praise of
the world
not to be
regarded.No man
bound to
bewray
himself.The
profit of
Luther's
books.See
*Appendix.*Over-rich
prelates.Facing
doctrine
of the pa-
pists.

Unto your first demand, wherein you do ask whether I was suspected of or infamed of heresy, I answer, that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me; peradventure some better, some worse; like as the opinion of the people was never one, but thought diversely of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yea, and of Christ himself: as appeareth in St. John,¹ how, when he came into Jerusalem in the feast called 'Scenopegia,' anon there arose upon him a great noise, some saying that he was a very good man; others said nay, and called him a seducer, because he led the people from the right ways of Moses's law into error. Seeing therefore that all men could not say well by Christ, who is the author of verity and truth, yea the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants; what should I need to regard if at some time some person, for a like cause, should suspect of me amiss, and evil report of me? seeing moreover, it is said in the gospel,² 'Woe be to you, when all men speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets.' If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded the same, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more than twice a fool to show you thereof; for it is written in your own law, 'No man is bound to bewray himself.'³ But this I insure you: I was never so charged with suspicion or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reproved afore any judge, afore that I was troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your hands: and of them seeing you can not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit a... innocent, according as I have ever lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But those letting pass and forgetting, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first; that is to wit, no whit culpable in either, had it not been that by long imprisonment you enforced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that, indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any sore punishment, unless you will beat the truth, whereunto I hope it shall not disagree.

To your second demand, where you do inquire whether I had ever any of Luther's books, and namely sythe they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether I have spent any study in them; I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also sythe; but I neither will ne can tell you how long I kept them. But truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I so did; for by them hath God showed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of other, such light as the deceivable darkness of them (I beseech God amend it) that name themselves, but amiss, to be holy church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all, as all his adversaries doth well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages, to the intent that all people might see and know what is said of every part; whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this methinketh he requireth nothing but equity; for the law would have no man condemned, ne yet justified, until his cause were heard and known.

But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich prelacy, which is so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study God's Scripture, nor preach the same, which should be the principal part of their office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full of equity) no less than they do abhor death.⁴ And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained that the writings of all parties might be openly seen and conferred, we should soon see their sleightly dealing, and facing doctrine, with all other cloked abusion, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in Almain: for there be the books of every party seen openly, and translated into the vulgar language, that all people may see and read upon them; and so, upon the sight of the books, they lightly

(1) John vii.

(2) 'Vie vobis, cum laudaverint vos omnes homines,' &c. Luke vi.

(3) 'Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.'

(4) Popish doctrine will abide no trial.

follow the true light of God's word, refusing the horror of darkness and false doctrine, whereby, before, they have been seduced from the right teaching and way showed in the Bible. And this is done, not by a hundred, nor by a thousand; but generally by whole cities and countries, both high and low; few or none except.

But our prelates, againward, seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detect and discovered, have sent out commandments, that if any persons shall adventure to keep any such books, they shall, in so doing, be excommunicate from God and all his saints, and cursed as black as pitch, whether the books be in Latin, English, French, Dutch, or any other tongue; as indeed men, seeing the fruit contained in them, hath set them forth in all languages. But this ought not christian men to think any neweltie; for so did their forefathers, the prelates in Christ's time and afterwards, to the apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should be soon found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the Scribes and Pharisees, who were bishops then and prelates, gave a general commandment, 'that whosoever confessed him to be Christ should be cursed, and put out of the synagogue,' that we call the church; and so they were.

Look in the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the Old Testament, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporal ruler at that season, to have the prophesy of Jeremy (for he of all others is most vehement against the dissimulation of priests) to be burned. Why then should we eschew them, or their works (unless we knew a better cause why), whom our prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprise? but, presuming of their power, without any due authority that I can find granted unto them so to do, will, because they so command, in lykewise have all done? according to the tyrannical saying (I trow it was) of Sardanapalus, 'Sic volo, sic jubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas,' That is to say, 'So will I, so do I command; and let my will for reason stand.'

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter them from such hawt language and doynge, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy; void of all wilfulness and tyranny: yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow, the counsel and doctrine of Christ's apostles and holy saints, that be their interpreters. As St. Paul, who, writing unto the Thessalonians,¹ would have them all to prove all things, and to retain or hold that only which is good; refraining from all that hath semblance of evil. And St. John would have christian people to try the spirit of them that should speak; whether they were of God or no.² Also, writing in another Epistle unto a noble woman, and unto her children, he saith, 'If any person (quod blessed saint John) shall come unto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, ne make him any cheer.'³ So that in this he would have women to know the doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give credence unto foreign teaching, not savouring the same.

In the First Epistle also to the Corinthians,⁴ St. Paul, writing unto all the generality of the city, saith, 'Brethren, be you no children in wit and understanding; but as concerning malice, be you therein children. In wit I would have you perfect.' And why? Verily for none other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the Hebrews) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so like men odde and diverse from beasts, according unto the saying of the prophet, 'See that ye be not like unto a horse or a mule, which lack understanding.'⁵ But that we should pray with him in another Psalm, 'O Lord! do me to know the way that I ought to live after and walk in, for I lift up my soul unto thee.'⁶

St. Chrysostome,⁷ according unto this, in a certain of his Commentaries upon Matthew (the book is called 'Opus Imperfectum'), writeth after this

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Trial and reading of books free in Germany. Why Luther's books be restrained of popish prelates. The time of popes and of the Pharisees compared.

The papists render no reason of their doings. Their proud proceedings only upon will, without all reason.

The Spirit of Christ, and the spirit of the papists, far unlike.

Christians bidden to try spirits.

(1) 1 Thess. v.

(2) 1 John iv.

(3) 2 John 10.

(4) 1 Cor. xiv.

(5) Psalm xxxii.

(6) Psalm cxliii.

(7) Chrysost. in Opere Imperfecto sustome, but are not considered his. Paris. 1836.—Ed.]

[These Commentaries accompany the Editions of St. Chrysostome, but are not considered his. The passage quoted is in Hom. 44, vol. vi. p. 928. Edit.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1533.

Authority
of rulers
will not
discharge
our igno-
rance.

fashion, as near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not mis-report him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the book. 'The priests that were Pharisees in the time,' quod he, 'of Christ, made an ordinance, that whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and excommunicated. If then the Pharisees or priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like ordinance, because they would not have Christ's doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christ's doctrine? Nay truly. Why,' quod he, 'shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forfended by the rulers to have knowledge?' He answereth, 'No verily; for if,' saith he, 'when thou luste to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one merchant's ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best cloth, and best cheap, thou, using such sollicitie for a temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, who wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy soul's health. Seek therefore about from one doctor or teacher unto another, that thou mayest know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow; according to the saying of the apostle, Prove all, and hold the good;' and as it is said in the gospel, that thou mayest know? 'who be true or lawful changers or coiners, and who be not.'

He also addeth another similitude or parable.³ 'When thou goest,' quoth he, 'a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, inquire of one man, and after of another; and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt not so leave off thy journey undone, but make inquisition of new to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise,' quod he, 'ought we to seek about intently for the wealth of our soul, who are the right key-bearers and who not;' meaning there by the key-bearers Christ's apostles, and the bearers of his testimony or message. Which saying, although it were written of no authentical author (howbeit it is written even of himself, as I do shewe you in the said work), but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would answer, I doubt not, that it is full true.

See
Appendix.

Lawful to
read and
try all
books.

The same author also, in an epistle which you shall find in a work called 'Psegmata Chrysostomi,' showeth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, because he did study Origen's works, who before was condemned for a heretic: but he maketh an apology to the same, showing, that christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing; in which apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of Paul above rehearsed, 'Prove all things,' &c. Likewise did St. Jerome, I wot not well in what place of his works,⁵ but you shall find it in a Treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' where he entreateth 'De mandatis hominum.' When it was objected against him that he retained by him the works of Eusebius and of Origen, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawful, the said place of the apostle, making therewith an answer worthy to be greatly noted.

The same is also reported in the Book called 'Ecclesiastica Historia,' or else in 'Historia Tripartita,' I wot not now precisely whether. So that these and other authorities of the Scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy interpreters shall prove, that I and others may safely (no good law inhibiting, unless constitutions pharisaical) read and search the works not only of Luther, but also of all others, be they ever so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a priest: whom the bishop of Norwich ought not to have admitted into orders, unless he had seen me to have had judgment to discern good from ill; neither ought any of you to give orders to any such, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkness, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore, if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemn yourselves, judging rather of sensual pleasure than of equity, which, in men of your order, were a great shame, and much uncomely.

Unto your third demand, wherein you do ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop; I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop's suffragan of the same diocese.

(1) 1 Thess. v.
(3) Chrys. Ibid.

(2) 'Qui sunt probati nummularii, et qui non.' Matt. xxv.
(4) 'Qui sunt probi clavigeri, et qui non.'

(5) [See Appendix.]

Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife; I say that it is lawful, yea and necessary, for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife; and that show both Christ and St. Paul. In Matthew xix. Christ, speaking unto the Pharisees that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, saith in this wise, 'Whosoever (saith he) shall forsake his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her so forsaken, committeth adultery.'¹

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1538.

Marriage of priests, whether lawful.

With that say his disciples, 'If thus the case stand betwixt a man and his wife, it shall be hurtful, and not expedient to contract matrimony.' He made answer, 'Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given of God;'² meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a special grace so to continue. And if, with your better advice, I might herein be somewhat bold, I would suppose that where he doth say, 'Non omnes sunt capaces hujus dicti' (Every man cannot away with that saying), this word 'non omnes' ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture;³ as where, in the Psalm, it is said, 'Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens,' it is meant that no person living shall be justified before God. And in the Epistle to the Galatians,⁴ and to the Romans,⁵ where it is said, 'Ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro;' (By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his sight), it is meant thereby *nulla caro*: so that, 'non omnis,' after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as 'nullus,' and then the sense should be thus, '*Nulli sunt capaces hujus dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit.*' No man can be 'capax' of this saying, or can so pass his life without marriage, except those who have it given them, by a singular grace of God, to live chaste.

Chastity is a gift only of God.

Then he proceedeth further, saying, 'There be eunuchs that so were born from the mother's womb; and there be some eunuchs that have been so made by men; and there be eunuchs that have so made themselves, for love of the kingdom of heaven.'⁶ In conclusion he saith, 'Who, that receiveth this saying,' (thinketh that it should be inexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste through the gift given him of God); 'let him take it and so live.' So he leaveth singleness of life to all men's election, without any compelling them thereto.

Singleness not to be compelled.

Hereunto assenteth St. Paul: when that by many reasons he had persuaded the Corinthians to single life, finally he concludeth thus, 'This,' quoth he, 'say I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you in bondage.' And a little afore, 'I would,' quod he, 'that all men were even as I myself am. But every one hath a several gift of God, one onewise, another in an otherwise:' showing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continently, and to others to engender and procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had showed forth his good wish and desire, saying, 'I would that all men were even as I am,'⁷ he putteth a conjunction adversative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, 'But every man hath his proper gift of God.'⁸ Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. 'This,' quoth he, 'I say to the unmarried and widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do: but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage; for better it is to marry than to burn.' This proveth well that all (priests or no priests) wanting continency of heart, had need to marry to avoid burning lust, unless they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the traditions of men. In the beginning of the same chapter also he saith, 'It is good that a man should not deal with a woman: notwithstanding, for avoiding fornication,' quoth he, 'let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband.' He saith here, 'quisque et quæque,' every man and every woman; and not quidam nor quædam, some man or some woman. He excepteth neither priest

Marriage necessary for all who lack continency.

Quisque quæque, not quidam quædam.

(1) Matt. xix. (2) Ibid.

(3) 'Non omnes,' must be taken universally in Scripture.

(4) Gal. ii.

(5) Rom. iii.

(6) Eunuchs three ways to be taken in Scripture. Matt. xix.

(7) 'Velim omnes homines,' &c. 1 Cor. vii.

(8) 'Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet,' &c.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1538.

Marriage left free by the pope's law.

Marriage permitted free by the council of Nice.

Men will be wiser than God.

Free will to deserve joy or pain.

Merits not to be esteemed.

ne nun, but every one, both man and woman, is bound, for avoiding of burning and fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of chastity.

The same also confirmeth your own law, where it is written thus, 'If any man do hold that a priest, being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his function, be he accursed.'¹ And, 'If any man shall find fault with matrimony, and detest a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the kingdom of God, be he accursed.'² And everywhere else such-like are to be seen.

Moreover, in 'Historia Tripartita' it is written, that a noble martyr of Christ called Paphnutius, in the Nicene Council, when all other bishops were purposed to have enacted there, that priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with reasons, and also with authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first device could not pass. And one authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy: 'Your devise,' quod he, 'may have a semblance of holiness, but indeed, it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.'

Moreover, in one of the principal histories of France, called 'Les Illustrations de Galles,' whosoever please may there read it as it standeth, within six leaves afore the end of the same; how the author with deep sorrow lamenteth the ordinance that first decreed priests to live unmarried, showing, and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto Calixtus the pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in metre, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus: 'O sancte Calixte! totus mundus odit te;' &c. 'O holy Calixtus! all the world hateth thee;' which followeth in writing, to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer treatise hereof, forasmuch as you do daily both hear and see, what foul abomination ariseth in every corner, of this pitiful law, made of men that would presume to be wiser than God; thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or else for lack of wisdom he could not, show us a sufficient law or way, to direct our life and conversation to come to the joy and resting-place of him promised, and so of us longed and looked for; whereby both we be far unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise wit, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to help. Amen.

Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity; that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free will, so that he may deserve joy or pain: I say (as I said at the beginning), that unto the first part of your riddle, I nother can ne will give any definitive answer, forso much as it surmounteth my capacity; trusting that God shall send hereafter other that shall be of better learning and wit than I, for to indite it. As concerning the second part, where you do interpret; that is to say, whether man hath free will or no, so that he may deserve joy or pain: as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very slender or none, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And that am I taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus, 'Which of you,' quod he, 'having a servant that hath eared your land, or fed your beasts, will say unto him, when he cometh home out of the field, Go thy way quickly, and sit down to thy meat; and rather will not say unto him, Make ready my supper; serving me thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterward take yourself meat and drink? Think you that he is bound to thank his servant which thus shall do his commandment? I trow,' saith he, 'nay.' 'Even so you,' saith he, 'when you have done all things to you commanded, say yet you be unprofitable servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.'

In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather reckoning ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, forso much as he needeth not of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to see us do well for our own behoof: and moreover, that when we have done his

(1) 'Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, anathema sit.' Distinet. 29.

(2) 'Si quis vituperat nuptias, et dormientem cum viro suo fidelem ac religiosam detestatur aut cui abibem asinat, velut quae regnum Dei introire non possit, anathema sit.' Dist. 31.

bidding, we ought not so to magnify, nether ourself, ne our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit, whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus, if we ought not to attend our merit in doing the commandment of God, much less should we look for merit for observing our own inventions or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture (which Paul calleth the word of truth and of faith) promised.

But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that do observe the precepts of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such reward shall never be attained of us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, Fulgentius, with other, as you may see everywhere in their works, and specially in the treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' where he entreateth 'De Gratia et Meritis.' And of St. Augustine I remember two or three right notable sentences, concerning the same. One is in the ninth book of his Confessions, in this form; 'Woe be to the life of men, be they ever so holy, if Thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he who glorieth, would glory in the Lord.' Again, in the first book,² he saith thus unto God: 'Doth any man give what he oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldst be in his debt? and hath any man aught that is not thine? Thou renderest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debts, and yet lovest nothing.' And therefore his usual prayer was this:³ 'Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.'

Also in the book called 'Manuale Augustini,' or 'De Contemplatione Christi.'⁴ he saith in this wise, 'All my hope is in the Lord's death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue; and if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.'

And to conclude, they be Christ's own merits and good works (as saith St. Ambrose well nigh everywhere) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown; and not ours, if one should look narrowly upon the thing, and speak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forasmuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours; so that in this, I wot not how others do mean, who lust to sell their merits unto their neighbours, who haply have scarcely enough for themselves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scriptures, with these holy doctors and such other, do teach, wishing that men ever, for good doing, should not so much (as the common people do) regard their merit or reward, for that is not the thing that engendereth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a servile fashion, and for the love of themselves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more than because it so pleaseth God, and is his liking; whereas, if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well (which is the keeping of his commandments), and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparate therefrom. And thus, we should serve God with hearty love as children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thralls and servants.

Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Augustine, that of our-

(1) 'Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam. Quia vere non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem locum apud te invenire indulgentiæ. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? O si cognoscerent se omnes, et qui gloriatur in Domino gloriaretur.' August. Confess. lib. ix.

(2) 'Nunquid inops es et gaudes lucris? Nunquid avarus et usuras exigis? Supererogatur tibi ut debeas? et quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens.' Confess. v. lib. i.

(3) 'Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis.'

(4) 'Tota spes mea est in morte Domini. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, salus vitæ, et resurrectio mea. Meritum meum, miseratio Domini. Non sum meriti inops quamdiu ille misericordiarum Dominus non defuerit. Et si misericordiarum Domini nultæ, multus ego sum in meritis.'

[See the Appendix.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Observing of God's works, no merit. Ergo much less men's traditions

Reward, how it is promised to works.

See Appendix.

Good works, how they be God's, and how ours.

To walk vilely is to work for merit. Reward followeth good works; good works not done for reward.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

selves we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God, but are subject unto sin and thraldes of the same, 'shut up and sold under sin,'¹ as witness both Isaiah and also Paul: but, by the grace of God, we are rid and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some less.

The sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

Whereas, in your sixth demand, you do inquire whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine, I neither can nor will answer one word otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, I knowing so much at the first as I now do, till you had brought forth some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

Answer to the seventh article.

As concerning the other six sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the sacrament of the altar, and no other; that is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudeness will serve. I hold well that such as be duly elected ministers in the church, ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise; and that the form used in the church is, in mine opinion, not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edify much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar language, and cause people, in the baptism of children, more effectuously to thank God for his institution, and the high benefit thereby represented.

Baptism to be in the vulgar tongue.

Answer to the eighth article.

In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the others, that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the vulgar language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all countries lightly Judas hath set in his foot over far, and taketh in hand to sell his master, accompanied with Simon Magus, saying, 'What will you give me, if I deliver unto you Christ?' This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some place a xii pence, in some sixpence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money, when a couple should be married: and this they call 'The Church's Right.' Moreover, that they will not suffer marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christ's rule, but rather is against the same, and that they will not suffer the bans upon all holy days to be proclaimed, unless a dispensation for money be purchased there-for. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seen, which is great pity; yea, even at the receipt of the sacrament of the altar, priests everywhere useth to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the west country, no less than twopence, of every poll.

Answer to the ninth article.

As touching priesthood in the primitive church, when virtue bare (as ancient doctors do deem, and Scripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the same) most room, there were no more officers in the church of God, than bishops and deacons; that is to say, ministers: as witnesseth, besides Scripture, full apertly Jerome, in his Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, where he saith, that those whom we call priests, were all one and none other but bishops; and the bishops none other but priests; men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Nother were they institute and chosen, as they be now-a-days, with small regard of a bishop or his officer only, opposing² them if they can construe a collect; but they were chosen not only of the bishop, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should have their living, as showeth St. Cyprian; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report. But, alack for pity! such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in; which if we should confer with the form of the election showed of Christ by his apostle Paul, we should find no small diversity, but all turned

Bishops and priests, all one in old time. The order and state of priests. Election of ministers, with the ascent of the people.

(1) 'Conclusi sub peccato, et venundati sub eodem.' Rom. vii. 11.

(2) See Appendix.

up set down. To conclude, I say, that the order or state of priests and deacons was ordained by God; but subdeacons and conjurers, otherwise called 'Exorcistes' and 'Accolite,' that we call 'Benet' and 'Collet,' were institute by the invention of men. And this you may find in the law, Dist. 21, and in other places where it is written, 'Subdeaconship, in the time of the apostles, was no holy order.'¹

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1538.

As touching ear-confession, I say that the common fashion now used, was never ordained by Christ's law, that is, written in the Bible; neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstance of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have said, you shall know that Chrysostome standeth stiffly with me, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Hebrews; in a homily also that he maketh upon the Psalm 'Miserere;' and moreover in a sermon that he maketh 'De Pœnitentia,' besides many other treatises, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

Answer
to the
tenth ar-
ticle.

In like manner doth one of your principal doctors,² writing upon your Canon law, named Panormitane, testify that it is made by the law of man, and not of God, in cap. 'Omnis utriusque sexus.' In the book also called 'Historia Tripartita,' you shall find how it was first institute (as I remember), and afterwards undone again, because of a huge villany committed with a woman by a minister of the church, through confession.

Auricular
confes-
sion not
ordained
by God.

Also it is mentioned in the end of the first Distinction 'De Pœnitentia,' how the Greek church, whom I think you do not note to be heretics, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that confession made to a priest should not be necessary, and also that confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, 'Quibus autoritatibus,' &c. I could bring forth others that be yet living, men of surmounting and excellent literature, who exactly, by many and mighty both authorities and reasons, do show and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them into hatred. Notwithstanding, I never said, nor will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whom they know and trust to be of steadfast credence, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, through counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

The
Greek
church
allowed
no con-
fession
auricular

But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their curate, or to any other priest, whose credence they deem not all trusty, or their counsel not sage, but to any other whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-shewed, when their curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men, needing counsel, be so void of knowledge in Christ's law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men, by spiritual knowledge, might ease themselves.

Asking
counsel
in the
church is
good, but
is not fit
to any
person.

To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a priest, in cases unto him limited, may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoying him wholesome penance; I say that only Christ looseth a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise, and the priest doth nothing but show and declare the word: neither doth declaration or ministry of the priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give credence unto the word ministered and showed by the priest, which word or promise of Christ is called 'the word of reconciliation or atonement-making betwixt God and man.' And this testifieth St. Paul in the ii to the Corinthians, where he saith in this wise, 'God (quod he) hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ.'³ See how it is God that looseth us from sin, which is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ, whom he caused to die for the same purpose. 'And he,' quod St. Paul, 'hath ordained us ministers of the said atonement.' See how Christ's apostles called not themselves 'the authors of binding and loosing,' but 'ministers;' 'For he,' that is to wit God, 'reconciled the world unto him, forgiving their sins' (wherein you may know what recon-

The se-
cond part
of the
question
whether a
priest
looseth a
sinner?

Christ
only loos-
eth us
from sin.
The
apostles
not the
authors of
loosing.

(1) 'Subdiaconatus tempore apostolorum non fuit sacer.'

(2) Panormitanus Abbas in cap. 'Omnis utriusque sexus.'

(3) 2 Cor. v.

Henry
VIII.

ciling is); 'and hath committed,' saith Paul, 'unto us, to be messengers of the same word, or tidings of atonement or reconciling.'

A. D.
1538.

Also, that the power whereby men are loosed from sin is not the priest's power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea, and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can show the same in the Decrees, which is thus, 'Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins.'¹ And this was preached at Paul's Cross the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the bishop of London sitting by; the preacher speaking after this form, treating of this text, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.'² 'In that,' said the preacher, 'testimony is given of Christ to be a lamb, it is showed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, that he 'taketh away the sins of the world,' is showed that he was God;' alleging there, for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, 'Solus Deus remittit peccata.' And the same proposition, or another equal with the same, useth St. Chrysostome, in a homily that is made upon this text of St. Matthew, 'His name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'³ Also St. Chrysostome, in *Opus Imperfectum*, upon this text, 'Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men,' &c.⁴ As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the same book (as I suppose), he affirmeth that the keys of heaven are the word and doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover St. Gregory, I trow, in his book called '*Pastoralia*,'⁵ or else it is an epistle that he writeth to the bishop of Constantinople, in these words: 'The key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who, rebuking, doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not, that committeth the same.'⁶

The keys
of binding
and loos-
ing an-
swer to
the word
of God.

How mi-
nisters
bind and
loose.

St. Ambrose, agreeing to the same, saith, 'The word of God forgiveth sin.'⁷ But shall we then say that God's ministers do not bind and loose? I say, No, not as the authors of so doing; but they do loose and bind in like manner as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner: 'I shall,' said our Saviour, 'deliver thee from the people and nations unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light.'⁸ Here Paul is said to open the eyes of men's hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that so doth; and therefore David prayeth unto him, 'Open mine eyes, O Lord.'⁹ And in like manner it is spoken of John Baptist, that he should go before Christ 'in the spirit and power of Elias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the rightwise:'¹⁰ albeit, to turn men's hearts, and to work in them, belongeth unto God; but so use we to speak 'metonymically.'¹¹ As, if your lordship had defined me excommunicate, and thereupon should send a commandment to the parson of Knoll to declare the same; the people would say that the parson of Knoll, proclaiming your commandment, had accursed me; but yet doth *he* not properly curse me, but *you* rather, when he, in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

Power in
binding
and loos-
ing, not
limited,
etc.

Touching cases limited to priests and ministers, for loosing from sin, or binding in the same, I do not know no such things showed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life; nother can any man, I suppose, show by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God acquite you.

Enjoin-
ing of pe-
nance.

Concerning enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, ne you to put or enjoin the same, except renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new virtue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend, verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ to show and perform.

(1) 'Solus Deus remittit peccata:' this saying is taken out of Peter Lombard [Sent. lib. iv. Dist. 18], and cited in the Decrees. [De Pœnit. Dist. i. § 51.]

(2) 'Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi.' (3) 'Vocabitur nomen ejus Jesus,' &c. Mat. i.

(4) 'Væ vobis scribæ et Pharisei, qui clauditis regnum cœlorum,' &c. Matt. xxiii.

(5) Greg. in Pastoral.

(6) 'Clavis apertionis est sermo correctoris, qui increpando culpam detegit, quam sæpe nescit qui perpetravit.'

(7) 'Verbum Dei dimittit peccata.' [Ambros. de Spir. sanct. lib. iii. c. 19.]

(8) Acts xxvi.

(9) 'Revela oculos meos.' Ps. cxix.

(10) Luke i.

(11) Metonymia is a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is improperly transferred to another thing.

Unto the eleventh article I say, that grace is given unto them that duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church; but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the sacraments, who is destitute of grace, to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments give grace; yet, in due receipt of the sacraments, I suppose and think, that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them also.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Sacraments, whether they give grace or no.

Whereas in your twelfth article you do ask, whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things, upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: this is the question, as great learned men have showed me, whom I do count my friends, since the time I appeared at your lordship's assignment before Master doctor Lesse, and Master Melling, with others, in your chapel of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded: this, I say, is the question, which, as they told me, is the head and whole content of all others objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended right sorely to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking¹ 'that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity;' and also,² 'If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off, and cast away.'

Truth to be preferred before friendship.

But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had St. Cyril's works by me, I should not need to show any other answer in this, than he hath showed beforetime, writing upon this saying of St. John,³ 'There are many things more which Jesus did.' Notwithstanding, forasmuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may, I say, that I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation be mentioned and showed in holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and man's soul-health. And in this shall you find both the ancient doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy writ, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible steadfastness.

All things necessary to salvation contained in Scripture.

Look what St. Jerome saith upon this verse,⁴ 'The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people.' St. Ambrose also, in a treatise, 'De Paradiso,' doth show likewise, where he bringeth this text of Paul, written in 2 Cor. xi., 'I am afraid lest it may, by some mean, be brought to pass (quod Paul), that as the serpent deceived Eve through wiliness, so your minds may be corrupt from the simple verity that is in Christ.' And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians, upon this text, 'In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom;' and in other divers places of the same work.

St. Chrysostome also, in his Commentaries upon Paul, declaring this saying,⁵ 'The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God,' &c. And in his book called 'Opus imperfectum,' I wot not precisely upon what text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true preacher of God's law not swerving therefrom, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Solomon: for he that should thereunto add or withdraw, should enterprise, as saith St. Chrysostome, to be wiser than God. These, or else such like words, doth he say. I will be deemed by the book brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all such things.

The preacher must not swerve from the express word of God.

St. Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an epistle that he writeth, 'Ad Cecilium Fratrem,' which I would to God were in English, that all men might learn the devout goodness in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding or attending to the traditions of men; like as he doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of salvation; the admi-

(1) 'Quod sanctum est veritatem præferre amicitiae.

(2) 'Si dextra manus scandalizet, deberet præscindi et abjici.'

(3) 'Sunt et alia multa quae fecit Jesus.' John xxi.

(4) 'Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorumum.' Psalm lxxvii.

(5) 'Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata,' etc. 2 Tim. iii.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.Names of
Scripture.
God sufficient for
all our
direction
without
any addition.

nistration of rightwiseness; the word of truth, yea and the truth itself; the rod of direction; our spiritual food; the spiritual sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies; the seed of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the keys of the same; the power of God; the light of the world, which whoso followeth shall not be overcome with darkness; the law of God; his wisdom and testament. Of which words, and such like, every one will give matter of substantial argument, that we, following the same doctrine only, shall have sufficient safe-conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the same. And certain I wot well, that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as testifieth the Psalm, in these words,¹ 'All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth.' And again, the prophet, willing us to do as he did, saith in this manner,² 'I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord; confound me not.' In like manner the said whole Psalm warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast to the steady and true word of God, saying, that³ 'he is true, and all his ways are truth; but all men are vain and liars.' For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ: 'Every one,' saith he, 'that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation.' And there ought to be none other foundation to christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as showeth St. Paul, saying,⁴ 'Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' And likewise in the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith,⁵ 'Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.' And in the same Epistle, St. Paul, dilating of Christ's beneficence,⁶ showeth how that he ordained in the church divers officers, to the edifying of christian people, that he calleth Christ's body, until all we may come unto the unity of faith; which cometh by following of one doctrine, which is Christ's, whereby we may grow to be perfect men; and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of doctrine, by deceit and williness of men that study to deceive us.

Incon-
stancy
and vari-
ableness
of men's
constitu-
tions.The
pope's
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never
wholly
received.
by all
men.

In like form doth he warn us, in the Epistle to the Hebrews,⁷ that we should not be carried about as the wind, with divers and strange doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable, as men's constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel or ordain to be of effect, another annuls the same, according as men's minds do always alter, and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the Greeks, with others (whom neither the pope, nor any of his people will yet deny to be of Christ's church), will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the doctrine that persevereth ever one, and is, immutable, as showeth St. Paul, saying, 'Jesus Christ yesterday and to day is all one, and so ever shall be.'⁸ He is white bread, without any sour leaven of pharisaical traditions; verity without guile; light without any darkness; the very straight way that hath neither hook nor crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand nor the other, unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

But what should I more entreat of this, except I would recite all Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel, which God, I beseech him, grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by laws and doctrines of men. Look also into Colossians ii., and into the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude that in holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough of doctrine for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and because learned men do call this the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the sum of all. Therefore I shall recite it once again: I say, that in holy Scripture the doctrine there only contained is sufficient for the salvation of christian men's souls: God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith steadfastly upon the same, in working thereafter!

As touching the latter part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as

(1) Ps. xxv. (2) Ps. cxix. (3) Ibid. (4) I Cor. iiii. (5) Eph. ii. (6) Ibid. (7) Heb. xiii. (8) Ibid.

The chief
article
objected
against
John
Lambert.

the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same: I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinance be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed; for they be spoken of there in a grose and generally.

Moreover, if you mean by this word 'expressed' that which in Scripture is clearly showed out, and appeareth evidently to every reader or hearer that hath but mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not of him expressly understand: as I have ever believed that our Lady was, and is, a perpetual virgin, and that the same might be shewed by Scripture: albeit, I did not know any precise place that evidently doth shew how she remained in virginity after Christ's birth, until Dr. Lee alleged a place of Ezechiell for the same, I being with him at your place in Lambeth not fully v weeks afore this day. But if you mean by this word 'expressed' comprehended or contained (as methink the mind of him that wrote the demand should will), so that he meened by this question thus: whether any things ought to be observed and believed, that are not contained in Scripture, and that upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing nother to be observed, ne to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture, and mentioned of in the same, other generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Dr. Warham was bishop of Canterbury, or that ever I see your lordship: and I believe that I knew verily who was my father and mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they hegot me; and I believe that our Lady was assumpt into heaven both body and soul, for me thinketh devotion so requireth, albeit I know not that holy Scripture doth it teach. And some doth beleve that S. Thomas of Canter. is a saint in heaven. Yet in such poynts, if a man had not al steady belief, I think yet he might be saved without it: so that in all things I wold men, in such credence giving, should leane most to that way which soundeth most to devotion.

To the thirteenth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also do the holy doctors, call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth St. Paul to Timothy,¹ whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer, peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people! and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, 'All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution.' In this purgatory do I now reckon myself to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour! Of this speaketh also St. Peter in these words, which pertain to the instruction of all christian people:² 'Ye,' quod he, 'are preserved through the power of God, by faith, unto salvation, which is prepared to be revealed in the last time; wherein ye now rejoice, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented; that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, and glory, and honour, at the appearing of Jesu Christ,' &c. Other purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which, well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have showed.

But whatsoever be brought against me, I trust that holy doctors shall, by their interpretation, sustain the part which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient; so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak. Yet, that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient doctors concerning the same, I shall show you what I have read in St. Augustine; first, in a sermon that he maketh 'De Ebrietate,' in this wise saying,³ 'Brethren! let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign,⁴ shall without

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Unwritten verities.

A purgatory in this world. The purgatory of Christians.

No third place by Augustine.

(1) 2 Tim. ii.

(2) 1 Pet. iii.

(3) 'Nemo se decipiat, fratres; duo enim loca sunt, et tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum diabolo absque ulla dubitatione peribit.'

(4) What our deserving is, he declareth before, in the fifth article.

Henry
VIIIA.D.
1538.

doubt perish with the devil.' In another also that he maketh, 'De Vanitate hujus Seculi,' it is said thus: 'Know you, that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontingent, for its good deeds, put in paradise, or else thrown headlong into the dungeon of hell for its sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose, while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.' Thus saith holy Augustine.

No pur-
gatory.

To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to heaven, and reign with Christ, or that I shall feel of any purgatory beside that I have, and shall sustain, in this life. And he that believeth not steadily any other to be, shall yet be saved as well, and God wotteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less, than such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a grey friar's frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins (as is granted in a bull unto the said religion), and such like. For St. Augustine shall make with me in his book called 'Enchiridion,' after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the church of Christ, living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of purgatory, where he concludeth thus: 'Such a thing after this life to be,' saith he, 'is not incredible; but whether it be so or no, a doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded.' The same words doth he again recite in a book called 'Quæstiones ad Dulcium,' or 'Dulcimum,' I wot not whether it is called, and there he treateth of the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

The third
part of
sins for-
given
them that
be buried
in a grey
friar's
weed.

To this agreeth St. Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians,² 'For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil.' And again, where he writeth unto the Hebrews, I trow it be said in this wise: 'Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them; be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.'

Praying
to saints.

To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors, departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of St. Augustine, in his book 'De vera Religione,'⁴ in his last leaf, where he saith thus: 'Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminantur lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes;⁵ honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.' Again, a little after the same, he saith, 'Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, et Dei sapientia incommutabilis, et consubstantialis Patri et coætærnus suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali et rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim et nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus angelos et his congratulamur.'

ngels
would
have no
temples
builded to
them.

'Nec invidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam et nos tale aliquid sperare a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec esse templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem

(1) 'Scitote vos, quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim in Paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualliter gaudere cum sanctis, aut siue sine cruciari cum impiis.' Fol. 1005.

(2) 'Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram tribunali Christi, ut reportet quisque ea quæ sunt per corpus, juxta id quod fecit, sive bonum, sive malum.' 2 Cor. v.

(3) 'Memores sitis victorum, tanquam una cum illis victi: eorum qui affiguntur, veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore.' Heb. xiii.

(4) Cap. lv. fol. 107, vol. i. Edit. Benedict.—En.

(5) 'Id est, ejusdem meriti eujus ipsi sunt participes.'

ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset et conservus;

Henry
VIII.

Thus saith St. Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

A. D.
1538.

The contents of this unto you I expound, that know no Latin; for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this and all manner of doing, to the intent that of all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. St. Augustine, in these words, would have that we should worship no men departed, be they ever so good and holy (for they seek no such honour), but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet any angel, nor honour the same, but only in imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them: it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the angels will not that we should build any churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original Maker and Performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called 'honor charitatis,' which is nothing else but to be loved. Thus saith St. Augustine. Which love we shall testify in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it, I dare say, as the burden of Christ's cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the prophet David saith,¹ 'When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be borne flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again.' And in the Gospel he biddeth,² 'Come you unto me all that do travail and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek-minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easy, and my burthen light.' See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them by the world, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.

Men departed are not to be worshipped.

The best worshipping of saints, is in following their good acts.

As touching invocation, that is, to wit, calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities or tribulations. As in the Psalms everywhere; as in this, 'Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you.'³ Mark how he saith here, 'Call upon me, appointing neither St. Thomas, nor Master John Shorn. Also in another place, 'The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly';⁴ and with that he showeth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus: 'He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe; for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed.' And thus used the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is showed in other places in this wise: 'In my trouble I called upon the Lord,' saith David, 'and he heard me graciously.'⁵ 'When I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me.'⁶ Also, 'I lift mine eyes unto the mountains. But from whence shall help come unto me? Mine help,' quod he, 'shall come from the Lord, that made both heaven and earth.'⁷ I read the first of these verses in form of interrogation, following St. Augustine, who, as I remember, interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I lack books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The hills toward which David did lift up his eyes, were saints and holy men, by whom when he could not have his mind satisfied, he turned another way, saying, 'From whence shall help come unto me?' Anon, remembering himself better, he sued unto God himself, of whom

Invocation.

God only to be exalted. To call truly up on God.

(1) 'Cum ceciderit justus non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum suam.' Psalm xxxvii.
 (2) 'Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.' Mat. xi.
 (3) Psalm l. (4) Psalm cxlv. (5) Psalm iv. (6) Psalm xviii. (7) Psalm cxxi.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.God the
giver of
help; and
not the
saints.See
Appendix.Christ is
advocate
as well for
saints and
apostles,
as for us

incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction, saying, 'Mine help is of the Lord,' or cometh from the Lord, 'which made heaven and earth.' This interpretation, as near as I remember, is after the mind of St. Augustine; and I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, nor disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture. Also, in this wise it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old,¹ where it is written, 'Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.'² And mark how *cum energia*,³ it is said, 'upon the name of the Lord;' without any sending us either to St. Christopher (though he be painted ever so stout), or to St. Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, in the year of grace, or yet to any other saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is always our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; 'and not for our sins only,' quoth St. John (who is the writer of this saying and testimony), 'but also for the sins of all the world.'⁴ St. Augustine upon the same, noteth that St. John, in that place, saith, 'We have an advocate,' and that Christ is advocate for him, like as he is for all others, to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all others that shall be saved; and that St. John will not be known for our advocate, but that Christ should be taken for advocate of all. St. Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose as doth St. Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head-spring and fountain of all comfort and mercy, as St. Paul calleth him, 'the Father of mercies and of all comfort, who is ready to comfort us in all tribulation:' 'which,' as the Psalm reporteth, 'healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities.' 'For he is sweet,' as is said in another stede, 'and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him.' Yet he showeth us nowhere, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think myself highly beholden to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old: but I wien it cannot be. I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer myself ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, inexpert experience, and feeble discretion, had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometimes he showeth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from others that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometimes with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, 'Thou, caitiff! wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and doctors to teach the law?'⁵ As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, forasmuch as St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians,⁶ showeth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing; so that it pertaineth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. 'The doctrine of Christ's cross,' that is, to wit, of the New Testament, 'is to them that perish, folly,' saith he; 'but to us that obtain thereby salvation,' meaning thereby to such as believe, 'it is the might or power of God; for it is written,' saith he, 'by the prophet Isaiah, that God aforetime said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.'⁷

This prophecy alleged, Paul thought it authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish faunee, vain-glory or opinion, that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceeded feth in the same: 'Where are ye now,' quod he, 'the worldly wise, the scribes,' that is to say, doctors, and such other like officers: 'Hath not God showed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God,' which is showed in Scripture,

The
wisdom
of this
world
con-
founded.

(1) Joel ii.

(2) Mark xiii.

(3) That is, with a special efficacy for us to mark more attentively.

(4) 1 John iii.

(5) John ix.

(6) 1 Cor. i.

(7) Ibid.

I suppose, 'the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.' He calleth the word of God 'foolish preaching,' not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of them that set little or nought thereby, esteeming it as *Æsop's* cock did the precious stone, and as swine do pearls.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

After long process in the same matter, he concludeth thus: 'Brethren,' saith he, 'you may (quod he) see your calling, you be not called by many natural wise men unto the belief of the gospel, nor by many mighty men, ne by many of noble parentage; but these that be fools after the estimation of the world hath God chosen to confound the wise,' &c.

Therefore I say, as I said afore, that, thanks be to God, albeit I am, as I showed before, void of such great prudence as others be well endued with, yet I see partly how their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to show that we ought to pray to saints departed, to be mediators for us to Christ. And amongst others, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh all about harp upon the same; some favouring it, others, contrariwise, esteeming it of no value.

The reason is this: If, when one should desire to come to the speech of our sovereign, to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his chamberlains, or some other like officers, to bring him to the king's presence, for else he may watch long in vain until he be full a cold or that he shall speak with his grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break it unto the saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as mediators and intercessors. But such (with their leave I would speak it) I think are deceived, that they assemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious prince (as I hear by common report he is), yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is everywhere, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men's hearts; so that he needeth no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king doth need. And he is so full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy saints to be intercessors to him for me.

Objection to prove invocation of saints taken out of reason.

Answer to the objection.

No comparison between God and an earthly king.

Therefore, passing such apparent reasons, I take me to the ensample of antiquity, I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and the apostles, and the authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself, and his holy Father, forasmuch as he bids us in these words and other like, so for to do; saying, 'Come unto me all ye that be travailed, vexed, and sore charged; and I will refresh and ease you.'¹ Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, who are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth nobody for his unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of Him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him what we would have; so that I leave unto others what they list to do, praying Jesus, that we all may lust for that which is most pleasing to him.

The Lord only, to be sought unto with prayer.

But I think, concerning myself, that according to Christ's own commandment I may, without any doubt-casting, resort in all incumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us, when we should pray, to say after this fashion, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c. For there is no creature, nor creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, or so much, either of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; or of mercy and tenderness, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; or of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, who not only is almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties; so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how, to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

God in might, mercy, and knowledge incomparable

One thing yet I will show you in this case, of which I was once advertised

(1) Matt. xi.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The saying of a learned man.

by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this: 'I will,' quoth he, 'pray unto saints; but that shall be when I think, that God either cannot or will not give me my petition. But that (as I showed in the Convocation-house) shall never be, I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief as, I hope, I have found upon God's sure promise.'

Saints know no particular miseries on earth.

See Appendix.

Whether they pray for us.

One mediator, and what a mediator is.

To the fifteenth article, where you do demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us, I say, that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be entangled and clogged with, as showeth Augustine, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying in this wise: 'Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos suos, aut corpora sua, utrum abjecta jaceant an sepulta? Quomodo intersunt miseræ vivorum? cum vel sua ipsi mala patiantur si talia merita contraxerunt, vel in pace requiescant, ubi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo sustineant, liberati ab omnibus malis que patiendo et compatiendo cum hic viverent, sustinebant.' The sum whereof is, that souls departed neither feel, nor know of any particular miseries sustained by men living in this world, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forasmuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and that their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners; but not as mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace or atonement betwixt God the Father, and man. Record I take of Paul, who, in the Epistle to Timothy, saith,¹ 'There is one God, and one mediator or peacemaker betwixt God and man, the man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.'

Thus, I say, I believe saints in heaven do pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators. Yea, all the saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the day of judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. Paul,² 'The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the sons of God shall be revealed.' And again,³ 'Every creature groaneth with us, and travaileth in pain together unto this present;' which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all others elect of God to be his children, and co-inheritors with Christ.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

All things work to the best to the godly.

In the sixteenth article, where you demand, whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints, I say, that what they may be, I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith St. Paul to the Romans,⁴ in this wise: 'Unto those that love God, all things shall well succeed, and work together for their furtherance in goodness:' of whom it is written in the Psalm,⁵ 'Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors:' yea, their evil deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increment of virtue.⁶ For as it is said in the Gospel, 'To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less.'⁷ And again, it hurt not Onesimus, that he ran away from his master Philemon; but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with Paul, which converted him to the faith of the Evangely, that before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define; God wotteth. But this I say, that God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all christian people to follow and believe: yea, that only is of perfect surety,

(1) 'Unus est Deus, unus est et mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus.' Erasmus translatheti ii, 'conciliator Dei et hominum.' 1 Tim. ii.

(2) 'Sollicita creaturæ expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.' Rom. viii.

(3) 'Omnis creatura congemiscit, et nobiscum parturit usque ad hoc tempus.'

(4) Rom. viii.

(5) Psalm xxxiii.

(6) Ezek. xxxiii.

(7) 'Cui minus remittitur, minus diligit.' Luke vii.

and none other, but as it is agreeable to, and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain doctrine instituted by Christ, or his disciples, teaching us thus to do; no more is there any merit appointed by him therefore, as I showed before, where I told my mind of our merits.

Moreover, where ye put 'piè,' which I call 'devoutly,' very true devotion (that is called in Latin, 'pietas') is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth Paul, which is nothing else but the observation of Christ's law, that, in the Psalm, for the pureness thereof, is called² 'Silver coron and fined often and many sithes through fire.' It hath no chaff in it, as hath men's traditions; but is pure clean wheat, as showeth Jeremy, writing in this wise,³ 'What is the chaff to the wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets,' saith the Lord, 'that steal my word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors.' And this devotion is that which St. James calleth the pure religion of Christ, saying, 'Pure and immaculate religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless children and widows in their vexation;'⁴ whereby he meaneth, [to assist] all needy people that are succourless and helpless with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

The other part of this religion showed by St. James, is, That a man should keep himself clean from the world; and that do they who be not so affectionate unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them, when God shall please, or charity so requireth.

Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paul, who, writing to the Corinthians,⁵ saith thus, 'Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have wives, should be as they had them not; and those that weep, should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away.' And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should neither love nor dread any worldly thing passing measure, or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he saith, 'Go and sell all that ever thou hast, and come follow me.'⁶ For he hath sold away all that ever he had, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ, to help the poor with all that he may. 'The will is accepted for the deed,'⁷ as is commonly said. And this saying both of James, and also of the Evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man nor woman (as we use to say), but to them, as well as to any whom we call religious.

As concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said to your lordship before, what I do think of the milk of our lady, the blood which they say is at Hayles, Norwich, and other places, with such others, whereof I trust you do know what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may do therein as your office doth require, so showing example to other prelates to follow your lordship in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do; remembering always, as Paul saith, 'the time is short,' and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Finally, holy Moses, when he died, would be so buried that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in the book of Deuteronomy; and that (as the expositors testify) was, because the Jews, who were prone to new fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was in life.

To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints' graves and relics, are meritorious works, nor yet that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know, for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

In the seventeenth article, where you do ask, whether the fast in Lent,

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Piè, pietas, defined.

See Aduenda.

True devotion or pure religion, what it is.

Pure religion.

What it is to sell away all for the gospel.

Relics and tombs of saints.

Moses' tomb unknown.

Pilgrimage.

(1) 1 Tim. iv.

(2) 'Argentum igne examinatum, purgatum septuplum.' Psalm xi.

(3) 'Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad prophetas, dicit Dominus, qui furantur verba mea unusquisque a proximo suo, et seducunt populum meum in mendaciis suis, et in erroribus suis.' Jer. xxiii.

(4) James i.

(5) 1 Cor. vii.

(6) Matt. xix.

(7) 'Voluntas reputatur pro facto.'

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The saying of Jerome.

Fast broken is of itself no sin.

No law without Scripture bindeth any. How to fast truly.

Rather to be persuaded than enforced.

Church holy days solemnized in England. Gowns sewed before. Multitude of laws unprofitable.

Against images. Images not to be worshipped.

and others appointed by the common law, and received in common usage of christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed, I say that, in mine opinion, they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the poet,¹ 'Without wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold.' And as St. Jerome,² 'The body inflamed with wine, bursteth out into lust.'

Yet shall not the breaking of these fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despite, or such like; forasmuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man, are the fast of Lent and other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which willett us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many that recount themselves great fasters, I fear, have done); yea, and that sparely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with dronkenschap or surfeiting (as is commanded by our Saviour in Luke); but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain prince that is mentioned, I trow, in Valerius Maximus, that never rose from his meal's meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderfully a long season, that a man could unnetthes think it possible for one's life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable author it reporte.

And, to tell the truth, I suppose the prelates should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so sore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described of Horace, saying,³ 'Look, what is forbid, that we most desire, and always covet the things that be denied us.' And in another proverb,⁴ 'The rope, by overmuch straining, bursteth asunder.' According to this said a good old father once in Cambridge. I remember his saying well yet: he was an old doctor of divinity. When a legate came into England at a time, and he, with certain bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and priests should have their gowns made close before, with such other like ordinances, he resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of laws pleased him not; for we had enough and abundantly before. Adding this reason, 'Adam, being in paradise, had but one law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do,' quoth he, 'but multiply transgression? for when a faggot is bound over-strait, the bond must break.'

God therefore, I beseech him, send us of the sweet dew of his heavenly doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fashioned unto him; putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and painted show, that is much caused by human laws and constitutions; and do upon us Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

Unto the eighteenth article, where you ask, whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints, I say, that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalm saith,⁵ 'Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeisance unto carved images, and that glory in their pictures.' Moreover St. Augustine, in his book 'De Vera Religione,' saith thus: 'Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men.' Or else thus: 'Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship.'⁶ Lactantius also maketh strongly with the same: I cannot without book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of

(1) 'Sine Cerere et Baecho friget Venus.'

(2) 'Venter mero aestuans spumat in libidinem.'

(3) 'Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.'

(4) 'Fumis plus equo tensus rumpitur.'

(5) Psalm xcvii.

(6) The Latin is thus, 'Non sit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices qui talia fabricantur; quos tamen colere non debemus.'

the same matter. Origen also, writing against Celsus, I trow, will likewise testify; where, as I remember, he concludeth, saying, that he would have no goldsmiths nor gravers in a commonalty; for they do but little profit or none thereto. And St. Gregory that was chief, either inventor or else maintainer that images should be set in churches, would not, as I have read (I trow it is in an epistle which he writeth to Serenus), have them worshipped.

And as concerning the exciting of men's memory, I would suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so showed and opened, that people might it clearly understand (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof), I think verily we should have little need of other images than should, by wholesome doctrine, be showed unto us by word of mouth and writing: 'Nothing is so effectual, to excite the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers;' as is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of lettered men.

So that I suppose, if this lively doctrine of God had aforetime been aptly and diligently opened unto the people, as curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up, or taking down, of other dumb stocks, and lifeless stones, carved or made by men; and if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word (which, alas for pity! is not looked upon, but rather trodden down and despised; so that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors, for they that magnify it must be sore punished, and taken for heretics,' with such other grievous words): if this doctrine were yet set up in churches (I say), and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby fined and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the profit that cometh by images made of men, to excite our remembrance to live christianly.

For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of other that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, showeth full perfectly his blessed will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this, therefore, were diligently inculcate, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, which, writing to the Colossians,² saith thus: 'See that you lie not one to another, after that now you have put off your old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovate after the knowledge and image of Him that made us.' Yea, thus should we all be 'docti a Deo,' 'taught of God,' as is said in John;³ and all should know God, both small and great, according to the promise recited in the Hebrews:⁴ yea, thus should we be restored to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expressly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of virtuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And, therefore, it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that craftsmen should sing spiritual psalms sitting at their works, and the husbandman at his plough, as wisheth St. Jerome.

Yea, this holy image of Christ, I mean his blessed doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the works made by the hand of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith St. Paul, writing to the Romans,⁵ 'The invisible power and divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the world,' of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made. Look in the Psalms,⁶ 'Praise ye the Lord from heaven.' 'The heavens declare the glory of God,' with others.⁷ And these two images, God's works and his doctrine, have, ere any images made by men were set up in churches, well and sufficiently instructed the primitive church: and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered, so that we should not need so sorely to contend for setting up of others made by men. Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them but rather contrary; as concerning which matter, I would your lordship would please to read the Epistle of Baruch once again, writing of the same matter.

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1538.

See

Appendix.

The Word puts us in remembrance, not images.

The image of God, in his Word and his works.

As a man readeth, so is he fashioned.

The best image of God, is his word.

God's works and word, be the right images of God.

Unto the nineteenth article where you ask, whether I believe that prayers of

(1) 'Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad commonefaciendum discipulos, quam viva vox.'

(2) Col. iii.

(3) John vi.

(4) Heb. viii.

(5) Rom. i.

(6) 'Laudate Dominum de cœlis,' &c. Psal. cxlix.

(7) 'Cœli enarrant,' Psal. xlix. &c.

Henry
VIII.

men living, do profit souls departed and being in purgatory, I made answer in the thirteenth article.

A. D.
1538.

Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion, I have showed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

Truth
taken for
heresy,
and
heresy for
truth.

In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men, prohibited by bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion, before a higher judge? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never thought to believe such errors as men, by false suspicion, do deem them to favour; or else, when men, as well of high estate as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Isaiah,¹ 'Wo be to them,' quoth he, 'that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falsehood, and the falsehood truth.' As the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called Paul, saying thus, before a judge called Felix, unto whose court they brought him to be condemned to death: 'We have,' quoth they, 'gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer-up of the sect of the Nazarenes; which was also minded to have polluted our temple,' &c.² This is to call, by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their predecessors speak of the prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected (as I would none were) ought in no wise, therefore, to cease either from preaching, or teaching.

Whether
men pro-
hibited,
ought to
cease
from
preach-
ing.

Ensamble of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles,³ where is showed that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to go where he pleased), the people, hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter, seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow St. John to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head-rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the priests and officers of the temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified; and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? Peter made answer, 'If you,' quoth he, 'that are head-rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucify: but God did cause him to arise again. In the virtue of his name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the people's faith upon him, neither is there any salvation without him.'⁴

These great men, seeing that Peter spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At last they did command them to depart out of their council-house, while they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, nor teach in the name of Jesus. But the apostles answered, saying, 'I beseech you, judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? for certainly we must needs testify of those things which we have both heard and seen.'⁵ Then the head priests, threatening them sore, did give them strait charge not to break their precept; and so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle showed by them.

Peter and
the apo-
stles pro-
hibited to
preach.

(1) Isa. v.

(2) Acts xxiv.

(3) Acts iii.

(4) Acts iv.

(5) Ibid.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done; wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy, so that they followed after the apostles whithersoever lightly they went.

The primate of the priests, hearing of this, and all that were about him, replete with indignation, laid hands upon the apostles, putting them in the common prison. But the angel of God, in the night, opened the prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, 'Go you into the temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life;' that is to say, Christ's doctrine: and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or ancients of Israel. So they sent unto the prison-house to have the apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison-house, and found the apostles gone thence, they returned to their masters, saying, 'We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without, full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find nobody within.'

Then, as the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and showed them, saying, 'Behold the men that ye put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching unto the people.' Then went they thither, and brought the apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their council-house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in this form: 'Have we not straitly commanded you,' said he, 'that you should not preach in the name of Christ? and see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us, that we should unrightwisely have caused him to suffer death!' Then answered Peter and the other apostles, saying, 'We owe to obey God more than any men. The God of our fathers hath raised Jesu from death, whom you did slay, hanging him on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.'¹

These great rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the apostles again before them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus; and so did let them depart.

Then went they away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name's sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the third, fourth, and fifth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practice is showed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they ought for no man's commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves before them: for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judge in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinketh is not all comely. Therefore, in the old law, the priests and other judges did sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversy.

Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causelessly suspected, and namely if he be so found faulty of heresy, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his purgation before some judge. But, in my rude opinion, it were necessary and convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved from preaching, especially in this session, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

In the two and twentieth article, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God or no, and that in all

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Peter disobeyed. Peter delivered out of prison.

God to be obeyed more than men.

The counsel of Gamaliel.

Wrongful prohibition, not to stop God's word. Popish prelates judges in their own causes.

Swiftness of suspicion re-proved.

Priests, whether they

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1538.ought to
preach
unsent.Priests
have two
names in
Scripture.Episcopi
and pres-
byteri all
one.

places, at all seasons, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, 'presbyteri,' and 'sacerdotes.' The first is to say, ancient men, seniors, or elders, and by that word or vocable are the secular judges, or such like head officers, sometimes also signified; as we read in Daniel, that they were so called who defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: but this is seldom, and nothing so customable as for those to be called 'presbyteri,' who are set to be prelates in the church, to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christ's faith. And priests thus called 'presbyteri,' in the primitive church (what time there were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his apostles) were the very same and none other but bishops; as I showed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. Jerome.

Description
of a
true
priest.How
gainsay-
ers of
truth are
to be re-
proved.

Paul, also, recordeth the same right evidently in the First to Titus; in this form: 'I left thee Titus,' quoth blessed Paul, 'behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed; and that thou shouldest set priests in every town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly. For so ought a bishop to be,' &c. These are not my words, but St. Paul's in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see that a priest called 'presbyter,' should be the same that we call a bishop, whom he requireth, a little after, to be able, by wholesome doctrine of God's Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine; and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a priest) to make exhortation by holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in general councils. And as many as are in this wise priests, who are commonly called 'presbyteri' (otherwise bishops), such as in the church are set to take cure of souls, and to be spiritual pastors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edify and profit.

What
ministers
be sent.

And whereas you add this particle, 'though they were not sent;' I say, that all such are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaketh St. Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise: 'Whosoever taketh priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the office of preaching.' Yea, your law reporteth in like manner, Distinction 43, where it is thus said, 'A priest ought to be honest, that he may show honesty both in words and conditions.' Wherefore it is said in the Canticles, 'The cheeks of the spouse,' that is, to wit, of preachers, 'are to be compared to a turtle dove.' Where is moreover added, he must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith St. Jerome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example-giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence-keeping: for wolves must be driven away by barking of dogs, and by the shepherd's staff, which (as the Gloss showeth) signifieth preaching, and sharp words of the priest. And this I understand of such as should be priests elect both by God and men, in God's church; whose office is to preach.

Multi-
tude
serveth
for autho-
rity.

And though many of them who now do minister in the church, and are elected by bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christ's institution, and the form of the primitive church, neither do nor can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me or others, that are compelled to show the truth and right ordinances of the apostles, that were used aforetime in the primitive church: God bring it in again! Neither ought we, for the negligence of bishops, who have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do show you thereof, to be so enforced by a book-oath, and therefore noted as heretics, imprisoned and burned.

Other he called priests in the New Testament, by this word 'sacerdotes,' that is to say, I think, sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called 'Rex et Sacerdos,' king and priest, so be all true christian men in the New Testament

(1) 'Prædicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit.' [See App.]

(as is testified Apoc. i.) by Christ made kings and priests. The words in the Apocalypse be thus: 'To Jesu Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen.' Thus saith St. John, speaking of all christian people. In like manner it is said, by St. Peter, where he writeth unto all christian men, 'You,' quoth he, 'be a chosen generation, a regal priesthood, a holy people.'¹ St. Bede, expounding the same (as my remembrance doth serve), shall testify plainly with me. And St. Augustine, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all christian men be so called, 'regale sacerdotium;' and likewise doth Faber, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' shall find a multitude of ancient fathers' sayings, declaring the same.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called priests, and that, in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many others, when we read it first; because we never read nor heard of the same before, and so did Christ's doctrine (and his apostles') seem new to his audience, when he himself preached. Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the law and prophets, as is showed in Romans i., where Paul reporteth, 'that he was chosen apart, to be a minister of the Evangely that was promised tofore by the prophets.' And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. John,² saying to the Jews, 'Think you not,' quod he, 'that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certen believe me, for he writeth upon me,' &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

How a l
men are
priests

But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same (God amend and help it, when it shall please him!), yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the doctors above named, and so was it preached of a certain doctor also of divinity in London, the second day of Advent last past, in this sentence. I wot not whether these were the self words or no: 'The church,' quoth the doctor, 'is nothing else but the congregation of faithful people: and you all,' quoth he to the people, 'are of the church, as well as I, or any others, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are priests, but yet are not all alike ordained ministers,' said he, 'to consecrate the body of Christ in the church.' Thus said the preacher; whom, when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these, I say, ought not all to preach openly in general conventions or assemblies, neither can they, but rather should they come to learn: yet privately are they bound, for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such like, to speak what should be for the destruction of vice, and for the increase or upholding of virtue, whensoever time and place so behoveth; as showeth St. Paul, saying in this wise: 'You that are fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger; but bring them up in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.'³

The say-
ing of a
doctor
preaching
at Paul's.Every
man mi-
nister of
good in-
struction
in his own
house.

In the three and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay people of both kinds (that is to wit, both men and women) to sacrifice and preach the word of God: I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion, to preach openly the word of God, except they be chosen and elected to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both; and therefore St. Paul calleth himself, in all his epistles, an apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galatians he writeth thus,⁴ 'Paul an apostle; not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.' Also to the Romans,⁵ 'How shall men preach truly,' quoth he, 'except they be sent?'

No man
to preach
openly,
except he
be chosen.

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of God's law, and also of laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach; and that of both kinds, both men and women; as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthians,⁶ where he saith that 'it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation.' Yet in another place he saith that

In time of
great
necessity,
lay-peo-
ple, man
or wo-
man, may
preach.(1) 1 Pet. ii.
(4) Gal. i.(2) John v.
(5) Rom. v.(3) Ephes. vi.
(6) 1 Cor. xiv

Henry
VIII.

'every woman praying or prophesying, having anything upon her head, doth dishonest her head.'¹

A. D.
1538.

Women
that pro-
phesied.

To this accordeth the prophecy of Joel,² recited in the Acts,³ where, in the person of God, it is said thus, 'I shall pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.' Thus did Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, give praise unto Christ in the temple, and spake of him to all men of Jerusalem, that looked after the redemption of Israel.⁴

This also doth the Virgin Mary yet speak unto us in the Scripture, by the song which she made, that is daily recited in the church, called 'Magnificat.' Yea Stephen also, being no priest, but a deacon, made a wonderful good sermon.⁵ This also willett your Decree, 'De Consecrat.' Dist. iv. cap. 20, where it is thus said: 'A woman, although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, nor baptize, except necessity requireth. So that, where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, Cap. 16. Quest. 1. et in Glossa. 11. Cap. 'Adjicimus.' Dist. 18.⁶ And I beseech God, that, for lack of true and well learned officers, such necessity do not now come upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

There is a learned man, who in a dialogue⁷ that he maketh betwixt a rude abbot and a gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest (as his manner is), and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the dialogue. The gentlewoman answering the abbot, for that he had partly checked her because she was quick in utterance of learning, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight), it is to be feared lest they will set you beside the saddle, and put us in your room.'

Sacrifice
in offering
our
bodies.

As concerning sacrifice-doing (so do I understand by the word which you do use, 'libare,' not knowing else what it should mean), I say that it is lawful for all men and women to do sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by sacrifice-doing, to say mass as priests useth to do, thereunto appointed; but like as christian people be 'sacerdotes,' that is to say, sacrificers, as is showed before, so ought they to offer, and do offer, spiritual sacrifices, as writeth St. Paul to the Romans, saying, 'I beseech you, brethren, for the love of God's mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping.'⁸ In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed, should be first slain. But he joineth therewith, 'living;' saying, 'Give your body to be a living sacrifice.' So that he would we should continue to live in this body to God's pleasure, but fleeing the ill lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do not give unto our reason overmuch of the bridle whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy: as when men will take in hand to devise, by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is instituted by Christ (who is the wisdom of his heavenly Father), saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow; of whom it is said by the prophet Isaiah in these words: 'This people approach near unto me, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; but they do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.'⁹

Sacrifice
true and
lively.

Then Paul proceedeth, showing of this christian sacrifice, saying, 'And apply not yourselves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed, by renovation of your mind; that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightful before him.'¹⁰ See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortify our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the same.

Sacrifice
of praise.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth, is, that we should always offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is to wit, the fruits of our lips, that Hosea calleth 'vitulus labiorum,'¹¹ giving laud unto his name; and that we

(1) 1 Cor. xi.

(2) Joel ii.

(3) Acts ii.

(4) Luke ii.

(5) Acts vii.

(6) See Appendix.

(7) He meaneth the dialogue of Erasmus, entitled, 'Abbas et Erudita.'

(8) Rom. xii.

(9) Isa. xxix.

(10) Rom. xii.

(11) Hosea xiv

should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: 'For in such sacrifice,' saith he, 'God hath delight.'¹

Thus I say that by plain suffrage of your law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons, in necessity and in time of need, may lawfully preach or show the word of God, and also do sacrifice: but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

Thus have you herein my mind, which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is showed; as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methinketh the decrees do pass evidently with me.

In the twenty-fourth article, where you do ask, whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, do oblige and bind them before God: I say, that it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named; and if he denounceth them so to be, not out of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of others gathered with him in Christ's name, for the behoof of Christ's church: for so used St. Paul, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, who had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth in 1 Cor. v.

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1538.
Excommunication requireth consent of others.

And the same form declareth the Evangeys,² in these words: 'If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee, thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three, every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, show it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven.' So that such excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be virtuous and godly.

And thus is it convenient to be done: for the pope is made of flesh, as well as other men; and therefore he may sometimes judge awry, cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise may other prelates, judging the christian to be heretics, and heretics christian: of whom it is also written in the prophecy of Ezekiel,³ 'They slew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live;' as did the Pharisees when they did cast Christ out of the vineyard, which signifieth the church;⁴ and as our Saviour prophesied,⁵ saying unto his disciples, 'There shall be,' quoth he, 'some that shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall think to do honour to God. And this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me.' These words be written in the gospel of John; whereby you see, that for lack of knowledge of God, which is taught and seen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophesied how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea and slay his true servants, thinking, through such facts, to please God, and to do him good service.

The pope may err.

Wherefore send, O Lord! I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee to be dilated upon earth (which Hosea⁶ bewaileth sore, seeing it absent), whereby men's judgments may be rectified; and so do accordingly to the leading of the same!

In the twenty-fifth article, where you do ask, whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin: I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and immeasurable benefits are showed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth St. Paul bid us to fight, in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus,⁷ when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels: I trow their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and, lifting up his hands, prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites: but in long holding them up, at last his fervour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downward.

The virtue of prayer.

(1) Heb. xiii.

(2) Matt. xviii.

(3) 'Mortificabant animas quæ non moriuntur, et vivificabant animas quæ non vivunt. Ezek. xiii.

(4) Matt. xxi.

(5) John xix.

(6) Hos. iv.

(7) Exod. xvii.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

And ever as his hands grew heavy (which signified that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold), the Infidels prevailed; but as he kept them heaved upward (whereby was meant intente prayer of a devout mind), he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the law to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses; which alway, as they did see his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

Devotion and knowledge to be joined together.

By 'Moses' is signified, as show great clerks, devotion; 'by Aaron and Hur,' the knowledge of God's doctrine: which two things (devotion, I mean, and knowledge) all men had need to have present with them: for devotion doth elevate the mind to God, but knowledge doth sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue, not falling down; but so alway doth it incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our heavenly Father; where they savour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of juniper, incense, or whatsoever else, be they ever so pleasant, do savour in any man's nose.

Therefore St. Paul, seeing how necessary the knot of these two, devotion and knowledge of God's will, was (which is showed in Scripture, as teacheth St. Cyprian in these words: 'The will of God,' saith he, 'is that which Christ hath taught and wrought'): Paul, I say, seeing this, wished to be excommunicated and separated from God, to have the Jews come to the knowledge of Christ's church, which is the only right way to salvation; for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after,¹ saying, 'I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christ's doctrine,' &c. Where you may clearly see how the Jews (as St. Paul, who is no liar, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. 'Moses' was amongst them, but 'Aaron' was away; whose absence pained Paul so sore, that he, ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself, upon condition that the multitude of them might be holven and have a better judgment, but even to be departed from God. It must needs be then greatly hurtful,² albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledge of God and his law, signified by 'Aaron.'

'Moses' not to be without 'Aaron.' Devotion without knowledge hurtful.

St. Paul also, before that he came to knowledge, had such like devotion himself, as he reporteth in these words:² 'All the Jews,' quoth he, 'have known my living, that I have led since I entered into man's age' (which time, as I remember, is recounted from the sixteenth or eighteenth year of a man's life; in Latin he calleth it 'adolescencia'), 'which, from the beginning thereof, was,' saith he, 'at Jerusalem, among mine own nation, that did know me afore also, from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most strait order or sect of our religion, being a Pharisee.' 'And I,' quoth Paul a little after, 'thought to do many things in fighting against the name of Jesus Christ, yea and did also, being at Jerusalem; and I thrust many saints or holy men into prison, having power given me thereto of the high priests; and, when they should be put to death, I gave sentence: and I,' quoth he, 'was commonly in all synagogues punishing them, and compelling them to blaspheme' (as men are fain now-a-days, when the bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the gospel); 'yea moreover did I,' quoth Paul, 'rage against them, pursuing after them into strange lands.'

The zeal of Saul without devotion.

Zeal without knowledge.

See what zeal Paul had to God before he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. He thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was St. Stephen. He was then sore blinded, through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of 'Aaron:' but anon, as Christ who is the true Aaron, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, 'O Saul! Saul! why dost thou persecute me,'³ in troubling and striking my servants, the members of mine own body? of whom it is said, 'He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye:'⁴ his heart fell, I dare say, as low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himself full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way; as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, 'O Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?' As though one would say, 'Now I see all that I thought to have done before of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwise. That which I esteemed good, in very deed is and was naught. 'Do learn me therefore, good Lord!' quod he, 'a better way, and amend my judgment, that, mine own will

(1) Rom x.

(2) Acts xxvi.

(3) Acts ii.

(4) Zech. ii.

or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine, to please thee and to do thy will.' And so, as he came to Ananias, by the assignment of Christ, the thick filthiness of his old wayward judgment fell away, as appeareth by the dross or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, that ensueth [and] is directed after the straight rule of the Evangely; whereby you may see that men's devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledge do assist the same, to sustain and direct it; which, knit together, shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations.' So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledge: and that showeth but notably Erasmus, in the second passage of Enchiridion, where he testifieth full of easy liking that he hath in saying of matins, yea rather contrariwise he showeth disliking; and so he doth also in his exposition of the first Psalm, 'Beatus vir,' where the text maketh agreeably for the same. It is written in this wise: 'Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence; but hath his will in the law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.'

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Devotion a deceitful thing.

Saying matins.

See how the prophet (who, I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as ever did any pope or general council, or whatsoever they were besides, that ordained long service to be said of priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the law of God both day and night; that is, to wit, always. A great promise is put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For Paul, defining godliness, saith thus: 'Godliness is profitable unto all things; for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.'

What is true godliness, or piety.

But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily matins; neither are we certain by the word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen 'Ooes,' every day once through a whole year, we shall apertly see our Lady to aid us before our death, as it is testified in the scripture of the Primer, but not by scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten beads that come from the crossed friars, or upon the five beads hallowed at the Charter-house, or for fasting 'the Lady's fast,' as men call it; ne for fasting of the Wednesday, as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lusteth; for it is nother the New Testament ne the Old.

No promise of God for saying of matins.

Our Lady's Psalter. Our Lady's fast.

They are condemned, you wot well (and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth liberally, for such things are called offensive). But would to God, that all persons, so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his disciples in the xv of Matt. when they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, 'You know that the Pharisees are offended, hearing such words spoken.'² I will leave out Christ's answer, lest I should be thought over liberal in taxing or uttering of abusions, and speak no further.

A like demand, with answer thereto annexed, shall you find in the xi of Luke,³ where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal the more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deemeth me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderous, to revise the said places, and then counsel me for to do that shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen 'Ooes,' which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve) is a very good prayer; ne the saying of Aves or Paternosters, or of the Crede, with such like that they call our Ladie's Psalter (I cannot yet tell by what lawful authority); ne would I that any person should think me to disallow any discreat fastings; for such, not only present with you, but even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do, by assistance of God's grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same: for such cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the Evangely (which christian men ought only to build their faith upon) into new inventions of vanity. St. Paul calleth such 'old women's tales,' where he writeth unto Timothy, bidding him to beware of them and to throw them away.

See Addenda.

Fasting commended.

(1) 1 Tim. iv.

(2) Matt. xv.

(3) Luke xi.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

The prophet David, likewise, doth accord thereunto, saying, 'Blessed,' quod he, 'is the man that hath the name of God his fiance or hope; and hath not looked back to vanities and false dotage or madness.'¹ And this I say again, that the matins-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named; for they were instituted by the fantasy or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think that the priests who will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or encumbered with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from the study of that, which to know, belongeth principally both to their own soul's salvation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of priests doth require (I mean the study of his Evangely), whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter feed Christ's flock, the congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour in John: 'I,' quod he, 'am the door; whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in and go out, and find good fodder or feeding:'² that is to say, whosoever shall enter to be a pastor or minister in Christ's church or congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of God's glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and show the same abroad to others, for their wealth and edifying.

To this accordeth what is written in Luke, where our Saviour speaketh to all his church signified in the person of St. Peter. 'Peter!' quoth he, 'I have prayed that thy faith should not fail; and thou, being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren.'³ So that he would have Peter established first in the faith of his sure doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach others to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all priests to be called 'presbyteri,' who will be ministers in the church; for so biddeth St. Peter, saying thus: 'I beseech the priests,' quoth he, 'that are among you, I myself being a priest and a witness-bearer of Christ's afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed; see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as enforced thereto, but willingly, not desiring filthy luere, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns or ensample-givers to the flock.'⁴ See how he requireth of priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christ's flock, and to show good ensample of living, making no mention of long matins-saying, which then was not mentioned nor spoken of.

Ignorance
mother of
error.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form: 'Ignorance, saith the law,' mark it well I beseech you all, 'is the mother of all errors; which ought to be eschewed in especial of priests, that, among the people of God, have taken upon them the office of preaching. Priests are commanded to read holy Scriptures, as saith Paul the apostle to Timothy: 'Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching; and continue always in these.'⁵ Let priests therefore know holy Scripture and the canons, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edify all men both in knowledge of faith, and in discipline of good works.' These be the words of a law in the Decrees, Dist. 38; where you see how the law lamenteth ignorance in all persons; for it is the original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true gospel! It biddeth therefore that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally of priests, whose labour and diligence he would have bestowed all in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same; bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the apostle, which willet in like manner. Moreover, it requireth that priests should know the canon law. Finally that they should give all their study to edify other in faith and virtuous living; whereof I do gather both by the saying of the prophet, that willet us to be studious in the law of God day and night, by the saying of the apostle, which would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your own law, which saith likewise, that a priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a priest, set thus truly to study, that he may stablish himself in the faith of Christ's doctrine, intending after to help other with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity assigned in the

Priests
to give
them-
selves
rather to
study
than to
saying of
matins.
What
priests
ought to
study.

(1) 'Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes ejus, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias falsas.' Ps. xl.

(2) John x.

(3) Luke xxii.

(4) 1 Pet. v.

(5) 2 Tim. iv.

law of God, shall not offend deadly, if, so spending his time, he omitteth to say matins, which is an ordinance of men.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made priests by negligent admission of bishops, and their own presumption, that labourereth to be made priests or they be any clerks, and or ever they know what is the very office of a priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be curates, they reck not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding, after that, the study of Scripture, after they are come to 'Dominus vobiscum:' for such I do think long matins to be needful, to restrain them from other enormities that they should else run into; of which you may be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one matin were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better.

Negligence of bishops in making priests.

In the six and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their mother language: I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may have it by them at all times, to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French king's privilege, and also the privilege of the emperor; and so do I know that they have had it this fifty years and four in France at least, and it was translated at the request of a king called, I trow, Louis, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the book.¹

Scripture in the vulgar tongue.

In like manner have they it in Flanders, printed with the privilege of the emperor: in Almain also, and Italy, and I suppose through all the nations of Christendom. Likewise hath it been in England, as you may find it in the English story called 'Polychronicon.'² There it is showed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the land, the king at that time, who was a Saxon, did himself translate the Psalter into the language that then was generally used. Yea I have seen a book at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relic; the book is called St. Guthlake's Psalter; and I ween verily it is a copy of the same that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English; and, as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also showed how that St. Bede did translate the Evangelie of John into English, and the author of the same book promised that he would translate into English all the Bible; yea and perhaps he did so, but (I wot not how it cometh to pass) all such things be kept away; they may not come to light: for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their doings known. It is no lie that is spoken in the Gospel of John, 'All that do naughtily, hate the light, and will not have their doings known.'³ And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reprov'd, yea and all men should see anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being there-for sometimes horribly infamed and slandered, named heretics and schismatics, were indeed as they be called, or no.

Bede translated the gospel of St. John into English.

Causes why Scripture is not suffered to come to light.

Yea, moreover, I did once see a book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translate after the example of that which is read in the church in Latin. But he that showed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforesaid for keeping of such, as convict of heresy.

Divers such Testaments are yet to be seen.

Moreover I was at Paul's cross, when the New Testament, imprinted of late beyond the sea, was first forefended; and truly my heart lamented greatly to hear a great man preaching against it, who showed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea and not only I, but likewise did

Errors found where none were.

(1) The French Bible was translated into the French tongue, with the king's privilege, about fifty years before Lambert's time. [See Appendix.]

(2) The Psalter translated by the king of England into the Saxon tongue. Read before.

(3) 'Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem.' John iii.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Whether the Scripture may be restrained from the people.

many others, think verily to be none. But (alack for pity!) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar tongue, in like manner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people: I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say, that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying, and the consolation which the people, by God's grace, should thereof gather out; that now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

In the twenty-seventh article, where you do demand, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language: all men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I, so saying, could not be well reproved; and therefore are laid out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap me in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken: 'But without cause you spread the net before the eyes of the birds or fowls.'¹ I show you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the bishops have not since amended it, if so be they could, that the people might have it to use and occupy virtuously.

Reason why it ought not.

And here I will add one reason: The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is showed to be true in many places of Scripture; like as othor corporal meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father, that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our bishops be no gentle pastors or fathers, that keep away the food of men's souls from them (specially when others do offer the same) both months, years, and ages: neither do I see any opportunity of time, or reasonable advisement, that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away; but the contrary rather, for it is reason, convenient and needful for men, to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry; and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our Pater Noster, saying, 'Give us Lord our heavenly bread.'²

Hallowings and blessings some allowed and some not.

Blessing of him that goeth to read the gospel.

In the twenty-eighth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them; neither can I therefore overmuch speak of them all, seeing I know them not: such as are the hallowing of beads, the hallowing of pilgrims when they should go to Rome, the hallowing of bells, and such like. But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: when the priest hath consecrated holy bread, he saith, 'Lord, bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health both of body and soul, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen:' which I would every man might say in English, when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the gospel: 'The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed Evangelij;' which is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. All such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they meant, that they with rejoicing of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul,³ where he wisheth, 'rather to speak five words in the church heartily with understanding, whereby other might have instruc-

(1) 'Sed frustra jactur rete ante oculos pennatorum.' Prov. i. (2) Matt. vi. (3) 1 Cor. xiv.

tion, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown: yea, to say truth, (truth it is indeed that I shall say), a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is known, the further the virtue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in men's hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things!

Thus I conclude, that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of others I can give no sentence, wishing, even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

In the twenty-ninth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God: I say, that if that be true which is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, that laws be never confirmed, until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the pope's laws bind all christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly, so that I do not find that his laws may bind all christian men.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the king, or the emperor. And, to say sooth, I say (as I have said before), I think verily that the church was more full of virtue before the decrees or decretals were made (which is not very long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if that be true which is reported in the Decrees,)¹ than it hath been since. God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection!

In the thirtieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and to suspend or let them from ministrations of the sacraments of the same: I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law: for such are sundered from God, before the prelates do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in Isaiah by Almighty God: 'Your sins,' quoth he, 'do make division betwixt you and me.'² And the prelates, by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, and that is to pronounce such to be excommunicated of God, and unworthy to minister any sacraments, or to be conversant with christian folk that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul,³ 'If any amongst you, called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, a covetous person, or a worshipper of images or idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat.'

But to put them out of the church, and not to suffer them to come within it, I am not certain that prelates have any such power: and though they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through which the sturdy, coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a law made in the council of Carthage, which is this: 'A bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the church, and to hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, or Jew, or heretic, until the mass time of them that are called Catechumeni.'⁴

Moreover, where you speak of prelates' deputies, I think such be but little behovable to Christ's flock. It were necessary and right, that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the Word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is to see) undone. Such doth St. John call 'fures et latrones,' 'thieves and murderers,' though they make never so goodly a worldly show outward, and bear a stout port.

This I say, that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Laws of the pope, whether they bind men.

The pope's, not received of all.

No power to make laws, binding under deadly sin.

Power of the pope to excommunicate.

A doubt whether prelates have any such power.

Bishops' deputies not behovable.

(1) Dist. 15. cap. 'Canones generalium.'

(2) Isaiah lix.

(3) 1 Cor. v.

(4) 'De Consecr.' Distinct. 1. [cap. 67.]

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1538.

Every
prelate
to dis-
charge
his cure,
without
deputy.

rebels against God's ordinances, and to suspend them from receiving or ministering the sacrament: but I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of churches, especially when God's word is there preached, unless the sinners be so sore desperate that they scorn the same. And I would that every prelate, receiving his living of benefices, should himself work in the same, especially in true preaching of Christ's doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoke, and charging therewith others, called deputies or vicars, curates, and such like. For God would have every man to get his living by the sweat of his own face; that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat, so contrariwise, they that labour not, unless they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and much less to take of those, to whom they do no service, fifty or forty pounds a year, for waiting after none other thing than the moon shining in the water. The canon law maketh clearly with the same. Look in the Decrees,¹ and you shall find plainly as I say.

Faith
only
justifieth.

See
Appendix.

Works
make not
a man
justified,
but a
justified
man
maketh
good
works.

In the thirty-first article, where you ask, whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith only doth justify, and work salvation, before a man do any other good works; and that is showed by many authorities, both of Scripture and also of many holy fathers, in a treatise called, 'Unio Dissidentium,' which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter (like as is here showed by many authorities of holy fathers), that a man fallen into sin after baptism shall be saved through faith of forgiveness by Christ's passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a man, having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plentifully deeds of charity, which are testimony and witness bearers of a man's true faith. This declareth St. Augustine upon John; I trow it is where he expoundeth this text: 'If ye love me, keep my commandments:' whereas, within a little after, he speaketh in this wise:² 'Good works make not a man justified or rightwise; but a man once justified doth good works.'

Priests
punished
for sin.

In the thirty-second article, where you ask, whether a priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly: I say, that he doth not so much offend as those who in Wales (as I have heard say), and also in many parts beyond the sea, or rather in all places, do give openly, for money, dispensations to priests to take concubines: neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they, on every hand, do clearly commit fornication and adultery, utterly forfended by God's law; and the priest, of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but man's law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written; I wene it be in a gloss, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a book: the sentence is thus:³ 'A priest doing fornication, ought to be punished more than one who hath married a wife.' Finally, I think such a priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

Marriage
of priests,
as well
Latin as
Greek,
per-
mitted.

In the thirty-third article, where you ask, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly: I say, that a Latin priest, and a Greek priest, are all one afore God, if they follow both in a like wise one rule of Christ, left to us in holy Scripture; nother doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty that another, and no more nor less; for there is the same God in Greece, that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And, therefore, I cannot see by his law, but that a Latin priest may marry as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christ's law in believing the same, and living thereafter, you would call them

(1) Causa 21. quest. 2. cap. [5] 'Præcip.'

(2) 'Opera bona non faciunt justum sed justificatus facit bona opera.

(3) See Appendix.

heretics. But that will not the pope have done. Wherefore, seeing they do let priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretics, why should other men, that say the same, be called heretics, or be therefore burned, whom they left on live? Therefore, following the law of God, I make the same answer of a Latin priest, that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding fornication.

Henry VIII

A. D. 1538.

In the thirty-fourth article, where you ask, whether ever I prayed for John Wickliff, John Huss, and for Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any one of them, sith they died, and whether I have openly or secretly done any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss and saved: I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember, except I prayed for them when I have said some prayers in form and fashion that my father taught me being a child. He used this form, for the welfare of my father and mother, godfather and godmother, and of all other that God would have me pray for, *Pater noster*; and the same taught he me, which I have observed. Otherwise do I not remember that I have prayed for them or for any of them; nother have I any otherwise done any almes dede for them, nether openly nor secretly; neither have I ever earnestly said, that I can remember, that they are in bliss or saved: and though I had, I am not certain that in so doing I should be a heretic. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great country, called Bohemia, which yet doth follow (as men say) that same doctrine, which John Huss and Jerome of Prague taught their auncitors, whom (as I trow) neither the pope nor you do recount heretics and infidels.

The Greck churches suffer priests to marry.

In the thirty-fifth article, where you ask, whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints: I say that in such secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, who biddeth that we should not judge over soon, but abide (unless the things which we should pass upon, be the more evident) until the coming of the Lord, who shall illumine, and show forth clearly, things that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, ne against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot is infallible, and not (as men's) uncertain and variable, according to the saying of David: 'God' (quod he) 'knoweth the minds of men, that they be vain;' and therefore he biddeth us that we should not put our confidence in high rulers, in whom consisteth not salvation.

See Auldenda

And whereas you say, they were condemned of heresy in the council of Constance: if so the council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not; and that shall suffice to have commendation of him: so that it is no need to ask of me whether the acts of the same are commendable or no; neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily persuaded that I, because the council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, as I ween, may sometimes slip beside the right truth: but what that council did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God wotteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a council, appeareth by God's law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the council that is spoken of in the xi of John, where is showed, that after our Saviour had restored Lazarus to life, the bishops and Pharisees then were gathered together in a council, saying, 'What shall we do? Truth it is that this man Jesus doth many miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of Jerusalem, our dwelling place, and destroy our nation.'¹ At which time Caiaphas did arise, showing forth his sentence, which the whole council did admit

Councils may sometime slip awry.

In like wise is showed Acts v., where in a council that the bishops and priests had assembled to know what punishment should be dowe unto Christ's apostles, for bycause they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commanded the apostles no more to speak in Christ's name), there, among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did arise a certain wise man, called Gamaliel (a pitiful thing verily to see but one good man in such a great convocation or council of priests, that should be the

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.Gamaliel
and Dr
Colet
y compared
together
t The counsel
e of Gamaliel
s to the Pharis-
ees.Councils
go not al-
ways
right.Councils
may and
do err.Some one
man
sometimes
may see
more than
a whole
council.The story
of Paph-
nutius.
Chastity
standeth
not by
single-
ness of
life, but
purity of
matri-
mony.One man,
having
Scripture
with him,
more to
be
trusted
than a
whole
council
without
it

lights of virtue to all the people); which Gamaliel was a doctor of the law, had in good reputation among the people: much like he was (as seemeth to me) to Dr. Colet, sometime dean of Paul's at London, while he lived. I may come no nearer, for to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This Gamaliel did bid the apostles go aside for a while out of the council, or convocation-house; and so he spake unto the other priests or bishops in the council thus: 'You men' quod he, 'of Israel, take heed to yourselves what you shall do upon these men the apostles; for afore this time have arisen one called Theudas, and after him another named Judas of Galilee, which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now,' quod he, 'I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if this enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubted it shall perish and be foredone: but if,' quod he, 'it be of God, you cannot foredo it. And this I tell you,' said Gamaliel, 'lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.'

Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the others of the convocation or parliament agree; and so they called in the apostles of Christ before them, causing them to be scourged, and charging them, no more afterwards to preach of Christ's name; and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the time of our Saviour and of his apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew before, that like practice should come in the latter time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that councils do not always discern with Christ, but sometimes they may do against him. And therefore said David,¹ 'I did not,' quoth David, 'sit with the assembly or council of vain doers, or liars, and I will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: for I have hated the convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: but I will wash my hands among innocents,' &c. Also in another psalm he writeth thus;² 'The Lord,' quoth he, 'doth stroy or annihilate the counsels of the Gentiles; he reproveth the counsels of the people and of rulers. But the counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever, and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the world of worlds.' For that purpose doth St. Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, allege this verse out of the psalm.³ 'Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things,' &c. Like unto this is it written, in Isaiah i. Also you may see in the councils of the Pharisees above showed, that one singular person may sometimes perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: for Gamaliel only did see better what was behoveable, than could all the others there congregated.

Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees,⁴ where it is written that the council of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the church, ordained laws, called canons or rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married before they were consecrate into the order. With that arose Paphnutius, a martyr of Christ, and gainsayed it, testifying that marriage is an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper wife. And so he persuaded the council, that they should constitute no such law; affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the priests, or else to their wives, an occasion of fornication: And this was Paphnutius's reason. The words of the canon proceed thus. 'This declared Paphnutius, he never being married, nor having experience of marriage; and the council commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to every man's freewill and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity.' These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in 'Historia Tripartita,' as I have showed before in the fourth article. Upon this, that Paphnutius did thus resist and prevail against all the other council, doth the Gloss note in the same law, that one singular person may gainsay or speak against a universal generality, having a reasonable cause. Suffrage also of the same have we in abbot Panormitane, where he saith thus: 'I would,' quod he, 'rather believe one lay person, bringing for him authority of Scripture, than a universal council, that statute or define a thing without Scripture.'

(1) Psalm xxvi.

(2) Psalm xxxiii.

(3) Psalm ii.

(4) Dist. 31. cap. 31. 'Nicena.'

Finally, I say, that I never recounted them nother saints ne devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; nother have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; nother done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

In the thirty-sixth article, where you do ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every general council, and the council of Constance also, do represent the universal congregation or church: I say, that what such councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel; for I know of no Scripture to certify me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And methinketh this (under correction I speak), that councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the universal church, not being yet the same; as I wot well they neither are nor were. For the church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation, whether they be temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church¹ spreadeth through the universal world, where any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ; and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, where his blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared: for that is the relief of man's soul, whereunto all men, loving their soul's health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life); for in it is showed that rightwiseness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungered for, shall come into the kingdom of heaven. Of this the proverb in the gospel (although it be applied to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) may well be verified, 'Wheresoever is a dead carrion, thither will soon be assembled eagles.'² That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christ's death, thither will men seek and fly, to know how they may enjoy and attain them; which I beseech him to grant us. Amen.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Whet every general council representeth the church. What is the church.

In the thirty-seventh article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the same thing which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved, and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith and soul's health, is to be approved and holden of all christian people; and that which the same council hath condemned and doth condemn to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned: I say that whatsoever the same council or any other have approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all christian people to be likewise approved, holden, and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, for bycause it is hurtful to faith or good living, I say the same ought of all christian people to be condemned and reprovved. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright; bycause I never looked upon their acts, nother do I greatly covet for to do: wherefore I refer the determination to them that hath better advised their doings, and thereby hath some more skill in them than I.

The authority of the council of Constance.

In the thirty-eighth you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such of every Catholic person they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed: I answer that it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss the thing determinately, my christendom shall be therefore never the less; and that I and all christians may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming nother the one ne the other, nother yea nor nay.

In the thirty-ninth you ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been and now be perversid; for the which books, and pertinacity of their persons,

(1) He meaneth here the church invisible.

(2) Luke vii.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1538.

they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics: I say that I know not determinately whether they be heretics or no, nor whether their books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called heretics or no.

In the fortieth article, where you ask whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear: I say, that I neither so do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

Oaths are
lawful.
Over-
much use
of oaths
in court
repre-
hended.
Judges
must be
spare and
wary in
them.

In the forty-first, where you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in a case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy: I answer, that I never said the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge, to say the truth, if the judge so require, and that by request lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in controversy betwixt two persons, and thereupon they sue unto a judge for sentence; when the judge can none otherwise bolt out the truth, he may require an oath. As when the two women who contended before Solomon to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in oppressing her child to death, and would have put the same upon the other, if Solomon could not by his wisdom otherwise have investigated the truth, he might, I suppose, to come by the more certain information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to swear; wherein the women had been bound to obey him; but judges had need to be spare in requiring of oaths: for in customable, or oft juries, creepeth in always, betwixt times, some perjury, as showeth Chrysostome in words semblable to these: and things precious, through oft haunt or occupying, lose their estimation; and so reverent oaths, unadvisedly required for every trifle, usually do cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear, to break them.

Where
many
oaths be,
there is
some per-
jury.

Use of the
Germans
in causes
judicial.

Therefore in Almain, they have made of late (as I have heard say by credible persons, who have come from thence) many notable ordinances for the commonwealth within a while, and amongst others this is one: If a man be set for to enter plea against another in any town, the peers thereof before whom all actions are used to be debated, hearing such a plea entered, shall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open court. And the matter examined, they shall exhort them to let the plea cease without further process, showing them the great damage both godly and worldly, coming of waging the law, and the great ease and commodity that is in agreement and concord: which exhortation they use to show with so great gravity and fatherly love (such wonders are wrought where the gospel hath free passage), that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commenced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, that setteth the suitors at unity, ere the matter do come to discussion in open court.

Fruit of
the gospel
in Ger-
many;
where
few con-
troversies
come to
open
court.

Notwithstanding, if some be so waywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one man's children, and therefore unlike of intent) that they will needs proceed and follow the law, they shall be heard to speak their matters in open court, and taught how the matter is most like to succeed, and counselled with new exhortation to stop their process. If they will not be persuaded, and then the judges, seeing the matter so ambiguous that they cannot give perfect sentence therein, except by virtue of an oath made by one of the parties they be first better certified; then will they show the same before the suitors, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a solemn oath for love of winning some worldly profit: and how, unless such as shall make it be the better aware to eschew the same, they shall, beside an evil example giving to a multitude, work themselves, haply, shame, or dishonesty.

Custom
among
them of
taking
oaths.
See
Addn 3.

Upon this, they shall give respect until a certain day appointed; so that in the meanwhile the suitors may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this they will not thus rest, at the day appointed shall they come forth into a common place, and the great bell of the city be caused to be rung, whereby the people shall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people assembled, the judges shall, in full chargeable and lamentable wise, charge the parties, under virtue of their oath, to make true relation of what shall be demanded. So that by reason of soberly and fatherly exhortations made by the judges or peers of the town, and persuasion of neighbours, and for avoiding of God's displeasure and shame of men, there is little suit in courts; and if at any time any

Jury and
swear-
ing, well
excluded
out of
Germa-
ny.

be made, they be lightly stopped; so that jury and swearing be well excluded, and need not much to be required.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

This I have showed, because it pitieth me to hear and see the contrary used in some of our nation, and such also as name themselves spiritual men, and should be head ministers of the church; who, incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a book, and do move him to swear, without any longer respite; yea, and they will charge him by virtue of the contents in the evangely, to make true relation of all that they shall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to show them the truth of their demands, or no: for such things there be that are not lawful to be showed. As if I were accused of fornication, and none could be found in me; or if they should require me to swear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I suppose it were expedient to hold me still, and not to follow their will: for it should be contrary to charity, if I should so assent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet, trusting to their amendment, I have promised before to keep their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreover, if such judges sometimes, not knowing by any due proof that such as have to do before them are culpable, will enforce them, by an oath, to detect themselves, in opening before them their hearts; in this so doing, I cannot see that men need to condescend to their requests. For it is in the law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: 'No man is bound to bewray himself.'¹ Also in another place of the law it is written, 'Cogitationis pœnam nemo patitur,' 'No man should suffer punishment of men for his thought.' To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus:² 'Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.' So that, to conclude, I think it lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, especially if a judge requireth an oath duly, and in lawful wise; or to make an oath in any other case convenient; and that also for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid against a man.

Rash levity in spiritual men.

A man is not bound to detect another man's fault.

No man is bound to bewray himself.

Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.

See Appendix.

In the forty-second, where you ask, whether a christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly: I say the like of the receipt of them, as I have said before of the self-same things, and none otherwise.

In the forty-third, where you ask, whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, having power on earth to bind and loose: I say, 'that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term vicar;' for Christ never called Peter, nor any other so, in Scripture. If you mean thereby that, after the departing hence of Christ, when he was risen from death in his immortal body, and so stied into heaven, whereas he remaineth sitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he so being away from hence, St. Peter occupied his room: then, I say, it is not untrue that Peter, in a manner (which I shall show hereunder) was his vicar: and like as Peter was his vicar, even so were Paul and the other apostles, and the one no less than the others, if it be true that St. Cyprian³ doth write, which is also consenting to Scripture. He saith thus: that Christ spake unto Peter, saying; 'I say,' quoth our Saviour, 'that thou art Peter, and upon this rock of stone shall I build my congregation, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it. To thee will I give the keys of heaven, and what things thou shalt bind upon earth, the same shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.'⁴ And to him, after his resurrection, doth Christ say, 'Feed my sheep.'

Vicar of Christ.

See Addenda.

Peter no more vicar of Christ, than Paul and others.

And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his apostles after his resurrection, and saith,⁵ 'Like as my Father sent me, do I also send you. Take you the Holy Ghost. If you shall retain to any man his sins, they shall be retained. If you shall remit to any man his sins, to him they shall be remitted:'—nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained, by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with equal partaking both of honour, and authority or power; but the beginning cometh of one, that the congregation should be

Unity.

(1) 'Nemo tenetur prodere semetipsum.'

(2) 'Cogitationes liberæ sunt a vectigalibus.'

(3) 'Cyprian. De Simplicitate Prælatorum.'

(4) Matt. xvi

(5) John xx.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.Peter
beareth
the per-
son of the
whole
church.

showed to be one. Those are the words of St. Cyprian, in a treatise that is called, 'De Simplicitate Prælatorum;' wherein you may see that Christ made all the apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testify the unity of his church or congregation, he spake, as it were, all only unto Peter alone, when he said, 'Feed my sheep;' and, 'I shall give thee, Peter, the keys of heaven.' But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the church, being, as it were, a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the apostles, unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto Peter; as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearly showed out of St. Augustine in divers places; but nowhere more plainly in a few words, than in a treatise called 'De Agone Christiano.'

To this accordeth well that which was written by Paul.¹ 'Of those apostles,' quoth Paul, 'which seemed to be of authority, I was not taught (what they were in time past it skilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man); nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price, showed me no learning, nor gave me any counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the gospel of uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the evangelically of circumcision was unto Peter (for He that was mighty in Peter concerning the apostleship toward the Jews, was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles): therefore, when James, Peter, and John, which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace given me, they gave unto me and Barnabas their right hands, in sign of fellowship to be their partners, so that we should exercise the office of apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Jews.' Wherein you may clearly see, that Paul took no instruction of those who seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, James, and John, who were noted principals, took Paul and Barnabas to be their mates and fellows; which they would not have done, as I suppose, if they had known that God had granted unto them a prerogative singular, to excel Paul, and to be his sovereign. But, according to the prerogative of God granted, they might have safely showed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoice in other benefits granted to them of God, to be ministers in his church for the edifying of the same; and as St. John calleth himself the disciple loved of his master Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ, hanging upon the cross, did commit his blessed mother.

Apostles
mates and
fellows
together.Objection
discuss-
ed.Paul
equal to
Peter.Apostles
equal
together.James
named
before
Peter.
Contention
about
superiority.

Moreover, if these three apostles, James, Peter, and John, should by humility have left out to make mention of their prerogative, when they took Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, who never useth any inordinate arrogance, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their primacy unspoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from others to himself unlawful; which cannot so be. Moreover he saith a little after the words before rehearsed, that he reproved St. Peter even before his face. Whereupon St. Jerome, expounding the same epistle, saith (as I remember), that Paul would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to Peter.

In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no pre-eminence or primacy above the others, for James is named before him; which Paul would not have done, I think, knowing Peter to be James's superior. Therefore he, making no such variety in order, put James before, saying, 'And James, Peter, and John, that appeared the principals,' quoth he, 'gave unto me, and to Barnabas, their right hands in sign of fellowship.' Yet, notwithstanding, Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, who contend so sore for superior rooms and pre-eminency, claiming to be the apostles' successors. I would it were so much for the commonwealth of christian people, as it is suspected that they do it for vain glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find in Acts xi., where is showed that after Peter, by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius,² a petty captain, having the governance of a hundred men, teaching him the ways and doctrine of Christ, and baptizing him

(1) 'Ab his qui videbantur aliquid esse; quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert,' &c. Gal. ii.

(2) Acts xi.

and others with him assembled, being, like as he before was, Pagans; the apostles, and other christian brethren that were in Jewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, they which held upon circumcision made none obeisance unto him (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any other pope), as the emperor is fain to do to the pope at his coronation, falling down to kiss the pope's feet, or to hold the pope's stirrup while he mounteth upon his horse's back; according to the form of law written, I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather (for such ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally recorded): but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against St. Peter, and also his doings, saying, 'You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised; yea, and what is more, you have eaten and drunk with them.' Peter, mildly and coldly, made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order, showing that he was so instructed to do, by mighty and clear revelations of God, and not by his own fantasy and pleasure. Which answer being heard, the others that before had made sore objections against him (who were both of the apostles, and other christian brethren), were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying, 'Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life.' Wherein you may see, that the other apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is showed of Paul, to dispute against him: neither were they therefore by Peter reprov'd of inobedience. He did not allege any pre-eminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: as one would say, 'Why should you that are my sheep control me, that am the head of the church and your pastor, or Christ's general vicar, having both jurisdiction temporal and spiritual?' with such other like: but he showed them it was the will of God that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them, as well as to the Jews; in token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

Thus may you see, that if Peter were the vicar of Christ, even so likewise were Paul and all the other apostles. And I do not think contrary but that Peter, and all other of the apostles, were Christ's vicars, if you mean by this word 'vicar,' a deputy, or such like, for to preach his evangely (which is an office of all others most sovereign), to minister sacraments, and to do other such divine service in God's church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, legates, or any such like; which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, 'Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.' And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the church, after the mind of St. Augustine and others, in Peter, saying, 'Peter, feed my sheep.'

In the forty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I believe, that the pope ordinarly chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the successor of Peter: I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no; I cannot see that it should be numbered amongst the articles of our faith: notwithstanding I will show my rude thought in it, which is this.

The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same, duly and diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing virtuous example of living to the same: and, so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many others as do truly their duty, and duly the office of a bishop: and otherwise may not the pope be called the successor of Peter, for because he is entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding yet to do that is requisite for the same, ne following the trace of virtue; but the contrary. And then is he wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not impossible.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Empe-
rors more
regard
the pope
than the
apostles
did
Peter.
Diffe-
rence
between
Peter and
the pope.
See
Appendix.

Peter
vicar of
Christ, no
more
than
other
apostles.

How the
pope may
be a suc-
cessor of
Peter.

So may
every
good
bishop.

(1) Luke xxiv.

(2) John xxi.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.The pope
rather
may be
Peter's
adversary
than his
successor.

For what should men call those Peter's successors, that play the pageants, and follow with the conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or of Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightwisely claim to be Peter's successors, no more than the night may claim to be successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peter's adversaries, for so much as they do not his will which is showed by his own acts and writing; but work against the same. Of such may be said, 'They are not all saints' children that occupy the rooms of saints, but they are their children that exercise their works.' Yea, of such may be said, that which is written of St. Jerome: 'All bishops,' quoth he, 'are not bishops. Mark you well Peter, but mark also Judas: behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a christian man. Cornelius the centurion, being yet a Pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost: contrariwise, Daniel, being a child, condemneth priests, or ancient men.' 'It is no easy thing,' saith he, 'to stand in the room of Peter and Paul, and to keep the seat of them now reigning with Christ: for unsavoury salt is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and trodden down of hogs.' This saith St. Jerome. Whereunto agreeth well St. Augustine: 'Every one,' quoth he, 'that saith unto you, Pax vobis, ought not to be heard, or to be believed as a dove. Crows be fed of dead carrion, and so is not a dove, but she liveth by the fruits of the earth: her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill bishops are no bishops, and that they that follow not saints in virtuous living, are not the successors of saints, but unsavoury salt; that is, neither of the church, nor shall come into heaven, to reign there with Peter and Paul, but be thrown out with great contempt: for God knoweth a dove from a crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of carrion; but such as declare and show good deeds, as the saints did, be their children and successors, and shall with them reign in heaven.'

Let us
mark, not
how the
bird
speaketh,
but how
he feed-
eth.How the
pope is
successor
of Peter,
and how
not.

So that, to conclude, I say, that the pope, ordinatedly chosen, is the successor of St. Peter, following St. Peter's godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name: for rather may he else be reputed an image of a pope, or of a bishop, according as such be called of the prophet;² 'O idol shepherds!'

Lambert
required
to detect
his fel-
lows.

In the five and fortieth article, where you ask, whether ever I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would alway hold and defend certain conclusions or articles seeming to me and to my complices right and consonant unto the faith; and will that I should certify you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the names and surnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalf: I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles, seeming to me and others right and consonant to the faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form: 'That I would never, with the aid of God, forsake, nor decline from, the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.'

All the
opinions
of John
Lambert
engrossed
in two
proposi-
tions.

Thus I have, perhaps, said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, God's grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, or to what persons, or at what time, either in what place; neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for God, and in God: and those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly christian, in calling upon Christ's name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none others than I have showed; the sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament.

The first is in the Acts of Apostles, in this wise:³ 'Christ is the head corner-stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given amongst men, wherein we may be saved.' This is one of the propositions,

(1) 'Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum.'

(2) 'O pastor et idolum!' Zech. xi.

(3) 'Christus est caput anguli, nec est in alio quoquam salus. Non enim aliud nomen sub celo datum est inter homines, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.'

wherein is engrossed or comprehended my saying, which St. Paul doth thus otherwise explicate; 'Christ is made of God our wisdom, our righteousness, our pureness, our satisfaction, and our redemption.' And in another place: 'There is none other foundation that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is Christ Jesus.'

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Saviour, in the evangely of Matthew, in these words: 'Men do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines and precepts, or laws human.'² Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and everywher well nigh: amongst others, in the second chapter of Colossians, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man do spoil them, or to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

Thus I do certify you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Others hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day.

Finally, in that you require to know of the names and surnames in order particularly of them, that be to me adherent, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part: I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of, I suppose, through all regions and realms of Christendom, that do think in like wise as I have showed. I wene the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of Christendom; and more should do likewise, by a great sort within a while, I doubt not, but that our ghostly enemy laboureth amain to have the knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that have so promised me to be in these matters: and though I did, I would not (except I knew that charity so required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect, or bewray any one of them, for any man's pleasure: for I am bound to obey God above men: who be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen.

The number of gospelers well nigh half Christendom. John Lambert denieth to detect any.

These answers of John Lambert to the five and forty articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth, about A. D. 1532, at which time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Otford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of books, as by his own words is to be gathered. But, so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, August 23d, the said archbishop Warham died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert for that time was delivered. In the mean while Dr. Cranmer was sent over in embassy, with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Kern, Dr. Benet, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome lying then at Bologna, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly, first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor; where, after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet, when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: first, that no man, 'jure Divino,' could or ought to marry his brother's wife: secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will treat (the Lord's grace permitting), in the sequel of our story, coming to Dr. Cranmer's life.

The death of archbishop Warham. Cranmer ambassador to the bishop of Rome.

See Appendix.

Propositions of Cranmer.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that see the said Dr. Cranmer. Lambert, in the mean season, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in teaching children both in the Greck and Latin

Cranmer made archbishop of Canterbury.

(1) 1 Cor. i.

(2) Isai. xxix.

*Henry VIII.*A.D. 1538.

tongue. And forso much as priests, in those days, could not be permitted to have wives, he left his priesthood, and applied himself to that function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers, and to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after his secret pleasure, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedom, and married him to his Son Christ Jesus (as now consequently followeth to be declared), *and¹ brought him into the freedom of his spiritual kingdom, to reign with him.

And thus much, briefly, touching the first education and bringing up of John Lambert. Now it followeth more at large to discourse and declare the whole process and order of his doings and disputations, with the order and manner of his death and condemnation. Which death and punishment of his happened in this year; being so much the more lamentable, in that it was first occasioned, and afterwards brought to pass, by no other than by such, whom, for the common society of the profession of the gospel, it had been more meet to have been authors of his safeguard, rather than the causers of his destruction. But this is the accustomed craft and malice of that ancient serpent, which intermeddleth himself in all congregations, envying all men's felicity and welfare, rejoicing in nothing but in the death and blood of innocents; seeking occasions of sedition, not only amongst the wicked, but the good also; stirring brethren oftentimes to contention amongst themselves; and that so craftily, that his policies can never be perceived until the mischief be done. I would to God that as this is a common complaint to all countries, so this our region of England, amongst other, were free from it, and not more infect herewith than the rest. Where now, in a manner, shall a man find more slaughter of the commons, subversion of the nobles, burning of good men, and most cruel contentions, which are never, in a manner, ended but with bloodshed? That mischievous disturber of human concord and quietness doth so incessantly rage!

But as I am here forced to speak against my will, so would to God that, even with my own contumely and hatred, I might engrave more meekness in the hearts of our men. Which, notwithstanding, I doubt not but it will shortly come to pass, by the most prosperous success of learning, which daily flourisheth more and more in England: and as it is to be hoped, foreign examples, and greater experience of things, will bring a more civility to this, which is already obtained by learning. But, because we will not pass our bounds too far, we will return again to the matter as touching John Lambert, intending to make declaration of his cause even from the first beginning, so far forth as we could attain unto the knowledge thereof.

So soon as the dark clouds of ignorance were driven away, and that the brightness of the gospel began to shine in England, there was one at the same time, although not of the number of them which sustained the first assaults of the adversaries, the afore-named John Lambert: who, partly for the cruelty of the time, and partly for the desire of learning, which he was always inclined unto, departed into foreign lands, being but a young man, whereas he understood learning did most flourish. From whence after a few years he returned again, hoping the time had been amended, for that, by the means of

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 528; also Edition 1559, p. 146.—Ed.

queen Anne and Cromwell, and the abolishing of the pope, all things seemed more prosperous and quiet in England; and began to set his mind to the setting forth of the gospel.*

Thus then, after that John Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the youth, it happened this present year (1538), he was present at a sermon in St. Peter's church at London. He that preached, was named Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and who afterwards, in the time of king Edward, was made bishop of Lincoln, and, at last, in the time of queen Mary, was deprived from the same; and so ended his life¹ among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind, and to come again at more leisure. Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, proving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors: which arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affairs, reported them to be of great force and authority; and of a few, which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the gospel, "This cup is the New Testament."

'And if,' saith he, 'these words do not change either the cup, or the wine, corporally into the New Testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.'

Another reason was this: that it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body, or else, truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say, in heaven and in earth; on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents; like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then, forasmuch as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not plainly perceive, that there is no transubstantiated body of his in the sacrament? And, to reason by the contrary: All the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the bread to be there.

He added also many other allegations out of the doctors. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whom I spake of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert in this matter, amongst others whom he took to counsel, he also conferred with Dr. Barnes; which Barnes, although he did otherwise

Henry VIII.

A. D.

1538.

See Appendix.

Taylor bishop of Lincoln, who after was deprived in Q. Mary's time, and died 1554.

Lambert seeketh conference with the preacher. The first occasion of his troubles.

His arguments.

Effect of the words of consecration.

One body cannot fill many places at once naturally.

The forms cannot be without the subject.

Dr. Barnes.

(1) He died in 1554. ('Si non inter martyres, at confessores,' &c. See Edition 1559, p. 147. —Ed.]

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1538.*

favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause; fearing, peradventure, that it would breed among the people some let or hinderance to the preaching of the gospel (which was now in a good forwardness), if such sacramentaries should be suffered. He persuaded Taylor, by and by, to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. And hereby we may see it truly verified, which William Tyndale before, writing to John Frith, did note in Dr. Barnes, saying, "That Dr. Barnes will be hot against you," &c.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, that, through the sinister doings of many, it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter: for he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the king's majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was, by and by, spread throughout the whole court.

I told you before, how that king Henry for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded queen Anne his wife; which deed did not only greatly displease the German princes (who for that only cause had broken off the league with him, A. D. 1536), but also many other good men in England. Moreover, how that, within a while after, abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad: for which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, insomuch that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

Gardiner
bishop of
Winches-
ter.

At that time Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority amongst the king's councillors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the gospel: albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the king, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose. But, at length, upon this matter advising himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire: neither did he foreslack the occasion ministered, but went straight unto the king, privily admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in almost all places; first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for that the divorce of queen Katherine was yet fresh in men's minds: and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them that were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumours, and as it were with one nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The per-
nicious
counsel
of the
bishop of
Winches-
ter.

The king, giving ear more willingly than prudently or godlily to

this siren, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and by and by sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of this realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, which commission the king himself would sit in judgment upon.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

The nobles and bishops assemble.

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men (even as a lamb to fight with many lions), and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was, so that now they tarried but for the king's coming to that place.

Lambert brought before the king.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, as covering, by that colour and dissembling, severity of all bloody judgment. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which, albeit it was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

The king's stern look against Lambert.

And¹ if these be the manners and fashions of our kings and princes, how greatly are we, miserable wretches (O most gentle Jesu!) bound unto thy Father, which hath sent thee so meek and gentle a Prince unto us out of heaven; which, albeit that of thyself thou dost so excel in power, that in respect of thee all other princes are less than beggars or things of no estimation, thou dost join such clemency with thy power, that they all may worthily be ashamed of themselves; which by how much they are inferior unto thee in force and strength, so much the less solace and comfort, for the most part, do they give unto the miserable in necessity. But now to return again unto the story.

Whenas the king was set in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance; and then, turning himself unto his councillors, he called forth Dr. Sampson, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly and judgment. The whole effect of his oration tended in a manner to this point:

See Addenda.

That the king in this session would have all states, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now, the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty unto heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and

The oration of Dr. Day.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1533.

other bishops, the heresies of this man here present (meaning Lambert), and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king, standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: "Ho! good fellow; what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

The king's words to Lambert.

Lambert: "O most noble prince! your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name." And after divers prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the king commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Lambert's oration to the king. The cruelty of bishops noted.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men, in many places, are privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge. But now, forasmuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: "I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance." Thus he spake in Latin. But Lambert, being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities. But the king, being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

The king's fierce upon Lambert.

Lambert: "I answer, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner."¹

The King: "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no." These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert: "Then I deny it to be the body of Christ."

The King: "Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, 'Hoc est corpus meum.'"

(1) After a certain manner; i. e. 'Quodam modo.' [See Edition 1559, p. 149.—Ed.]

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert! let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same."

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The archbishop's reasons

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?

The archbishop's argument.

In this manner the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher; for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the *minor* was not thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the Scripture doth not say that Christ, being upon earth, did speak unto Paul; but that "suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," &c.¹ Here this place doth nothing let, but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they that were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body.

Lambert's answer to Cranmer's objection.

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, "Paul himself doth witness that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision."

His reply

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, that "he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles:" notwithstanding, we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Answer to the reply.

Thus when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed, then the bishop of Winchester, who was appointed the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the king's commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of Corinthians xii., where St. Paul saith, "Have I not seen Jesus?" And again in the fifteenth chapter: "He appeared unto Cephas; and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but, last of all, he appeared unto me, as one born out of due time."

Hasty impudence of the bishop of Winchester.

Hereunto Lambert answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ

(1) Acts ix.

(2) Acts xxvi.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

Lambert answereth to Winchester.

was seen, and did appear; but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then Winchester again, abusing the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of 2 Cor. v., "And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now, henceforth, know we him so no more," &c.

Lambert answered, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who, speaking of his own revelation, saith thus: "I know one, whether in the body, or without the body, God knoweth, who was rapt into the third heaven; and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth:" whereby, even by the testimony of St. Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things; rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven, to show them unto him: especially for that it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he should come again. And St. Peter saith, "whom it behoveth to dwell in the heavens." And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he addeth, "even until that all things be restored," &c. Here again, Lambert, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, against Lambert.

After the bishop of Winchester had done, Tonstal, bishop of Durham, took his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God's omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

Figurative phrase of the Scripture.

Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body: and moreover that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this is a figurative speech, everywhere used in Scripture, when the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign; by which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb the passover; besides six hundred such other. Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature.

The wicked boast of Stokesley.

Then again began they to rage afresh against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? He might well hold his peace like a lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

The waterish cold argument of Stokesley.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesley, bishop of London, who afterwards, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting that in his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics. This man, amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, that it was not only a work of a divine miracle, but also that it did nothing abhor nature. "For it is nothing dissonant from nature, the substances of like things," saith he, "to be oftentimes changed one into another, so that nevertheless the accidents do remain; albeit the substance itself, and the matter subject, be changed." Then he declared it by the example of water boiling so long upon the fire, until all the substance thereof be evaporated. "Now," saith he, "it is the doctrine of the philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do

affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air ; notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed ; for the air is moist even as the water is."

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

When this argument was heard, the bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophical transmutation of elements, and like as it had been of more force than Chrysippus's argument, which passed all manner of solution.

The bishops' triumph before the victory.

Lambert's answer was long looked for here of all men ; who, as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the bishop's assumpt, that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. " For albeit," saith he, " that we do grant, with the philosophers, the air to be naturally moist ; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a diverse degree of moisture, and the water another. Wherefore, when the water is converted into the air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say ; but that is not the moisture of water, but the proper and natural moisture of the air. Whereupon there is another doctrine amongst the philosophers, as a perpetual rule, that it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject."

Lambert's answer to Stokesley.

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, inso-much that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

Taunts and raging against Lambert.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy ; for his ten arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop ; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible, and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Ten disputers against Lambert.

Lambert, in the mean time, being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages ; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock, until five at night ; being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace. Hereby it came to pass that those bishops, who last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert would now and then allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause ; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But, for the most part (as I said), being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace ; defending himself rather with silence, than with arguments, which, he saw, would nothing at all prevail.

Lambert in great perplexity.

Keepeth silence when speaking would do no good.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted,

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The king's words to him.

the king, minding to break up this pretended disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise: "What sayest thou now," said he, "after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." Then said the king, "Commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

The king condemneth this martyr of Christ.

Lambert: "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." And, by and by, turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, "Cromwell! read the sentence of condemnation against him." This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan (who oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell; who, afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the gospel's sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

The crafty fetch of Gardiner.

Lord Cromwell reads the sentence.

This, undoubtedly, was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, who desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But, to be short, Cromwell, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, who either spake or wrote any thing, or had any books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar: also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times every year in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert; wherein great pity it was, and much to be lamented, to see the king's highness that day so to oppose, and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly soul, to be devoured, whom his majesty, with more honour, might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many wolves and vultures; especially in such a cause, tending to no derogation to him nor his realm, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein, especially, consisteth the honour of princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth stand with him: which if the king had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his princely estate to all posterity.

The part of a good prince.

* But ¹ how much more commendable had it been for thee, O king Henry! (if that I may a little talk with thee, wheresoever thou art), if thou hadst aided and holpen the poor little sheep, being in so great perils and dangers, requiring thy aid and help against so many vultures and libardes; and hadst granted him rather thy authority, to use the same for his safeguard, rather than unto the other, to abuse it unto slaughter. For they, even of themselves, were cruel enough, that thou shouldst not have needed to have given thy sword of authority unto those mad men, whose force and violence if you had that day broken, believe me! you should have committed a worthy spectacle unto all men, and have done a most commendable and praiseworthy thing for yourself. For what hath that poor man Lambert offended against you? which never so much as once willed you evil, neither could resist against you.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

But, peradventure, you thought him to be an heretic! At the least his reasons and allegations should have been moderately heard; which if they had seemed more sound, you should have given place unto the truth; if not, notwithstanding, he should have been convinced, either with the like or more strong arguments, and have been reclaimed by all manner of means again into the way; for an error is not overcome with violence, but with truth. Truly it was not meet that you should have refused him, which so obediently yielded and submitted himself unto you. But, O king Henry! I know you did not follow your own nature therein, but the pernicious counsels of the bishop of Winchester: notwithstanding your wisdom should not have been ignorant of this (which all other kings also ought to consider, which, at this present, through the wicked instinctions of the bishops and cardinals, do so rage against the simple servants of Christ), that the time shall once come, when as ye shall give account of all the offences which you have either committed by your own fault, or by the counsel or advice of others. What shall then happen, if these miserable heretics, which you here in this world do so afflict and torment, shall come with Christ and his apostles and martyrs, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel, sitting upon their seats, if they, with like severity, shall execute their power upon you—what then I say shall become of you? With what face will ye behold their majesty, which here in this world have showed no countenance of pity upon them? With what heart will ye implore their mercy, which so unmercifully rejected and cast them off, when they fled unto your pity and mercy? Wherefore, if that the ears of princes be so prompt and ready to hearken unto the counsels of others, being void of counsel themselves, why do they not rather set apart these flatterers, backbiters, and greedy blood-suckers, and hearken unto the wholesome counsel of the prophetic king? which, crying out in the Psalms, sayeth, “Now, ye kings, understand, and ye which judge the earth be wise and learned, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Embrace his Son, lest that ye err and perish from the just way; for, when his wrath shall suddenly kindle, blessed are all they which trust in him.”*

But thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 533, 534; also Edition 1559, p. 153.—ED.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

with the Lord against that day, when as before the tribunal seat of that great Judge both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.¹

Lambert going to death.

And thus much, hitherto, of Lambert's articles, answers, disputation, and his condemnation also;² whence ye may understand by what craft and subtlety this good man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed; so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the bishops thought not to be long protracted. Now to proceed further to the story of his death.

Lord Cromwell desireth of Lambert forgiveness.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning unto the house of the lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, where as it is reported of many that Cromwell desired him of forgiveness for that he had done. There, at the last, Lambert being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered; and, being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When as the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where as he should offer himself unto the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his saints, for ever and ever. Amen.

See Addenda.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other who have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach, after the manner and form that is described in the picture adjoined. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, "None but Christ, none but Christ;" and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there gave up his life.

The words which he spake at his death.

The apology of John Lambert unto the king. The preface of his apology.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause unto king Henry. Wherein he first, mollifying the king's mind and ears with a modest and sober preface, declaring how he had a double hope of solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty prince of princes, God; the other next unto God in his majesty, which should represent the office and ministry of that most high prince in governing here upon earth; after that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done. And, albeit he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet notwithstanding, because he was not also ignorant how desirous the king's mind was to search out the truth, he thought no time unmeet

(1) Ex testimonio ejusdem αὐτόπτερου, A G.

(2) See Appendix.

to perform his duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence; but only unto the prince himself, unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

After this preface made, he, entering into the book, confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by divers testimonies of the Scriptures; by which Scriptures he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then, gathering together the minds of the ancient doctors, he did prove and declare, by sufficient demonstration, the sacrament to be a mystical matter: albeit he so ruled himself, in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny but that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Saviour, and the wine his natural blood: and that, moreover, his natural body and blood were in those mysteries; but after a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this protestation thus made, he inferreth the sentence of his confession, as here followeth:

A TREATISE BY JOHN LAMBERT UPON THE SACRAMENT;
Addressed to the King.

Christ is so ascended bodily into heaven, and his holy manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father (that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory), that, by the infallible promise of God, it shall not, or cannot, from thence return before the general doom, which shall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so can I not see how he can be corporally in the sacrament, or his holy supper. And yet, notwithstanding, do I acknowledge and confess, that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very body and blood in a certain manner, which shall be showed hereafter, with your grace's favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, instituting the same holy sacrament, and saying, 'This is my body, which is given for you:' and again, 'This is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.'

But now, for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heaven, and his holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c., that by the infallible promise of God he shall not, or cannot, any more from thence bodily return before the general doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the authorities of old holy doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing but that we have taught to us in these three articles of our Creed, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' For Christ did ascend bodily; the Godhead which is infinite, uncircumscribable, replenishing both heaven and earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

Scriptures affirming the same.

The Scriptures which I promised to allege for the confirmation of my said sentence, be these: 'He was lifted up into heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes. And when they were looking up into heaven, they saw two men,' &c.² Here it is evidently showed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribed body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words do testify: 'And when they were looking up;' 'Why stand you here looking up into heaven?' and, 'Even as ye have seen him,' &c. That, secondly, it was in body, I have before proved: and

(1) Matt. xxvi.

(2) Acts i.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth thus; 'To God only invisible,' &c.; and, 'He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth, nor may see,' &c.: therefore the manhood and natural body was assumpt, or did ascend. That, thirdly, it was in a circumscrip body, appeareth manifestly in this: first, that his ascension and bodily departing caused them to look up: and, secondly, that he was lifted up; that is to wit, from beneath or from alow; and thirdly, that a cloud received him; whereas no cloud nor clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

I am fain to leave out other evident arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow, in like form, how the angels made answer to the disciples, saying, 'Ye men of Galilee! why stand ye gazing into heaven? This Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come again, as you have seen him going up into heaven.' Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to that we read, 'I went forth from the Father, and I came into the world: I leave the world again, and I go unto the Father.'³ That is, not else but as he came from the Father of heaven into this world, in that he was incarnate and made man (for his Godhead was never absent, either from heaven, or yet from earth): even so should his manhood leave the world again, to go to heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, 'So shall he come,' is plainly testified, that he is away, and now, corporally absent.

Finally, it is showed, further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, 'Even as you have seen him going up into heaven?' which is not else but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to heaven, a cloud embracing him, and taking him from among you: even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the clouds, as we read in Matthew, 'You shall see the Son of Man to come in the clouds of heaven:'⁴ and again, 'And they shall see the Son of man.'⁵ Such other texts have we full many, declaring my sentence to be catholic and true; of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii., xiv., xvi., and xvii.; Rom. viii.; Ephes. i. and ii.; and 2 Cor. vi.; Heb. viii., ix., x., and xii.; and 1 Thess. iv.; and 1 Pet. ii.; which all do testify, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, and departing from it unto his Father, ascended into heaven; sitting still upon the right hand of the Father, above all dominion, power, and principality; where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father; and that he shall so bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.

Nothing can better, or more clearly testify and declare, what is contained in the sacrament of Christ's holy body and blood, than do the words of Scripture, whereby it was instituted. Mark doth agree with Matthew, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is; for, as the doctors do say, 'The gospel of Mark is a very epitome or abridgment of Matthew.' I shall therefore write the relations of them, touching the institution of this sacrament, together. The relation or testimony of Matthew is this: 'As they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.'⁶

The testimony or relation of Mark, is this: 'And as they did eat, Jesus took the bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, unto that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God.'⁷ Luke, being the companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. iv., doth so next agree with him in making relation of this supper, and holy institution of the sacrament. His relation or

(1) 1 Tim. i.

(2) 1 Tim. vi.

(3) John xvi.

(4) Matt. xxvi.

(6) Matt. xxiv.

(6) Matt. xxvi.

(7) Mark xiv.

The
gospel of
Mark
is an
abridg-
ment of
Matthew.

report is this: 'When he had taken bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also, after supper, he took the cup, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.'¹

Paul's testimony doth follow next, agreeably to Luke, and it is thus: 'For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you; that our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come.'² By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your grace, which I conceive of the holy sacrament of Christ's blessed body and blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy doctors and fathers, to show that I do not ground any thing upon myself. Thereafter shall I add certain arguments, which, I trust, shall clearly prove and justify my sentence to be true, catholic, and according both with God and his laws, and also with the mind of holy doctors.

My sentence is this: That Christ ascended into heaven, and so hath forsaken the world, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general doom; at which time he shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his natural body, which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; who died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so assumpt into heaven, we may soon prove; forasmuch as the Godhead of him is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth, and all that is besides, being infinite and interminable or uncircumscribable, so that it cannot properly either ascend or descend, being without all alterations, and immutable or unmovable. So that now his natural body, being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth,³ 'Whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.' And the same doth the article of our Creed teach us, which is, 'From thence [*i. e.* from heaven] shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead;' which time Paul calleth 'the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁴

Seeing then this natural body of our Saviour, that was born of his mother Mary being a virgin, is all whole assumpt into heaven, and departed out of this world, and, so as saith St. Peter, 'He must remain in heaven until the end of the world,' which he calleth, 'the time when all things must be restored;' this, I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the natural body of him can, contrariwise, be in the world, and so in the sacrament. And yet, notwithstanding, is this true, that the holy sacrament is Christ's body and blood, as after shall be declared.

Doctors affirming the same.

But first, for the establishing of my former purpose, that the natural body of our Saviour is so absent from this world, and ascended into heaven, that it can be here no more present until the general doom; I would beseech your grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy doctors in this purpose or matter, how agreeably they testify with that which is before showed. Amongst whom we have first St. Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus,⁵

'Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the creator, all things are made by him. But as touching man, Christ is a creature made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and ordained according to the similitude

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

(1) Luke xxii. (2) 1 Cor. xi. (3) Acts iii. (4) 1 Tim. vi.
 (5) 'Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, creator est Christus; omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Quod vero ad hominem,' &c. August. ad Dardanum. [Ep. 187. § 8, col. 680.]

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1538.

of men. Also, because man consisteth of two things, the soul and the flesh, in that he had a soul, he was pensive and sorrowful unto death; in that he had flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Christ, we do separate his manhood; nor, when we call the same Christ the Son of man, we do separate his Godhead from him. In that he was man, he was conversant upon the earth (and not in heaven, where he now is) when he said, No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he which descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven: although in that respect that he was the Son of God, he was in heaven; and in that he was the Son of man, he was yet in the earth, and as yet was not ascended into heaven. Likewise, in that respect that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of glory; and in that he is the Son of man, he was crucified: and yet, notwithstanding, the apostle saith, And if they had known the Lord of glory, they would never have crucified him. And by this, both the Son of man was in heaven; and the Son of God, in that he was man, was crucified upon earth. Therefore, as he might well be called the Lord of glory, being crucified, when as yet that suffering did only pertain unto the flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, when, according to the humility of his manhood in his flesh, he lay in the grave; and according to his soul, he was in the bottom of hell that same day. According to his divine immutability, he never departed from paradise, because, by his Godhead, he is always everywhere. Doubt you not, therefore, that there is Christ Jesus according to his manhood, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy christian confession; for he rose from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will he come from any other place than from thence, to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the voice of the angel beareth witness, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the selfsame form and substance of flesh, whereunto, undoubtedly, he gave immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his flesh, he is not to be thought to be everywhere. And we must take heed that we do not so affirm the divinity of his manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his body: for it is not a good consequent, that that thing which is in God, should so be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, that in Him we live, move, and have our being;¹ and yet, notwithstanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that man is otherwise in God, because God is otherwise in man, by a certain proper and singular manner of being: for God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is man, he is in heaven.

He
meaneth
Christ.

By these words of holy Augustine, your grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the blessed body or flesh of Christ to be nowhere else than in heaven. For to it being assumpt or ascended into heaven, God, as he saith, hath given immortality, but not taken away nature: so that by the nature of that holy flesh or body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, 'According to this form;' that is to wit, of his flesh, 'Christ is not to be thought to be in every place;' for if Christ should, in his humanity, be everywhere diffused or spread abroad, so should his bodily nature, or natural body be taken from him. And therefore he saith, 'For we must beware that we do not so affirm the divinity of man, that we do take away the humanity of his body.' But in that he is God, so is he everywhere, according to my words before written; and in that he is man, so is he in heaven. And, therefore, it is said, 'For God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. He, in that he is everywhere, is God: but in that he is man, he is in heaven.'

Christ's
body oc-
cupieth
one place.

And yet do we read, agreeably to the same matter, more largely in the same epistle, by these words:² 'Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father; and the same being the Son of Man, whereby the Father is greater, is present everywhere as God, and is in one and the same temple of God as God, and also in some place of heaven, as concerning the true shape of body.'

(1) Acts vii.

(2) 'Christum Dominum nostrum unigenitum Dei Filium, æqualem Patri, eundemque hominis Filium, quo maior est Pater, ut ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cæli, propter veri corporis modum,' &c.

Thus find we clearly, that for the measure of his very body he must be in one place, and that in heaven, as concerning his manhood; and yet everywhere present in that he is the eternal Son of God, and equal to his Father. Like testimony doth he give in the thirtieth treatise that he maketh upon the Evangelij of John. These be his words there written: ¹ 'Until the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the body of our Lord in which he rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place.' The first parcel, that is, 'until the world's end,' is so put, that it may join to the sentence going before, or else to these words following, 'The Lord is above,' &c.; and so should it well accord to my sentence before showed, which is, The Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from heaven until the general doom.

But howsoever the said clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill, for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full steadfast; inasmuch as the Scripture doth mention but two advents or comings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed incarnation, and the second is the coming at the general doom. And furthermore, in this article of our Creed, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead,' is not only showed wherefore he shall come again, but also when he shall come again; so that in the mean while, as the other article of our Creed witnesseth, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God his Father,' which is nothing else than to say, he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the aforesaid authority of Augustine, so have I read in his 'Quinquagenes,' upon a psalm, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number.¹ And the same words doth he also write in the epistle to St. Jerome; so that we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth use it as his usual proverb, or by-word.

In the same is also testified, that his blessed body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and article of our belief or creed, in heaven, it cannot be in earth; and much less can it be in so innumerable places of the earth, as we may perceive that the sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of Peter, 'Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things;' yet, as the words following make mention, 'Veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est,' 'But his verity is scattered everywhere.' This verity of Christ, or of his body, I do take to be what he in other places doth call 'virtus sacramenti,' 'the virtue of the sacrament.' As in the twenty-fifth treatise upon John we find thus written:² 'The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing.' And again,³ 'If any man eat of him, he dieth not; but he meaneth of him that doth appertain to the virtue of the sacrament, and not of him that pertaineth to the visible sacrament.' And to declare what is the 'virtue of the sacrament,' which I count to be 'the truth of the Lord or of his body,' he saith,⁴ 'He who eateth inwardly in spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he who cheweth with teeth.'

So that finally, this 'truth of the Lord or his body,' which is dispersed everywhere abroad, is the spiritual profit, fruit, and comfort, that is opened to be received everywhere of all men, by faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lord's body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and rose again, ascending immortal into heaven, where he sitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general doom or judgment. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly showed in the fiftieth treatise that he maketh upon John, where he doth expound this text, 'Ye have the poor always with you, but ye shall not always have me with you,' to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather catholic, than theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirm in his sermons of the second and third Feries of Easter; and in so many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so passing great.

(1) 'Donec sæculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Domini, &c. August. in Johan. tract. 30. [§ 1. This passage is rather differently punctuated in modern editions. The Psalm referred to a few lines lower by Lambert may be Ps. lv. § 3, tom. iv. col. 518; or xlv. § 20, col. 392.—Ed.]

(2) 'Aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti.' [Tract. xxvi. [§ 11.]

(3) 'Si quis manducaverit ex ipso, non morietur ["morietur," Benedictine edit.]; sed qui ["quod," Bened.] pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non qui ["quod," Bened.] pertinet ad visibile sacramentum,' &c.

(4) 'Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.' [§ 12.]

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1538.

The real
presence
against
the arti-
cle of our
creed.

The body
of Christ
can be
but in one
place at
once.

The verity
of
Christ,
the virtue
of the sa-
crament.

The verity
of the
Lord, or
of his
body, ex-
pounded.

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1538.

With him consenteth full plainly Fulgentius, in his second book to Thrasimundus, writing in this wise :¹

'One and the same man, being local in that he is man, who is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same, according to human substance, being absent from heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended up into heaven: but, according to his divine and almighty substance, neither departing from heaven when he descended from heaven, neither leaving the earth, when he ascended into heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubtful saying of our Lord himself; who, that he might the better show his humanity occupying a place, said unto his disciples, I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of Lazarus, Lazarus is dead, he adjoined, saying, And I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there. But, showing the greatness of his divinity, he said to his disciples, Behold I am with you unto the end of the world. For how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is local and true man? and how is he present to his faithful, but because he is Almighty and true God?' &c.

In this manner doth Fulgentius proceed forth, speaking much full agreeably to my sentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?

Christ in
his hu-
man sub-
stance is
local.

First he saith, that Christ being a man, is, as concerning his manhood, local, that is to say, contained in one place. And to express that more clearly, he addeth to it, saying, 'He is one and the same, according to his human substance; absent from heaven when he was in earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended into heaven;' whereas he hath a contrary antithesis² for the godly nature, to show forth the first point the more effectually. The antithesis is thus: 'But according to his divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving heaven when he descended from heaven, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into heaven.' Whereby that is also confirmed which I said: Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmoving; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it, 'almighty substance.' Furthermore, to show that Christ (as touching his human and natural body) is local, and in one place, he allegeth, and that right justly, two texts of Scripture: the first is, 'I ascend to my Father,' &c.; and the second is of Lazarus, 'I am glad for your sakes,' &c.

Finally, he maketh this demand: 'But how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is a local and very man?' whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to St. Augustine, writing as is above showed: 'And he shall so come (as the angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we do not so esteem his divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body.' So that they both do testify, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man; and that if he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore St. Augustine saith further, to Dardanus,³ 'Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be nowhere: and because they shall be nowhere, they shall have no being at all.'

We must
not so
defend
Christ's
divinity,
as to de-
stroy his
humanity.

Bodies
cannot be
without
limita-
tion of
place.

We, therefore, coveting to find Christ or his natural body, should seek for him in heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us St. Ambrose, in the tenth book which he writeth upon Luke, speaking of Christ's humanity assumpt, in this wise:⁴ 'Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now, according to the flesh, we do not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephen did not seek thee upon the earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right hand of God the Father: but Mary, who sought thee upon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee,

(1) 'Unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est; Deus immensus ex Patre. Unus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens e celo cum esset in terra,' &c.

(2) 'Antithesis,' that is to say, contrary position or relation.

(3) 'Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt: et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Aug. ad Dard.

(4) 'Ergo, non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te querere debemus, si volumus te invenire,' &c. Amb. in Luc.

because he sought thee in heaven: Stephen amongst the Jews saw thee being absent,' &c.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1538.

Thus we must seek for the natural body of Christ, not upon the earth, but in heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely show in the same treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christ's body:¹ 'How could it come to pass that the body could not rest in the sepulchre, in which the tokens of the wounds and scars did appear, which the Lord himself did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only establish the faith, but also augmented devotion)? Because he would rather carry up into heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father the price of our liberty: such a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our salvation,' &c.

Gregory also, in a homily of Pentecost, saith agreeably to the others, in these words:² 'When was it that he did not tarry with them, who, ascending up into heaven, promiseth, saying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the world? But the Word Incarnate tarrieth, and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in divinity. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them: even he who was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his corporal vision.' In like wise doth he testify in the Homily of Easter-day.

With these doth Bede accord in a homily of Easter, in which he declareth this text, 'A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while and ye shall see me';³ and also in a homily of the Vigil of Pentecost. And who can otherwise say or think, knowing the Scripture and our belief, but that the natural body of Christ is so assumpt into heaven all whole, that it must there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithstanding, seeing this is the chief point whereupon I seek to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy sacrament, that Christ's holy and natural body is so assumpt into heaven, that there it must remain all whole without returning until the general doom, I will yet, with the permission of your grace, add one or two arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentence to be faithful and catholic.

Arguments out of Scripture.

First, as Christ was enclosed, and so borne about, in the womb of his mother, being a virgin undefiled, and afterwards was born into this world, and put in a manger, and so he, growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, some time in Galilee, some time in Samaria, some time in Jewry, some time beyond, and some time on this side of Jordan, and consequently he was crucified at Jerusalem, there being enclosed and buried in a grave, from whence he did arise, so that the angels testified of him, 'He is risen, and is not here';⁴ and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, he was assumpt, or lifted up into heaven from the top of the mount of Olivet, in the sight of his disciples, a cloud compassing him about; even so shall he come from the same celestial place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the testimony of the angels.⁵ So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once; and so to be corporally in his natural body in heaven, and also in the earth; and that it is, moreover, in so many parts of the world, as men have affirmed.

Christ in his manhood not in many places at once.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoil Christ of the property of man's nature, which is, to be in one place, whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witness and teach to be man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. Paul doth teach, that Christ, in his manhood, was made in all points like unto his brethren, sin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his brethren? But here do some witty philosophers, yea, rather sophisters than divines, bring in, to the annulling of Christ's humanity,

The property of man's nature not to be sequestered from Christ.

(1) 'Quomodo non corpus quiesceret, in quo manebant insignia vulnerum, vestigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit?' &c.

(2) 'Quando non maneret apud eos, qui ascensurus cœlos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi,' &c. Gregorius in Hom. in Pent.

(3) John xvi.

(4) Matt. xxviii.

(5) Acts i.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.Things
corporal
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itual
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is local
and in
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a similitude of man's soul, which, being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soul and body of man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christ's body to be of one nature and property with his soul, and that things naturally corporal were not most diverse from creatures naturally spiritual.

Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were merely spiritual, and full like unto the substance of angels, yet could it not in this wise follow, that his body could be everywhere, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtleties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old doctors do define that the body of Jesus, exalted or assumpt into heaven, must be local, circumscribed, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or everywhere. How could Christ corporally depart out of this world, and leave the earth, if he in the kinds of bread and wine be not only corporally contained and received, but also there reserved, kept, and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testify? 'But Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to his Father,'¹ &c.; and in like form, 'And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into heaven:'² what do they signify, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his natural body being surely assumpt into heaven?

They do therefore undoubtedly declare that Christ, being very God and very man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being assumpt into heaven, where he remaineth sitting in glory with the Father: whereas yet his deity did not leave the world, nor depart out from the earth. Paul doth say,³ that of two things he wist not which he might rather choose, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh, for preaching the gospel; or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By which Paul doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, who yet do abide mortal in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the temple of Christ; and as Paul doth say,⁴ 'Do you not know yourselves that Jesus Christ is in you?' in which sense he also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ, therefore, must be otherwise in that place in which the apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the supper, or else in any other places of the churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean heaven, which is the paradise of perfect bliss and glory; where Christ, being a victor, triumpher, and conqueror over death, sin, and hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your grace doth see my sentence, so far forth, to be right catholic, christian, and faithful; according to holy Scripture, to holy fathers, and the articles of our christian belief. Which sentence is this: Christ's natural body is so assumpt into heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence; that is to wit, return from heaven until the end of the world: and therefore cannot the same natural body naturally be here in the world, or in the sacrament; for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and already come; which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood.

The Second part of this Matter.

How the
natural
body of
Christ is
in the sa-
crament.

Now my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your grace shall please to know it, as I, your poor and unworthy, but full true subject, would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it): I grant the holy sacrament to be the very and natural body of our Saviour, and his very natural blood, and that the natural body and blood of our Saviour is in the sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testify, 'Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you, and again, 'Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' Of which words, seeing on

(1) John xiii.

(2) Luke xxiv.

(3) Phil. ii.

(4) 2 Cor. xiii

them depend a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is, and hath been, all the controversy of this matter, I, therefore, shall show the interpretation that holy doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy of credit.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

First, we find in the second book of Tertullian, which he writeth against Marcion,¹ 'Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.' This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the sacrament, saying as is above written, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.' As who would say: If Christ had judged the bread evil, then would he not have left it for a sign or sacrament to represent his blessed body. Agreeably to the same doth he also say in the fourth book made against the said Marcion in these words:² 'Christ made the same bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a fantasy, could not receive a figure or a form.' This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural body, but a body fantastical; which error or heresy, this famous doctor Tertullian doth improve by the holy sacrament, saying, as before is written, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body: ergo, Christ had a very and true body; for a thing which is vain and fantastical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, 'This is my body:' which interpretation is not new, but authentic, or full ancient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the old doctors who followed him did ever reprove him there-for, but rather have followed it; as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalm, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, who so long did suffer and forbear Judas, as if he had been a good and an honest man: whereas, notwithstanding, he did know his traitorous thoughts, when he received him to the feast or supper in which he did commend and deliver to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of Augustine be these:³ 'In the history of the New Testament, the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Judas so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the feast in which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his disciples.'

The bread representeth the body of Christ.

Bread beareth a figure of Christ.

The patience of Christ in suffering Judas.

The same holy doctor also, writing against Adamantius, saith thus:⁴ 'For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.' And for a further declaration, in the same chapter, he saith,⁵ 'For so the blood is the soul, as the rock was Christ.' Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did signify Christ: but he doth say, that the rock was Christ.

Expressly doth Augustine here call the sign of Christ's body, his body; plainly interpreting these words, 'This is my body,' as both he and Tertullian did before.

Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, 'This is my body,' 'The soul is the blood,' and 'Christ was the stone,' to be of one phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this text, 'The rock was Christ,' doth he commonly thus expound: 'The rock did signify Christ;' as appeareth, lib. xviii. De Civitate Dei, cap. 48. Also in the Book of Questions upon Genesis, and in the Book of Questions upon Leviticus, handling John xviii.; and in his sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

The phrase of Scripture.

See Appendix.

In like manner also St. Jerome expoundeth it in the small Scholies, written upon 1 Cor. i., and all other writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as Lyra saith,⁶ 'The thing which signifieth, is wont to be called by the

(1) 'Ipse Christus nec panem reprobavit.' Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. ii.
 (2) 'Christus acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, etc. Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. iv.
 (3) 'In historia Novi Testamenti, ipsa Domini nostri tanta et tam admiranda patientia erat, quod eum tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum, &c.
 (4) 'Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui.' Aug. contra Adamantium.
 (5) 'Sic enim sanguis est anima, quomodo petra erat Christus,' &c.
 (6) 'Solet res quæ significat, nomine rei quam significat, nominari.' Lyranus.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.‘This is
my body,’
a figura-
tive
speech.

name of the thing which it doth signify.’ And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, who thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this text, ‘The stone was Christ,’ likewise doth he expound ‘The blood is the soul,’ with which he doth knit this text, ‘This is my body,’ to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy doctor write,¹ ‘Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived the same carnally; and thought that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said, This is a hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying hard. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves, He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid sacrament or mystery therein. They should have aboden with him, easy of belief, and not hard; and then should they have learned of him that which others learned, that tarried after they were gone away.’

The gross
Caper-
naites.

In this may we see, that our Saviour willetth his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been much controversy. The Jews of Capernaum were offended with Christ when he said, he would have his flesh eaten, and, except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this gross, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him, ‘This is a sore or hard saying.’ They did shoot forth their bolt and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had cause. They took that for hard and sore, which should have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

Hastiness
a great
hinder-
ance of
true judg-
ment.

And even so now, that which in this matter may appear at the first blush, a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, forasmuch as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads, and persuaded to our minds, yet, by deliberation and indifferent hearing, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear sore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your grace is, loving to hear and to know all truth. But the Capernautes were hard, as here saith Augustine, and not the word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have said in themselves, ‘Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein:’ and so, by patient tarrance, they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hastiness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the disciples tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words of life, the which to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death; for they took them literally and grossly: and the letter (as Paul saith) slayeth.

The
words of
the sacra-
ment un-
derstood
spiritu-
ally.The body
of Christ
not to be
eaten car-
nally.

But, to show what the disciples remaining with Christ did learn, St. Augustine doth consequently show, by the words of the gospel, saying thus:² ‘But he instructed them, and said unto them, The spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me. I have set forth to you a certain sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly.’ In this do we see, that both Christ and Augustine would have Christ’s words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally: and therefore doth he say, ‘You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me.’ And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken? But he would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his material or natural blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural body crucified, as saith Augustine; but he

(1) ‘Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam, non videbit vitam aeternam,’ &c. Aug. Psal. 1.

(2) ‘Ille autem instruxit eos, et ait illis; Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest,’ &c. 2 Cor. iiii.

ordained and willed his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his body was crucified for us, and that his blood was shed for remission of our sins.

This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is showed. Wherefore, as Christ saith, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting,' even so doth he say, 'He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting.' And St. Augustine, agreeable to the same, treating upon John, doth say,¹ 'Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten.' I do know that Christ ordained his sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but the same doth not feed the mind of men, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. 'It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.'²

And St. Augustine, assenting to the same, doth say in a sermon that he maketh upon these words in the Gospel of St. Luke, 'Lord teach us to pray';³ 'He said bread, but supersubstantial bread. This is not the bread which goeth into the body; but that bread which doth satisfy the substance of our soul.' Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the body and blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed body and blood so to be eaten and drunken; although our souls cannot live except they be spiritually fed with the blessed body and blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed sacrament, which is truly called his body and blood. Not that it is so really, but as is showed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Augustine, because it is a sign or figure of Christ's body and blood. And the signs or sacraments do commonly, as saith St. Augustine both 'Ad Bonifacium,' and in his work 'De Civitate Dei,' take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

But forasmuch as some will object that Augustine, in the words before rehearsed, doth not speak of eating the sacrament; for the text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the sacrament, which text is this, 'Unless a man may eat my flesh,' &c.; I answer that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto serveth the text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten either without the sacrament or in the sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful; as more evidently doth appear by these words there following⁴: 'I have commended unto you a sacrament, which, being understood of you spiritually, shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.'

Here doth he show that he meaneth of eating, not without the sacrament only, but also in the sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, 'I have commended unto you a certain sacrament,' &c.; but he addeth moreover, 'Although it is requisite the same to be celebrated visibly.' How, therefore, can the eating of Christ and the sacrament thereof be visibly celebrated, but in the Maundy, or in his supper; which is celebrated visibly in visible things of bread and wine, which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be understood and so received spiritually?

Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the supper, 'This is my body,' &c. St. Augustine, writing to Boniface, saith thus:⁵

'We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, The Passion of the Lord, whereas he, notwithstanding, had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say, upon the Lord's day, This day the Lord hath risen: whereas so many years are passed since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liars for this manner of speaking, because we call these days, according to the similitude of those in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but which, by course of time of the year coming about, is like

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

The sacrament truly called the body and blood of Christ.

Sacraments take their denomination of the things which they represent. Objection answered.

'This is my body' expounded by Augustine.

(1) 'At quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti,' &c. (2) Heb. xiii.

(3) 'Panem dixit, sed Epiousion, hoc est, supersubstantialem,' &c. Aug. in Serm. de Verbis Lucae. [See Appendix.]

(4) 'Sacrauentum aliquod vobis commendavi, quod spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos,' &c.

(5) 'Sepe ita loquimur, ut, Pascha appropinquante, crastinam vel penultimam Domini passionem dicamus,' &c. Augustin. ad Bonifacium. [Epist. 98, § 9, col. 267.]

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1538.

unto it; and also because that thing is said to be done that day, through the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himself? and yet, notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the sacrament in the solemn feasts of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, who, being demanded, answereth, that Christ is offered up: for, if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likeness, sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the selfsame things whereof they are sacraments.

The sacrament of the body is the body of Christ, after a certain manner.

'Therefore as, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ; even likewise, the sacrament of faith is faith: for to believe, is none other thing than to have faith. And by this it is answered, that the very infants have faith, because of the sacrament of faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the sacrament of conversion: for the very answer itself doth appertain unto the celebration of the sacrament. As the apostle speaketh of baptism; for he saith, We are buried by baptism into death. He did not say, We have signified a burying, but he plainly saith, We are buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing itself.'

Nothing can be more plainly spoken, or more agreeable to the natural understanding of the texts of the supper, and to the exposition before showed of Tertullian and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heaven, and so absent from the earth, it is needful to know how the holy sacrament, which he doth call his body and blood, should be his body and blood.

By analogy of the Scripture, speeches must be expounded one speech by another.

This holy doctor Augustine, therefore, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches; and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The first common speech is, 'We do,' saith he, 'use often to say, that when Easter doth approach or draw nigh, to-morrow, or the next day, is the Lord's passion: whereas he did suffer before many years past, and that passion was never but once done.'

The second common speech is, 'And of that Sunday we say, that this day the Lord did rise from death; whereas so many years be yet past since the time he arose.' Wherefore to conclude, he saith, 'No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lied, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfsame, but by revolution of time like unto it. And the resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time before past.'

Christ is offered in the sacrament mystically.

The third speech: 'Was not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? yet is he nevertheless offered in the sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the feast of Easter, but also every day: neither doth he lie, who, when he is demanded, shall answer, that he is offered up or sacrificed. For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all: by reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And, therefore, after a certain manner,¹ the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, and so also be the sacraments of faith called faith.' This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this: It is none other thing to believe, than to have faith. And therefore, when answer is made that the infants have faith, who indeed have it not in full working, it is answered that such have faith for the sacrament of faith, and that they do convert themselves unto faith for the sacrament of conversion. For the very answer itself doth pertain to the celebration of the sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that Good-Friday, or the day of Christ's passion, which is not indeed the day of Christ's passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever; and as we use to call the next Easter-day, the day of Christ's resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long

(1) After a certain manner: 'Quodam modo.'

time past; and as Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at Easter, but also every day in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented: even so, saith Augustine, is the sacrament of Christ's body the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood the blood of Christ, in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the sacrament is his natural body or blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before showed be of his very and natural body crucified for us, and of his precious blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? for they, saith Augustine, have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or sacraments; for else they should be no sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part, receive the denomination of the things whereof they be sacraments.

So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood the very body and blood of Christ, but as he said before. But yet he saith, in a certain manner or wise. Not that the sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural body and blood; for this is a false argument of sophistry, which they call 'Secundum quid ad simpliciter'; that is to say, that the sacrament of Christ's body is in a certain wise the body of Christ: *ergo*, it is also plainly and expressly the natural body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a lion, a lamb, and a door: *ergo*, Christ is a natural lion, and a lamb, or a material door. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is therefore called his body and blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption: which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently allege of baptism: 'Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus dicit,' &c. 'The apostle,' quoth Augustine, 'saith not, We have signified burying, but he saith utterly, We be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sin, who yet do live in all sin.' And therefore saith Augustine immediately thereupon, 'He called therefore the sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name than of the thing itself.'

Thus, O most gracious and godly prince! do I confess and acknowledge, that the bread of the sacrament is truly Christ's body, and the wine to be truly his blood, according to the words of the institution of the same sacrament: but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significatively, according to the exposition of the doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old doctors am I enforced both by the articles of my creed, and also by the circumstances of the said scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same can I not find the natural body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent both from the sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in heaven, where he, by promise, must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The same holy doctor, writing against one Faustus, saith in like manner,¹ 'If we do prefer with great admiration the Maccabees, because they would not once touch the meats which christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time, being then prophetic, that is, in the time of the Old Testament; how much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the baptism of Christ, and for the sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the Old Testament were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of things complete and finished?' In this do I note, that according to the expositions before showed, he calleth the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, 'signum Christi;' and that, in the singular number, forasmuch as they both do signify well-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he calleth them 'indicia rerum completarum;' that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And then he doth usually call both the sacraments 'signum Christi,' in the singular number. And as the same St. August-

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1538.

The celebration of the sacrament representeth the oblation of Christ's body.

A 'fallax in logic, a 'secundum quid ad simpliciter.' The pope's argument.

The sign of Christ.

(1) 'Si Machabæos cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia esæas quibus nunc Christiani licite utantur attingere noluerunt (quia tunc pro tempore propheticum non licebat), quanto magis nunc pro baptismo Christi, pro eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi,' &c. Aug. contra Faustum. [lib. xix. cap. 14.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1538.

tine in his fiftieth treatise upon the Gospel of St. John teacheth, where he saith thus: ' If thou be good, if thou pertain to the body of Christ (which this word Petrus doth signify), then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through faith; here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the sacrament of baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the altar,' &c.

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much only came to our hands.

The Death of Robert Packington.

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of God's word, and of all good proceedings. The story is this: The said Robert Packington, being a man of substance, *yet² not so rich, as discreet and honest,* and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, to go to prayers at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercer's Chapel. And one morning amongst all others, being a great misty morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly murdered with a gun, which of the neighbours was plainly heard; and, by a great number of labourers standing at Soper-lane end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while unespied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murderer so covertly was conveyed, till at length, by the confession of Dr. Incent, dean of Paul's, on his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian, for sixty crowns or thereabouts, to do the feat. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Incent, the names both of them that heard him confess it, and of them that heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

Dr. Incent, dean of Paul's, murderer of Packington.

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

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

(1) ' Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertines (quod significat Petrus), habes Christum, et in presentibus et in futuro. In presentibus per fidem,' &c.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 525—£d

The Burning of one Collins at London.*Henry VIII.*

A. D. 1538.

See Addenda.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, some time a lawyer and a gentleman, who suffered the fire this year also in Smithfield, A. D. 1538; whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for a heretic; but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning so, without all discretion, this man, being mad, and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth.

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

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

Collins
burned
for hold-
ing up a
dog at
mass.

The Burning of Cowbridge at Oxford,

A. D. 1538.

See Appendix.

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

* The¹ fruitful seed of the gospel at this time had taken such root in England, that now it began manifestly to spring and show itself in all places and all sorts of people, as it may appear in this good man Cowbridge; who, coming of a good stock and family, whose ancestors, even from Wickliff's time hitherto, had been always favourers of the gospel, and addict to the setting forth thereof in the English tongue, was born at Colchester, his father's name being William Cowbridge, a wealthy man, and head baily of Colchester, and of great estimation.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 570.—ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1538.

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

See Appendix.

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

First, That in the second article of the creed, he would not have it 'Et in Jesum Christum,' &c., but 'Et in Jesum Jesum,' &c. The second, That every poor priest, be he never so poor or needy, being of a good conversation, hath as great power and authority in the church of God and ministration of the sacraments, as the pope or any other bishops.*

What his opinions and articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse; for as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, who said he could not tell what? And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then

Cope, in
his Dia-
logues.

was he, in my judgment, a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

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

* When,¹ through their false accusations and articles, they had obtained a writ of the lord chancellor for the execution of this poor man, unto whom the lord chancellor himself was somewhat allied, they came unto him into the prison, promising him meat and drink and other refreshing, if that he would again promise them that when he should come unto the stake, he would speak and say such things as they should appoint and minister unto him. This Cowbridge, being as before you have heard almost famished, for the desire of meat and sustenance promised to do all things they would require of him. Whereupon, for a certain space after he was well cherished, and recovered some part of his senses and strength.*

But, to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatsoever his madness was before, or howsoever erroneous his articles were (which, for the fond fantasies of them, I do not express), yet, as touching his end, this is certain, that, *when² the day appointed for execution was come, this meek lamb of Christ was brought forth unto the slaughter with a great band of armed men; and, being made fast in the midst of the fire, (contrary to their expectation)* oftentimes calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, with great meekness and quietness he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

The right confession of Cowbridge, at his departing.

Puttedew and Leiton, Martyrs.

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

Non est bonum ludere cum impiis.

*The³ great and almost infinite number of most holy martyrs, the variety of matter, and the great celerity used in writing of this story, is such, that we cannot use such exact diligence in perusing them all,

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 571.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.

(3) See Ed. 1563, p. 570.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

or have so perfect memory in keeping the order of years, but that, sometime, we shall somewhat the more swerve or go astray; whereby it hath happened that this man William Leiton, as it were lying hidden amongst the great multitude of others, had almost escaped our hands; whom, notwithstanding that we have somewhat passed his time, yet do we not think meet to omit, or leave out of this catalogue or history.*

Leiton, martyr.

This William Leiton was a monk of Aye in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about in the processions at Aye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds. *This was done* about the year and time aforesaid, *A. D. 1537.*

The Burning of N. Peke, Martyr, at Ipswich.

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

Forty days' pardon for casting sticks into Peke's fire.

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

See Appendix.

In the year last before this, which was A. D. 1537, it was declared how pope Paul III. indicted a general council, to be holden at Mantua:¹ whereunto the king of England, amongst other princes, being called, refused either to come or to send at the pope's call, and for defence of himself directed out a public apology or protestation, rendering just and sufficient matter why he neither would, nor was bound to obey, the pope's commandment; which protestation is before to be read. This council appointed to begin the 23d day of May, the year aforesaid, was then stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no council there, unless the pope would fortify the city with a sufficient army, &c.; for which cause

(1) Of this council of Mantua read before, p. 138.

the pope prorogued the said council, to be celebrated in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the city of Vicenza (lying within the dominion of the Venetians) to be the place for the council. Whereunto when the king, the year next following (which is this present year of our Lord, 1538), was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort either himself, or to send, he, again refusing (as he did before), sendeth this protestation, in way of defence and answer for himself, to the emperor or other christian princes; the copy and effect whereof hereunder followeth, and is this.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

A Letter of King Henry the Eighth to the Emperor, &c. containing his reasons for refusing to take part in the Council of Vicenza.

See Appendix.

Henry the eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and France, &c. saluteth the emperor, christian princes, and all true christian men, desiring peace and concord amongst them:

Whereas, not long since, a book¹ came forth in our, and all our council's names, which contained many causes why we refused the council, then by the bishop of Rome's usurped power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the 23d day of May, afterwards prorogued to November, no place appointed where it should be kept: And whereas the same book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of men addicted to one sect, nor in any other council called by his usurped power; we think it nothing necessary so oft to make new protestations, as the bishop of Rome and his courts, by subtlety and craft, do invent ways to mock the world by new pretended general councils. Yet, notwithstanding, because that some things have now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now, being known to the world, may do much good, we thought we should do but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Christ's faith and religion, to add this epistle. And yet we protest, that we neither put forth that book, neither yet we would this epistle to be set before it, that thereby we should seem less to desire a general council than any other prince or potentate, but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteem and think, that no prince would more willingly be present at such a council than we: such a one we mean, as we speak of in our protestation made concerning the council of Mantua.

The pope doth but mock the world with his pretended council.

General councils are to be wished, so they might be universal.

Truly as our forefathers invented nothing more holy than general councils, used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the christian commonwealth, to the faith, to our religion, than general councils, if they be abused to lucre, to gains, to the establishment of errors. They be called 'general,' and even by their name do admonish us, that all christian men, who do dissent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure, say their mind. For seeing such things as are decreed in general councils, touch equally all men that give assent thereunto, it is meet that every man may boldly say there, what he thinketh. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a general council, where only those men are heard, who are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the bishop of Rome's quarrel, though it were against God and his Scripture. It is no general council, neither ought it to be called general, where the same men be both advocates and adversaries, the same accused and judges. No, it is against the law of nature, either that we should condescend to so unreasonable a law against ourselves, or that we should suffer ourselves to be left without all defence, and, being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succour ourselves at. The bishop of Rome and his, be our great enemies, as we and all the world may well perceive by his doings.

Nothing more pernicious to the church than general councils, if they be abused.

The pope's councils are not general. He is the party accused, and also the judge; which is against all reason.

(1) Of this book read before, p. 138.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1538.

How the
pope's
honour is
gotten.

He desireth nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realm; do not we then violate the judgment of nature, if we give him power and authority to be our judge? His pretended honour, first gotten by superstition, after increased by violence and other ways as evil as that; his power set up by pretence of religion, indeed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God; his primacy, borne by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood: these three things, we say, which are fallen with us, and are like to fall in other realms shortly, shall they not be established again, if he may decide our cause as him lusteth? if he may, at his pleasure, oppress a cause most righteous, and set up his, most against truth? Certainly he is very blind that seeth not what end we may look for of our controversies, if such our enemy may give the sentence.

Provision
to be
made
against
popish
subtle-
ties.

We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a council, where some hope may be that those things shall be restored, which now, being depravate, are like (if they be not amended) to be the utter ruin of christian religion. And as we do desire such a council, and think it meet that all men, in all their prayers, should desire and crave it of God, even so we think it appertaineth unto our office, to provide both that these popish subtleties hurt none of our subjects, and also to admonish other christian princes, that the bishop of Rome may not, by their consent, abuse the authority of kings, either by the extinguishing of the true preaching of Scripture (that now beginneth to spring, to grow and spread abroad), or to the troubling of princes' liberties, to the diminishing of kings' authorities, and to the great blenish of their princely majesty. We doubt nothing but a reader not partial, will soon approve such things as we here write, not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtleties of the Papists; and also how much we desire that controversies, in matters of religion, may once be taken away.

This time
unmeet
for a
general
council,
and why.

All that we said there of Mantua,¹ may here well be spoken of Vicenza. They do almost agree in all points; neither is it like that there will be any more at this council at Vicenza, than were the last year at Mantua. Truly he is worthy to be deceived, that, being twice mocked, will not beware the third time. If any this last year made forth towards Mantua, and, being half on their way, then perceived that they had taken upon them that journey in vain, we do not think them so foolish, that they will hereafter ride far out of town to be mocked. The time also, and the state of things is such, that matters of religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other things are), than be commodiously entreated of and decided. For whereas in manner the whole world is after such sort troubled with wars, so encumbered with the great preparations that the Turk maketh, can there be any man so against the settling of religion, that he will think this time meet for a general council? Undoubtedly it is meet that such controversies as we have with the bishop of Rome, be taken as they are; that is, much greater than that they may either be discussed in this so troublesome a time, or else be committed unto proctors, without our great jeopardy, albeit the time were ever so quiet.

Neither
the judge
nor the
place con-
venient.

What other princes will do, we cannot tell; but we will never leave our realm at this time, neither will we trust any proctor with our cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of our realm standeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof ourself. For, except both another judge be agreed upon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be provided for the debating of our causes, albeit all other things were as we would have them, yet may we lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended council. We will, in no case, make him our arbiter, who, not many years past, our cause not heard, gave sentence against us². We will that such doctrine as we, following the Scripture, do profess, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning.

We will not suffer them to be abolished, ere ever they be discussed,³ nor to be oppressed before they be known; much less will we suffer them to be trodden down being so clearly true. No, as there is no jot in Scripture but we will defend it, though it were with jeopardy of our life, and peril of this our realm;

(1) This council of Mantua which the pope prorogued, he afterward transferred to Vincenza. This was the year 1537.

(2) Read before, p. 68, note.—Ed.

(3) Spoken like a king.

so is there nothing that doth oppress this doctrine, or obscure it, but we will be at continual war therewith. As we have abrogated all old popish traditions in this our realm, which either did help his tyranny, or increase his pride; so, if the grace of God forsake us not, we will well foresee that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent, to blind us or our realm.¹

If men will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see, even by a due and evident proof in reason, though grace doth not yet, by the word of Christ, enter into them, how small the authority of the bishop of Rome is, by the lawful denial of the duke of Mantua for the place. For, if the bishop of Rome did earnestly intend to keep a council at Mantua, and hath power, by the law of God, to call princes to what place him liketh, why hath he not also authority to choose what place him listeth? The bishop chose Mantua: the duke kept him out of it. If Paul the bishop of Rome's authority, be so great as he pretendeth, why could he not compel Frederic, the duke of Mantua, that the council might be kept there? The duke would not suffer it: no, he forbade him his town.

How chanceth it, that here excommunications fly not abroad? Why doth he not punish this duke? Why is his power, that was wont to be more than full, here empty? wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a council, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place to which he calleth them? May not kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooseth? If other princes order him as the duke of Mantua hath done, what place shall be left him, where he may keep his general council?²

Again, if princes have given him this authority to call a council, is it not necessary that they give him also all those things, without which he cannot exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him to find no place to call them unto? Truly he is not wont to appoint one of his own cities, a place to keep the council in. No, the good man is so faithful and friendly toward others, that seldom he desires princes to be his guests.

And admit he should call us to one of his cities, should we safely walk within the walls of such our enemy's town? were it meet for us there to discuss controversies of religion, or to keep us out of our enemy's traps? meet to study for the defence of such doctrine as we profess, or rather how we might in such a throng of perils be in safeguard of our life? Well, in this one act the bishop of Rome hath declared that he hath none authority upon places in other men's dominions; and therefore, if he promise a council in any of those, he promiseth that which is in another man to perform; and so may he deceive us again.

Now, if he call us to one of his own towns, we be afraid to be at such a host's table. We say, better to rise an hungered, than to go thence with our bellies full. But they say, the place is found; we need no more to seek where the council shall be kept. As who saith, that what chanced at Mantua, may not also chance at Vicenza:³ and as though it were very like that the Venetians, men of such wisdom, should not both foresee, and fear also, what the wise duke of Mantua seemed to fear! Certes, when we think upon the state that the Venetians be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing, that they will either leave Vicenza their city, to so many nations, without some great garrison of soldiers; or else that they, being elsewhere so sore charged already, will now nourish an army there.

And if they would, doth not Paul himself grant it should be an evil precedent, and an evil example, to have an armed council?

Howsoever it shall be, we most heartily desire you, that ye will vouchsafe to read those things that we wrote this last year touching the Mantuan council. For we nothing doubt but you, of your equity, will stand on our side against their subtlety and frauds, and judge (except we be deceived) that we, in this business, neither gave so much to our affections, neither without great and most just causes refused their councils, their censures, and decrees.

Whether these our writings please all men, or no, we think we ought not to pass much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us, may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of

Henry

VIII

A. D.

1538.

The duke of Mantua denieth the pope his city for his council.

The pope hath no power upon places in other men's dominions.

Dilemma against the pope.

See Ad. lenda.

(1) Would God the king here had kept promise, when he made the six articles.

(2) If the pope's authority may be stopped by a duke, what authority then hath he over kings and emperors?

(3) Vicenza was a city under the dominion of the Venetians.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1538.

things by men partial, shall move us nothing, or else very little. If we have said aught against the deceits of the bishop of Rome that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto his vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices, than with him and his, our prayer is, that it may please God, at the last, to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may, with us (their own glory set apart), study to set forth the everlasting glory of the everlasting God.

Thus, mighty emperor, fare you most heartily well; and ye christian princes, the pillars and staye of Christendom, fare ye heartily well. Also all ye, what people soever ye are, who do desire that the gospel and glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye heartily well.

As the Lord, of his goodness, had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan (who is adversary and enemy to all good things) had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to impeach and put back the same; who, after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert (as ye have heard), proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking, under the names of heresies, sects, anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books and faithful professors of God's word out of England, so wrought with the king, that that same year, which was A. D. 1538, he gave out these injunctions, the copy and contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these.

See Appendix.

Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King, against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also, with putting down the Day of Thomas Becket.

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

No books to be translated without the name of the translator.

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

English books of Scripture forbidden to be printed.

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

Against Sacramentaries.

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

No man to dispute of the sacrament.

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

Item, That the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping

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

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1539.

This ¹ article was made for that the people were not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then used.

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

Married
priests
punished.

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

Difference
between
things
com-
manded
of God,
and cere-
monies
uncom-
manded.

Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, some time archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's highness's noble progenitor, king Henry the Second, for the commonwealth, rest and tranquillity of this realm, of his froward mind fled the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said realm); and that his death, which they untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue by him made; and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen who then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that rescue, and he not only called the one of them 'bawd,' but also took Tracy by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church, so that upon this fray, one of their company, perceiving the same, strake him, and so in the throng Becket was slain: and further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been both a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the clergy:

Becket
noted of
stubborn-
ness.

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

A rebel
rather
than a
saint.

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

The ca-
noniza-
tion of
Becket
rased.

(1) i. e. the article just given.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.

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

A. D.
1539.

Here followeth how religion began to go backward.

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

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

The course of the gospel interrupted by malicious enemies.

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

Marriage of queen Anne of Cleve.

See Appendix.

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

The occasions which Winchester did work by.

It happened the same time, that the lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realm, devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the lady Anne of Cleve,¹ whose other sister was already married unto the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance, should be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany; and so thereby godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the king to stumble at. For, when the parents of the noble lady were communed withal for the furtherance of the said marriage, among others of her friends whose good will was required, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, misliked the marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed

The king brought out of credit with the

(1) This lady Anne of Cleve was married to the king [January 6th], A. D. 1540.

upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followed that the slackness of the duke in that behalf being espied, crafty Winchester, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the king's mind from the amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof he brought the king at length clean out of credit with that religion and doctrine, which the duke had then maintained many years before.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

doctrine of the German princes.

This wily Winchester, with his crafty fetches, partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the king's ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow religion, first bringing him in hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other foreign powers to rise against him; but especially of civil tumults and commotions here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion, and dissolving of abbeyes, and for abolishing of rites and other customs of the church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring, moreover, what a dangerous matter in a commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, he exhorted the king, for his own safeguard, and public quiet and tranquillity of his realm, to see betimes how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would show himself sharp and severe against these new sectaries, anabaptists and sacramentaries (as they called them); and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholic faith, as whereby he might recover again his credence with christian princes, and whereby all the world besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. By these and such like crafty suggestions the king being too much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other princes; especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general council at Vicenza, being thereto invited both by the emperor, and other foreign potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore, although he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself, nevertheless, to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blind opinion of the world then did esteem them), first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then, afterwards, he gave out those injunctions above prefixed; and now, further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was A. D. 1539, through the device and practice of certain of the pope's factors about him, he summoned a solemn parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28th day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realm. also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The wicked counsel of Gardiner and others, about the king.

The king abused by wicked counsel.

See Appendix.

The pope's crafty factors in England.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

The Act of the Six Articles.

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

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet, for that the office of history compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posterity to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another, this shall be briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the aforesaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The First Article.

Transubstantiation.

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

The Second Article.

The sacrament in both kinds excluded.

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

The Third Article.

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

The Fourth Article.

That vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly,¹ ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of christian people, which, without that, they might enjoy.

The Fifth Article.

That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; as whereby good christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; ² and it is agreeable also to God's law.

The Sixth Article.

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

(1) 'Advisedly,' that is, made above the age of one and twenty years, priests only excepted.

(2) By these benches of private masses, is meant, the helping of souls in purgatory.

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realm, craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail unless strait and bloody penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practice, to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament, as followeth.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The Penalty upon the first Article.

That if any person or persons, within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphering, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; or, after the time above said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the means above said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is above said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament: that then, every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the authority above said), should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatsoever they were, * which¹ any such offender or offenders should have, at the time of * any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason.

Transubstantiation.

Suffering without any abjuration.

Loss of goods.

Opinion against the sacrament of the altar made treason.

The Penalties upon the last five Articles.

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

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

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

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

Inquisition upon the six articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted

(1) See Editions 1563, 1570, and 1576: the first reads "shall have."—ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.A bloody
inquisition.

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

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

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

The Oath of the Commissioners.

*See
Appendix.*

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

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

Truth in
danger,
left deso-
late.

These six articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning (as all men having any judgment in God's word may plainly understand), yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the king's mind so fully addicted, upon politic respects, to have these articles pass forward, few or none in all that parliament would appear, who either could perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then, being married (as is supposed), like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, oppressed in the parliament; three days together disputing

Cranmer
only,
standeth
up openly
in parlia-
ment,
against
the six
articles.

against those six wicked articles; bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause, “Nisi pars major vicisset, ut sæpe solet, meliorem;” who, in the said disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was disliked of the king; and again, his reasons and allegations were so strong, that they could not well be refuted. Wherefore the king (who ever bare special favour unto him), well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council-chamber, for a time (for safeguard of his conscience), till the act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation, refused to do.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Willed to depart thence for his conscience; but refuseth.

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

Comforted again by the king.

See Appendix.

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

Allegations against the Six Articles.

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

THE FIRST ARTICLE; OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

And first, as touching the article of transubstantiation, wherein this parliament doth enact that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the selfsame which was born of the Virgin

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, after the priest's consecration; but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine: First, here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs, in that form of words as it standeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, universally for a catholic, that is, for a general opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under pope Innocent III.. A. D. 1216.

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

The article of the sacrament consisteth in two parts.

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

The presence of the natural body of Christ, well expounded, may be granted. Absence of bread.

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

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

But as concerning the second member or part of the article, which

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

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

The body of Christ cannot be in the sacrament of his body.

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

Argumentum à Definitione.

- Ca-* A sacrament is, that which beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a sacrament.
mest- Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which is there signified.
res. Ergo, Accidents can in no wise be a sacrament.¹

Wherefore, upon this argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow.

- Da-* In the sacrament of the Lord's body, the thing that representeth, must needs bear a similitude of the thing represented.
ri- The substance of bread in the sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christ's body.
i. Ergo, The substance of bread must needs be in the sacrament.

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent that these two parts in the article aforesaid are evil couched together, wherof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the article be true, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, and seeing the sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present, must needs be the substance of bread, and not the accidents only of bread, as is above proved, then the substance of bread cannot be evacuated from the sacrament ; and so the second member of the article must needs be false.

The popish presence and transubstantiation cannot stand together.

Or, if the second part be true, that there is no substance of bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the sacrament of the natural body of Christ but only the substance of bread, forasmuch as the accidents of bread can make no sacrament of Christ's body, as is above showed ; then, taking away the substance of bread, the first part of the article must needs be false, which saith, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament ; forasmuch as the substance of bread being evacuated, there remaineth no sacrament,

Transubstantiation disagreeeth from the Scripture.

(1) Aug. ad Bonif., Epist. xxiii.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

A late opinion of no antiquity.

wherein the body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the treatise of John Lambert upon the sacrament, as also in sundry other places in these volumes besides. Thirdly, that the said article of transubstantiation is no ancient or authentic doctrine in the church publicly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most above the time of Lanfranc A. D. 1070, it remains now to be proved.

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

In this time of Lanfranc, I deny not but that this question of transubstantiation began to come in controversy, and was reasoned upon, amongst certain learned of the clergy. But that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or prescribed in the church, for a general law or catholic doctrine, of all men necessarily to be believed, before the time of the aforesaid Innocent III.,¹ it may be doubted, and also by histories of time, proved to be false.

Phrases of the doctors speaking of the sacrament.

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

The papists falsely pretend antiquity for their transubstantiation.

Doctors against transubstantiation.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of Tertulian and of Augustine;² who both do teach the sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and a representation of the Lord's body, and knew no such transubstantiation; and yet were no traitors nor heretics.

Neither was St. Ambrose any heretic or traitor, where he writeth these words, "Ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud non convertantur," &c.; which words Lanfranc could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of Ambrose. Gelasius was bishop of Rome, and lived about five hundred years after Christ, and

(1) Innocent the Third was bishop of Rome, A. D. 1215.

(2) A. D. 408.

speaketh of a transmutation¹ of the bread and wine into the divine nature; but there, expounding himself, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, so that he expressly showeth the elements of bread and wine, notwithstanding, to remain still in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the same effect: unto which words Contarenus in the assembly of Ratisbon could not well answer, but stood astoned.

Theodoret likewise,² speaking of the visible symbols, hath these words: "After the sanctification they remain in their former substance, figure, and form."

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

Hesy chius also,³ who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of the said mystery, to be both flesh and bread; declaring thereby two substances to be in the sacrament. By the which we have to understand that transubstantiation, in his age, was not crept into the church; and yet neither heresy, nor treason, therefore, was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Emissene, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the body and blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, that outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward,⁴ &c.; wherein, no doubt, he spake against this article, and yet no man, in all that age, did accuse him therefore to be either heretic or traitor.

Here might be added the words of Fulgentius,⁵ "This cup is the new testament; that is, this cup which I deliver unto you, signifieth the new testament."

Bede also, who lived about the year 730, writing upon the twenty-first Psalm, hath these words:⁶ "Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the sacraments, and shall be filled eternally; because they shall understand in bread and in wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true body and true blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished."

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

(1) Gelasius, lib. contra Eutichem.

(2) Μένει γάρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶτης οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους. Theodoretus, Secund. Dial. contra Eutichem.

(3) 'Quod simul panis et caro est.' Hesy chius, lib. ii. in Levit. c. 8. [See Albertinus de Eucharistia, p. 851.]

(4) 'Quod in exteriori nihil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est.' Enissenus [In Decret. part. iii.] De Consecratione Dist. ii. [§ 35.] 'Quia corpus.' (A. p. 500.)

(5) 'Ilic calix est novum testamentum; id est, hic calix quem vobis trado, novum testamentum significat.'

(6) 'Edent pauperes, &c. Pauperes, id est, mundi contemptores edent quidem realiter, si ad sacramenta referatur, et saturabuntur aeternaliter, quia intelligent in pane et vino visibilibus sibi proposito aliud, invisibile scilicet corpus verum et sanguinem verum Domini, quae verus cibus et verus potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur,' &c.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

See Appendix.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars. Briefly to conclude; the further the church hath been from these our latter days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous article of transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of Bertram and of Haymo, who were about the year of our Lord 810, under Charlemagne.¹

By whose writing it is evident, that the church was infected as yet with no such fantasy of transubstantiation, neither did any almost dream of taking away the substance of bread from the sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and others who lived in that age, do attribute to the sacrament the honourable name and reverence (as we also do) of the Lord's body and blood, yet they exclude not from thence all substance of meal and bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of Haymo doth appear. Where he, following the words of Bede, showeth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lord's body?² "Because," saith he, "bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the blood of Christ." What can be more effectually spoken to prove the substance of bread there to remain? for take away the substance of bread and wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm man's heart, or engender blood in the flesh? And therefore, seeing there must needs something remain, that must be referred to Christ's body and blood in that sacrament, it either must be the substance of bread and wine, or else it can be no sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith, that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a sacrament of the Lord's body.

And likewise the same Haymo, in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of corn and wine, declareth how our Saviour making of them "an apt mystery," converteth them to "a sacrament of his body and blood,"³ &c.

Bertram likewise, as he lived in the same age, so in like sort he showed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For, as Haymo, writing in these words, declareth,⁴ "The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing: for the sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is satisfied."

So after like manner, Bertram, according to the same, thus writeth:⁵ "The bread, which by the ministry of the priest is made the body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly, it is bread, the same it was before; the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth: but inwardly, there is another matter far more precious and more excellent, because it is

(1) Charlemagne, born A. D. 742, died A. D. 814.—ED.

(2) 'Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur: vinum autem quia sanguinem poeratur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur.' Haymo, De Sermonum Proprietate, lib. v. c. 11

(3) Haymo, lib. vii. in Eccl. cap. 8.

(4) 'Quia aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti: sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur.' Haymo, lib. vii. in Eccl. cap. 8.

(5) 'Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus elicitor, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat,' &c. A. D. 810. Bertram. lib. De Corpore et Sang. Domini.

heavenly, which is the body of Christ, that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind," &c.

We will now proceed to the testimony of Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz, and scholar some time to Alcuinus, in Paris, an Englishman; who, living also in the same age with Haymo and Bertram (which was eight hundred years after Christ), giveth the like testimony of this doctrine in his Book of Institutions; ¹ where he, asking the question why the Lord would give the mysteries of his body and blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour, thus he answereth again: "The Lord," saith he, "would rather that the sacraments of his body and blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the visible action the invisible effect might be showed. For, like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soul: for man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God." And after followeth, "For this bread and drink signifieth the eternal society of the head and of the members together." And again: "For the sacraments are one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is received with the mouth; with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is nourished; for the sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the body; but, by the virtue of the sacrament, the dignity of eternal life is gotten. Wherefore, like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also are we turned into the body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly," &c.

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

With the same Rabanus, also, accordeth another of the like standing and doctrine also, called Christianus Druthmarus, ² who, writing upon Matthew, "The wine," saith he, "doth cheer and cherish the blood; and, therefore, not inconveniently the blood of Christ is figured thereby: for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us." And a little before, the said Druthmarus saith, "The Lord gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body to the remission of sins, and keeping of charity; that they, always remembering his doing, might do that in figure, which he should do for them. 'This is my body,' saith he; that is, in sacrament." This Druthmarus lived also in the time of Charlemagne, as witnesseth the abbot of Spanheim.

After Bertram was Johannes Scotus, or else, as some call him, Johannes Erigena; a man well accepted with Charles the Bald, and afterwards with Louis the Stammerer, about A. D. 880. He wrote a book, 'De Corpore et Sanguine Domini,' so affirming therein, and teaching, as he knew that Bertram had taught a little before in France. This book the pope caused to be condemned in the synod of Vercelli. Of the life and conversation of this Johannes Scotus, and also of his death, read before. ³

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

Rabanus
Maurus,
bishop of
Mentz.

See
Appeniz.

(1) Rabanus. De Institut. Clericorum i. cap. 21.

(2) Christian. Druthmarus, monachus ordin. Bened., In Matt.

(3) See Vol. II p. 30.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.
A. D
1539.

The witness of
Osberne.

A lying
miracle
to prove
transub-
stantia-
tion.

Reasons
and proofs
alleged
against
this mira-
cle.

In the year of our Lord 950, lived Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time, it appeareth, by the catholics' own confession, that many priests then affirmed, that the bread and wine, after consecration, did remain in their former substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, as we find it witnessed by Osberne himself, who did write the lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as reporteth Eadmer, Anselm's chaplain. The words of Osberne be these: ¹ "About this time," saith Osberne, writing in the days of Lanfranc, "certain of the clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that bread and wine, which are set upon the altar, after the consecration do remain in their former substance, and are but only a figure of the body and blood of Christ," &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the clergy was so, that the sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine, notwithstanding, were not transubstantiated, as the Romish catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their writings and stories they still diminish the better number, whereby their faction may seem ever to be the bigger; and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then received in the church, he inferreth mention of certain of the clergy, &c.

And as he faileth in the number of these clergymen who then held against transubstantiation, so he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle; which miracle he feigned to be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said clergymen, by the blood dropping out of the host at mass, as Odo was breaking the host over the chalice. At the sight whereof, first, Odo himself (saith he) wept for joy; seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

Secondarily, "All those clergymen," saith he, "who before believed not this transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the archbishop that ever he was born; desiring him to pray again, that the blood might return to his former shape; and straight it was done." And this was the miracle; which seemeth as true as that which William of Malmesbury writeth of the said Odo, how, by his prayers, he caused a sword to come flying from heaven into king Athelstan's scabbard, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against Analavus; or else, as that miracle where the said Odo is said to cover and defend the church of Canterbury, that no drop of rain could touch it, so long as the roof thereof was in making.²

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

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

(1) 'Hoc fere tempore, quidam clerici, maligno errore seducti, asseverare conabantur, panem et vinum que in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, in priori substantia manere et figurari tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi,' &c. Osbernus in Vita Odonis.

(2) Ex Wil. Malm. vide supra, [Vol. II. page 49.—Ed.]

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

Fourthly, I marvel much at the discrepancy in telling this tale, between Osberne and the others, who since have written Legends of Odo. For whereas Osberne, speaking of certain priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaketh absolutely, "quidam clerici;" all others, who have since written the Legends of Odo, do tell this tale against certain priests of Canterbury; adding to the words of Osberne, "quidam clerici Cantuarienses." But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more ancient than this of Osberne, written (as it may seem) in the time of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and Elphege, then bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of Osberne, and to another purpose than to dissuade certain priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: which is only brought to show the holiness of Odo, as commonly the manner of legends is to do: so that in this old legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed not the matter to many priests of England that were in that error, as Osberne would,¹ "but called unto him a certain faithful servant who was near about him, and showed unto him the miracle secretly;" whereupon the priest (saith the legend), much rejoiced at the holiness of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out of this old lying legend Osberne, and others likewise that followed him, seemeth to have taken this tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more.

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

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osberne were true, that for the converting of priests of England who would not believe transubstantiation, this blood did drop out of the Host (of which blood peradventure came the blood of Hayles),² and by the sight thereof the priests eftsoun were all converted (as Osberne pretendeth), how then came it to pass, that after the time of Odo, in the days of Elfric, who was after him archbishop of Canterbury, the third from Dunstan, and fourth from Odo, not only the priests of England, but also the archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this transubstantiation, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1539.

The authors of this fabulous miracle do not agree with themselves.

Lying legends.

(1) 'Sed vocat protinus fidelem servum, qui cominus erat, et miraculum secretum demonstrat,' &c.

(2) For the origin of the blood of Hayles, see the note upon the Phantasy of Idolatry on a subsequent page.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

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

The writings of Elfric authentic.

Furthermore, the same Elfric of whom now we speak, of what calling soever he was, yet, notwithstanding, he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority, and eloquence, his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected together a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the epistles of Alenuis, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, &c. ; among the same canons and constitutions be placed these two epistles of the said Elfric hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to Wulf sine, bishop of Sherbourne, the other to Wulfstanc, archbishop of York ; as yet are to be seen in two books belonging to the library of the church of Worcester, the one written in the old Saxons' tongue, entitled '*Beppeoꝛ dinoþe*,' the other for the most part in Latin, with this title, '*Admonitio Spiritualis Doctrinæ*;' which book of Saxon canons and constitutions, sometime belonging to Wulfstanc bishop of Worcester, was given by him, as for a great jewel, to the church of Worcester, as by the same book appeareth.¹

See Appendix.

Moreover, besides this book of Worcester above-touched, there is yet extant also another like book of canons, belonging to the church of Exeter, wherein the same two epistles of Elfric be contained in the old Saxon tongue, and also in Latin, and prescribed yearly to be read to the clerks and priests of that church ; which book, in like manner, was given to the church of Exeter, by Leofric, the first and most famous bishop of that see.²

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

(1) Ex Archivis Eccles. Wigornensis.

(2) Ex Archivis Eccles. Exoniensis.

days of the year; as by his own words may appear, in the end of one of the said books of sermons, whose words be these :

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

Fela fægene godspell þe forlæted on þisum dæhte. þa mæg apendan þe ðe pile; Ne ðurpe þe ðær boc na micles wifon zelængan. Dýles þe heo ungemetesod fý. 7 mannum æþnæt ðurh hire meclniſſe arziuge :

‘We let pass, many good gospels, which he that listeth may translate. For we dare not enlarge this book much further, lest it be over great, and so be a cause of loathsomeness to men, through the bigness thereof,’ &c.

Also, in another place, he confesseth the same of himself; whose words in the preface before his grammar be these :

Ice /Elfric wolde ða hſclan boc apendan to englſcum gereorde of ðam fæf epæfte ðe iſ gehaten grammatca. fýððan ic tpa hec apende on hund eahzagum ſpellum :

Eighty
sermons
trans-
lated by
Elfric
into the
English
or Saxon
tongue.

‘I, Elfric, was desirous to turn into our English tongue, from the art of letters called grammar, this little book, after that I had translated the two books of fourscore sermons,’ &c.

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

Four
Epistles
written of
Elfric in
Saxon.

The Words of Elfric, written to Wulfſine, Bishop of Sherbourne, against Transubstantiation.

Man ſceal healden þæt halige huſel mid mýcelne gýmenc 7 ne forhealdan hſc ac halgſan ofep eðne to ſceocum mannum. a. embe vii. niht. oððe embe xiiii. niht þ hſ huſu fýniſ ne fý. forðon ðe eal ſpa halig bið þ huſel ðe nu to dæg þær gehalgod. ſpa þ ðe on earfterdæg þær gehalgod; Ðæt huſel iſ Cniſtes lichama na lichamlice ac gærlice; Na ſe lichama ðe he on ſnopode. ac ſe lichama ðe he embe ſppæc. ða ða he bletode hlaſ 7 ſin to huſel anſe nihte ær hſ ðropunge. 7 epæþ he þam gebletode hlaſ. ðiſ iſ min lichama. and eſt be ðam halgan wine. ðiſ iſ min blode þe bið for manegum agoten on fýna fongýfeneſſe; Vndeſtandþ nu þ ſe onizhten ðe nihte apendon ðone hlaſ ær hſ ðropunge to hſ lichaman. and þ ſin to hſ blode gærlice. þæt ſe ylca dægþamlice bletſah ðurh ſæceþa handa hlaſ 7 ſin to hſ gærlican lichaman and to hſ gærlican blode.

The same in English.

Men shall reserve more carefully that holy housel, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new, for sick men, always within a week or a fortnight,

the
sacra-
ment is

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1539.the
Lord's
body, not
bodily
but
ghostly.

that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the housel which to day is hallowed, as that which on Easter-day was hallowed. That housel is Christ's body not bodily, but ghostly: not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine, to housel, the night before his suffering, and said, by the blessed bread, 'This is my body:' and again, by the holy wine, 'This is my blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of sins.' Understand now that the Lord, who could turn that bread, before his suffering, to his body, and that wine, to his blood ghostly, that the selfsame Lord blesseth daily, through the priest's hands, bread and wine, to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood.

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

Another Epistle of Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Wulfstane, Archbishop of York; in Saxon.

Svme þreortar gefyllað heora hufel box on eafteron. 7 healsað ofer trefel monað to untrimum mannum. þýflee ðæt hufel jý haligne ðonne ofer. Ac hi doþ unþýflice. forðam he hit pannað. oð ðe mid ealle fornotað on þra langum þýrte. 7 he bið þonne feýlbis þra þra uþ fæþþ feo boc; de ðe hufel forhýlt. oð ðe hit forlýrt. oð ðe miþ eon. oð ðe oðne nýtenu. þeapa þa þæmteialem. hþæt he fægðe þrum; Eal þra halig iþ ðæt hufel ðe bið gehalgod to dæg. þra ðæt ðe bið gehalgod on ðam halgan eafter dæge; þealsað forþig ic biðde þone halgan Cþruter lichaman mid maran þýrdome to feocum mannum þram þunna dæge to þunna dæge on þriþe clænum boxe. oð ðe be ðam mætan feoperþýne niht. 7 ðicgaþ hit þonne. and lecgað ðær oþær; þe habbaþ býrene be ðam on Moýref bocum. þra þra God þýlf beþeað on Moýref æ. ðæt þe facend feolde on ælcum þæterneþ dæge pettan trefel hlaþar on ðam tabernaculo ealle niþe bacene. ða þænon gehatene 'Panes propositionis.' 7 hiþ feoldon ðær þandan on ðam Godeþ getælbe oð oþerne þæterneþ dæg. 7 etan hi ðonne ða þæterdar þýlfe. 7 þettan dær oðne;

Sume þreortar nellað ðicgan ðæt hufel ðe 'hi halgaþ; Nu þille þe eop þecgan. hu feo boc fegð be þam; Þneþþýter niþþram celebpanþ. 7 non audenþ þunne þæþþeum accuþante conþentia þua anathema eft; Se mæþþeþeort ðe mæþþaþ. 7 ne deap ðæt hufel ðigan. þat hine feýlbigne. fe iþ amannumod; Læþþe pleoh iþ to ðigenne ðæt hufel. ðonne to haligenne; de ðe tupa halgaþ ane oþletan to hufle. fe bið þam gedþolan geþee. ðe an eild fullað tupa; Cþruter 7 þýlf gehalgod hufel æþ hiþ þropunge. he bletþode ðone hlaþ. 7 to hþæc þuþ cþeþende to hiþ halgum apuþtolum, etað ðiþne hlaþ. hit iþ min lichama: 7 he eft bletþode ænne calic mid þine. 7 cþæþ heom ðuþ to. oþnecaþ ealle of tþrum. hit iþ min agen blode ðære niþan geþýdnýþþe. ðe bið for manegum agoten on þýnna forþþeþýþþe; Se dþilten þe halgode hufel æþ hiþ þropunge. 7 cþæþ þ þe hlaþ þære hiþ agen lichama. and þæt þin þare þitodlice hiþ blod. fe halgaþ dægþhamlice þuþþi hiþ facenda handa hlaþ to hiþ lichaman. 7 þin to hiþ blod on gaþþliceþe geþýþne. þra þra þe þaðað on bocum; Ne bið þe hþlica hlaþ lichamlice þra þeah þe ýlea lichama.

ðe Crist on ðropode ; Ne ðæt halige þin niþ þær hæleuder blod þe for uþ azoten þær on lichamlice þing. ac on gartlicum andgyte ; Æþþer bið soþlice se hlaf hīr lichama. 7 þ þin eac hīr blod swa swa se heofon-lica hlaf þær. ðe se hataþ manna ðe feoþerwis geara afædde Godes folce. 7 þæt hlutne pæcer þær witodlice hīr blod. ðe an nof ðam stane on ðam pærtene ða ; Swa swa Paulus arnæt on sumon hīr wirtole : ‘ Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt : et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt,’ &c. Ealle ure fæderas æton on ðam pærtene þone ylcan gartlican mete. 7 ðone gartlican drenc druncon ; þi druncon of þam gartlican stane. 7 se stane þær Crist ; Se apostol raede swa swa ge nu gehýrdon þæt hi ealle æton ðone ylcan gartlican mete. 7 hi ealle druncon ðone gartlican drenc ; Ne cwæð he na lichamlice. ac gartlice ; Nær Crist ða gyt gebopen ne hīr blod næf azoten. ða þæt Irsahela folc gearæ ðone mete. 7 of ðam stane dranc. 7 se stan næf lichamlice Crist ðeah he swa cwæde ; Ðit pærson ða ylcan gerynu on ðære ealbam æ. 7 hi gartlice gretacodon þet gartlice hufel ure hæleuder lichaman. ðe se halgiþ nu.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The same Epistle of Elfric to Wulfstane, touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in English.

Some priests fill their box forousel on Easter-day, and so reserve it a whole year for sick men, as though thatousel were more holy than any other. But they do unadvisedly, because it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it so long space : and thus are they become guilty, as the book witnesseth to us. If any do keep theousel so long, or lose it, or mice or other beasts do eat it, see what the penitential book saith by this : ‘ So holy is altogether thatousel which is hallowed to-day, as that which is hallowed on Easter-day.’ Wherefore I beseech you to keep the holy body of Christ with more advisement, for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a very clean box ; or at the most not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in Moses' books, as God himself hath commanded in Moses' law, how the priests should set, every Saturday, twelve loaves, all new baked, upon the tabernacle, which were called ‘ Panes propositionis :’ and those should stand there, in God's tabernacle, till the next Saturday ; and then did the priests themselves eat them, and set others in the place.

Some priests will not eat theousel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the book speaketh by them : ‘ Presbyter missam celebrans, et non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia, anathema est :’ ‘ The priest that doth say mass, and dare not eat theousel, his conscience accusing him, is accursed.’ It is less danger to receive theousel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one host toousel, is like unto those heretics, who do christen twice one child. Christ himself blessedousel before his suffering : he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his apostles, ‘ Eat this bread ; it is my body.’ And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and thus also spake unto them, ‘ Drink ye all of this ; this is mine own blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins.’ The Lord who hallowedousel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so ; nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in ; nor is that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both be truly, that bread is his body, and that wine also is his blood ; as was the heavenly bread which we call ‘ manna,’ that fed forty years God's people ; and the clear water, which did then run from the stone in the wilderness, was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his epistles,¹ ‘ All our fathers did eat in the wilderness the same ghostly meat, and drink the same ghostly drink : they drank

Bodily presence denied.

¹ ‘ Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt,’ &c.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ.' The apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink. And he saith not 'bodily,' but 'ghostly.' And Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel did eat that meat and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same mystery¹ in the old law, and they did ghostly signify that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body, which we consecrate now.

Eighty
sermons
translated
out of La-
tin into
Saxon, by
Elfric.
A book of
sermons
selected
out of
them.

Besides these epistles above prefixed of Elfric to Wulfstine and Wulfstane, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of certain sermons, to the number of fourscore, translated by the said Elfric out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which fourscore sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read, instead of homilies or treatises, unto the people; in such order as the first twelve sermons or treatises, treating of general matters (as, *De initio creaturæ, De auguriis, De die judicii, Unius confessoris, De vaniloquio et negligentia, De avaritia, De falsis diis, &c.*) were appointed to be read at pleasure, and at the discretion of the minister. The other twelve sermons were prescribed of proper feasts (as, *De annunciatione beatæ Mariæ, De nativitate Domini, De circumcisione Domini, De epiphania, De purificatione sanctæ Mariæ, Dominica prima in Quadragesima, Dominica palmarum die paschæ, &c.*) Whereof this testimony remaineth in the same book yet to be seen, both in the Saxon tongue, and also in the preface of the latter twelve sermons in Latin, in these words following, 'In hoc codicillo continentur sermones Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos abbas Anglicè transtulit,' &c.

Furthermore, as touching these fourscore sermons aforesaid, which Elfric translated into English, here is to be understood, that among the said sermons, used then orderly to be recited to the people, there was one appointed to be read *In Die Sancto Paschæ*, that is, upon Easter-day; which sermon, being translated by the said Elfric, we have here exhibited both in Saxon speech and English, to the intent that the christian and indifferent reader, perusing the same, may judge thereby how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation, in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received or known in the church of England; forasmuch as the said sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident declaration, what was the common opinion of the sacrament in the church received, before Elfric did ever set hand to translate the same out of the Latin.

Latin
books,
written
against
transub-
stantia-
tion, era-
sily by the
papists
abolished.

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

(1) That is, a mystery of the same thing that was in the old law.

to be found : which to be true by three reasons conjectural it may be probably supposed.

Henry VIII.

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

A. D. 1539.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an epistle of Elfric in the library of Worcester ; wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these :¹ ‘ Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood of his which he shed for us : but, spiritually, it is made his body and blood as that manna which rained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock. As Paul,’ &c. These words, so rased out, are to be restored again by another Saxon book found in Exeter : by the rasing of which one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest.

Three conjectures proving this.

Words craftily rased out by the papists, and restored by the Saxon book of Exeter.

Thirdly, by one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil in our days, the properties and doings of all other Italian papists of elder time may partly be conjectured : for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licensed by the king to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had compiled out of libraries ; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true factor for the pope’s own tooth, he piled his books together, and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did, I cannot certainly pronounce ; but whoso considereth well his religion, may shrewdly suspect him : for a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial ; that whereas of all other writers of histories that have been in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Rastal, More, Leland, Bale, Hall, and such others, some of their books which they then occupied, yet remain in hands to be seen : only of such books as Polydore used, and which past his hands, what Englishman is he that hath seen, or can show me one ? Whereby it may well be thought the aforesaid information to be true. As also by this one Italian trick of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpose. But, forasmuch as those Latin books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our Saxon tongue again, and see what this Saxon sermon of Elfric’s translation, doth say for transubstantiation ; the copy whereof here ensueth.²

An Italian trick of Polydore, to burn his books.

(1) ‘ Non est tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus, in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit : sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, sicut manna quod de cælo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus,’ &c.

(2) This sermon, or homily, as it is more commonly called, was published separately by archbishop Parker, in the year 1566, and reprinted, afterwards, at Oxford, in 1675. See Strype’s *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. book 4, page 503, Edit. Oxford, 1821 ; where Strype observes that Foxe ‘ hath left out several passages which contained some legendary miracles relating to the sacrament, and some particular passages which look favourably towards the doctrine of the church of Rome : which are not omitted in the archbishop’s edition of the book.’ The full title is this : ‘ A Sermon of the Paschal Lamb, and of the sacramental body and blood of Christ, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reign of the Saxons to be spoken unto the people at Easter, before they should receive the Communion : and now first translated into our common English speech.’—ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.' IN DIE SANCTE PASCE.'¹A SERMON TRANSLATED OUT OF LATIN INTO THE SAXON
TONGUE, BY ELFRIC, AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

ANNO DOMINI, 996.

The Alphabet of the Saxon Tongue.

<i>d.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>g.</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>t.</i>	<i>u.</i>	<i>y.</i>
¶ a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.
i.	l.	m.	n.	o.	p.	r.	r.
τ.	u.	p.	x.	y.	z.		

Abbreviations.

Th. Th. S. W. and. th. th.

D. þ. ð. p. ʒ. ð. þ.

This Sermon was usual to be read in the Church here in England in the Saxons' time.

Mæn ða leofortan. gelome eop iʒ ʒeʒæb ýmbe unep hælendes ærīste. hu he on þīrum andpeardan dæge æfter hī ʒnopunʒe mihtīglice of deafe anas; Nu pille pe eop ʒeopenian ðurh Godes ʒīfe be þam halʒan hīrle ðe ʒenu toʒan ʒeolon. ʒ ʒepīrian eopen andʒýt ýmbe ðæne ʒepýnu. æʒðen ʒe æfter þæne ealdan ʒecýþnýrre. ʒe æfter þæne nīpan. ðý læf. ðe ænīʒ tpeonunʒe eop ðerian mæʒe be ðam hīrþeum ʒepeonde;

Se almihtīʒa God behead þam hepetoʒan on Eʒýpta lande. þ he ʒeolde bebedan Iʒnahela folc. þ hi namon æt ælcum heorþe anep ʒeapep lambe on þæpe nihte þæ hi fepdon of þam lande to ðam behatenan eapde. ʒ ʒeolon þ lambe Gode ʒeoʒpīan. ʒ rýþþan rīþan. ʒ pýncan poðe tacn on heopa ʒedýpum. ʒ oʒepflegum mīð ðæf lambeʒ bloð. etan rýþþan þæf lambeʒ flærc ʒebnæð. and ðeopne hlaʒas mīð felplice lactucan; God epæþ to Moýren. ne ete ʒe of þam lambe nan ðīng þpeap. ne on pætere ʒepoþen ac ʒebnæð to rýne; Etap þ heafod. ʒ þa fæt. ʒ þ innepeapde. ne hī nan þīng ne belīfe of mepʒen. ʒīf ðæp hīpæt to lafe rý. foþbæpneþ þ. þeʒap hīc on þar pīan; Beʒýpðap eopere leðenu. and beoþ ʒepceode. habap eop ftaf on hande. ʒ etap heapðlice. ðeop tīð iʒ Godes fæpeld; And peapþ ða on ðæpe nihte ofplegen on ælcum hīfe ʒeouð eal Pharaoep rīce. þ fpmuncennepe eīð. and pæf þ Godes folc Iʒnahel apbes fram þam fepīcan deafe. ðurh ðæf lambeʒ ofpfunʒe. and hīf bloðep meapcunʒe; þe epæþ God to Moýren. healðap ðīfneðæʒ on eopnum ʒemýnde. ʒ fpeolfrīap hīne mæplice on eopnum cýpnenum mīð ecum bīʒeneʒe. ʒ etap ðeopne hlaʒ fýmīle ʒeoʒan ðaʒas æt þīrpe fpeolfr tīde;

Æfter ðīrrepe dæde lædde God þ Iʒnahela folc oʒen þa neadan fæ. mīð oþrum foʒum. ʒ adnæcete ðæp on Pharao. ʒ ealne hīf hepe framod ðe heopa elton. ʒ afedde rýþþan þ Iʒnahela folc feopnīʒ ʒeapna mīð heofonþeum bīʒleoʒan. ʒ hīm foʒʒeap petep of heapþum ftaf clude. oð þ hi comon to þam behatenum eþele; Sume hīf nace pe habbaʒ fepnaltnod on oþne ftopefume pe pýllað nu ʒeopenian. þ þe belīmpþ to þam halʒan hīrle; Cīrftene menn nemoton healðan nu þa ealdan æ lichamlice. ac hīm ʒeoʒfenap þ hi cunnon hīpæt heo ʒaplice tacne; þ unʒeapþīe lambe þe fe ealde Iʒnahela þa ofpnaþ. hæfde ʒetacnunʒe æfter ʒapþeum andʒýte Cīrfter ʒnopunʒe fe þe unʒeapþīʒ foþ unep alýfedmīrre hīf halīʒe bloð aʒeat; Be þam fīnʒap Godes ðeopas æt ælcene mæfpan 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;' þ iʒ on unum ʒepeonde. ðu Godes lamb ðe ætþnetfct mīððan eapðep fýnna ʒemīlra up;

(1) See Appendix.

ꝥ Iſrahela folc pearþ ahned fram þam færlicum deaþe. 7 fram
 Pharaoes þeoſte ðurh þær lambeſ ofſnunze. þe hæfde zeta-
 nunze Cniſtes ðropunze. þurh þa pe ſind alýnde fram ðam eonm
 deaþ. 7 ðær neþan deofles anpealde. gif pe rihtlice zelifaþ on
 ðone foþan alýrend ealles midðan earðes hælend Cniſt; ꝥ lamb
 pær zeoffrode on æfnunze. 7 upe hælend ðropode on ðære ri-
 xtan ýlde þiſſene worulde; Seo ýld iſ zeteald to æfnunze þiſes
 æteowgelican middan earðes; Hi mearcodan mid þær lambeſ blode
 on heora zedýnum. 7 ouerſlegum tau. ꝥ iſ node tacen. 7 purdon
 ſpa zefrcude fram þam engle. þe acpealde ðæra egiptiſena fnum-
 cennedan eild; And pe ſceolon mearcian upe forþearde hearod.
 and urne lichaman mid Cniſtes node tacne. ꝥ pe beon ahnedde
 fram forþýnde. þonne pe beoþ ze mearcode æzþen ze on foran
 hearde ze on heortan mid blode þære drihtenlicam ðropunze; ꝥ
 Iſrahela folc æt þær lambeſ fleſc on heora earter tide þa þa hi
 ahnedde purdon. 7 pe þiczaþ nu zartlice Cniſtes lichaman. and
 hiſ blod driuceaþ. ðonne pe mid foþum zelefaþ ꝥ halige huſel
 ði ezaþ; ðone timan hi heoldon him to earter tide geofan daƒar
 mid micelum purþmýnte ðe hi ahnedde purdon riþ Pharao. 7 of
 ðam earde ſerdon. ſpa eac egiptene men healdað Cniſtes æniſt
 uſ to earter tide ðær geofan daƒar. forþan þe pe ſint ðurh hiſ
 ðropunze 7 æniſt alýrede. 7 pe beoþ zeclænſode ðurh pær halzan
 huſel ganzer. ſpa Cniſt ſýlf epaþ on hiſ zodrſelle; Soþ foþ ic
 eow ſecge. næbbe ze hiſ on eow. buton ze eten min flæſc. and
 driucon min blod; Se ðe et min flæſc. 7 min blod driuceþ, he purað
 on me. and ic on him. 7 he hæfþ ꝥ ece hiſ 7 ic hine anæne on þam
 endenextan dæge; Ic eom ſe liſlica hlaſ þe of heofonum artah. na
 ſpa ſpa eowene forþ fædenaſ æton ðone heofonlican hlaſ on ſer-
 tene. 7 ſýþþan ſpulton; Se ðe et þiſne. hlaſ. he leoſað on eonýſſe;
 He halzod hlaſæp hiſ þropunze. 7 toðalde hiſ diſcipulum þur
 epeþende; Etaþ ðiſne hlaſ hit iſ min lichama. 7 doþ þiſ on mýnum
 zemýnde; Eft he bletrode rin on anum calice. 7 epaþ; Driuceaþ
 ealle of ðiſum. ðiſ iſ min blod ꝥ he bið for menegum azoten on
 ſýnna forzýfenýſſe; Ða apoſtoli dýdon ſpa ſpa Cniſt het. ꝥ hi
 halzodon hlaſ. 7 rin to huſle eft ſýþþan on hiſ zemýnde; Eac
 ſpýlce he on æfter genegan. and ealle ſacenda be Cniſtes hære
 halztaþ hlaſ 7 rin to huſle on hiſ naman mid ðære apoſtolican
 bletſunze;

Nu ſmeðon zehpilee men oft. and zit zelome ſmeazaþ. hu ſe
 hlaſ ðe bið of eowne zezearcod. and ðurh ſýnes hætan abacen
 mage beon apend to Cniſtes lichaman. oððe ꝥ rin ðe bið of ma-
 negum beþum arpunzen. peonhe apend ðurh anizne bletſunze to
 drihtnes blod; Nu ſecge pe zehpileum mannun ꝥ ſume ðing ſind
 zecpedene be Cniſt ðurh zetaunze. ſume ðurh zepiſſum ðinge;
 Soð ðing iſ. and zepiſ ꝥ Cniſt pær of mædene acenned, and ſýlf
 piller ðropode deaþ. and ſer bebýrigeð. and on ðiſum dæge of
 deaþ anaſ; He iſ zecpeden hlaſ ðurh zetaunze. and lambe. 7 leo.
 7 zehueller; He iſ hlaſ zehaten. forþan ðe he iſ upe hiſ and engla;
 He iſ lamb zecpeden for hiſ unſcæððimſſe; Leo for ðære
 ſcneþe. ðe he ofen ſripde ðone ſcnaƒan deofol; Ac ſpa ðeah
 æfter foþum zecýnde niſ Cniſt naþon ne hlaſ. ne lamb. ne leo;
 Hwi iſ ðonne ꝥ halige huſel zecpeden Cniſtes lichama. oððe hiſ
 blod. gif hit niſ foþice ꝥ hiſ zehaten iſ; Soþice ſe hlaſ. and ꝥ
 þin ðe beoþ ðurh ſacenda mæſſan zehalgode oðer ðing he æt
 eowiað menniſeum andzitan rið utan. 7 ofen ðing hi clarið riþ

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

innan geleafullum modum; riþ utan hi beoþ ȝereþene hlaƿ 7 ri
 æȝðer ȝeon hipe ȝeon ȝræce. ac hi beoþ ȝoþlice æfter ðære hal-
 ȝung; Crijter lichama. 7 hiȝ blod ð.riȝ ȝaȝt ice ȝrýnu;

Hæ ðen eild biþ ȝefullod. ac hit ne hƿæt na hiȝ hiȝ rið utan ðeah
 ðe hit beo riþ innan aþend; Hit bið ȝ. hƿoht ȝrýnfull ðurh Adamer
 ƿoȝȝeðonýrre to ðam ƿant ƿate; Ac hit biþ aƿroȝen ƿnam eallum
 ȝrýnum rið innan. ðeah ð. hit riþ utan hiȝ hiȝ ne aþende; Eac
 ȝrýlee þ̄ halȝe ƿant ƿæter ðe iȝ ȝehaten hiȝer ȝýlȝrýnȝ. iȝ ȝelic
 on hiȝe oðnum petrum. 7 iȝ unðerþeod hƿoȝnȝe. ac ðer halȝan
 ȝaȝter miht ȝencalæcð ðam hƿoȝnȝenlicum ƿætere. ðurh ƿacenda
 bletȝunge. and hit mæȝ ȝýþþan lichaman. and ȝaȝle aðnean ƿnam
 eallum ȝrýnum ðurh ȝaȝtlice miht; Eƿne nu ƿe ȝereoþ ȝra ðmȝ on
 ðurh anum ȝerecæte; Æfter ȝoþum ðeȝýnde. þ̄ ƿæter iȝ hƿoȝnðlic
 ƿæte. 7 æfter ȝaȝtlice ȝerýnu hæfð halþende miht; Sþa eac ȝiȝ ƿe
 ȝceapiþ þ̄ halȝe huȝel æfter lichamlicum andȝýte. ðonne ȝereþe ƿe þ̄ hit
 iȝ ȝerecæte hƿoȝnðlic 7 aþenðlic; Giȝ ƿe ða ȝaȝtlican mihte þ̄ær on to-
 napar ðonne unðerȝite ƿe þ̄ ðær iȝ hiȝ on. and ȝoȝriþ unðeahenýrre.
 ðam ðe hit mid ȝeleaƿan ðieȝaþ; Micel iȝ beȝrux þ̄ære unȝereþenlican
 miht ȝær halȝan huȝle. 7 þ̄am ȝereþenlican huȝe aȝener ȝeȝýnder; Hit
 iȝ on ȝeȝýnde hƿoȝnðlic hlaƿ. 7 hƿoȝnðlic ƿm. and iȝ æfter mihte
 ȝoðeunðer ȝoðer. ȝoþlice Crijter lichama 7 hiȝ blod. na ȝraþeah licham-
 lice ac ȝaȝtlice;

Micel iȝ beȝrux þ̄am lichaman þe Crijt on þƿoþode. 7 þ̄am lichaman
 þe to huȝle biþ ȝehalȝod; Se lichama ȝoþlice þe Crijt on ðƿoþode ƿær
 ȝeboren of Marjan ƿære. mid blod 7 mid banum. mid fell 7 mid ȝinum.
 on inemȝum limum. mid ȝerecæðýrre ȝaȝle ȝelƿæte 7 hiȝ ȝaȝtlica
 lichama. þe ƿe huȝel hataþ iȝ of manezum copnum ȝeȝaderod. buȝon
 blod. and bane. limleaƿ. and ƿapulleaƿ. and niȝ ȝoȝri nan þ̄iȝ ðær
 on to unðerȝandenne *lichamlice.¹ ac iȝ. eal ȝaȝtlice to unðer-
 ȝandene*; Sþa hƿæt ȝra on þ̄am huȝle iȝ þe uȝ hiȝer eðriȝ ȝoȝriþ. þ̄ iȝ
 of þ̄ære ȝaȝtlican mihte. 7 unȝereþenlicre ƿremmige; ȝoȝri iȝ þ̄
 halȝe huȝel ȝehaten ȝerýnu. ȝoȝþan þe oþer þ̄iȝ iȝ þ̄ærn ȝereþen. 7
 oþer þ̄iȝ unðerȝten; þ̄ þ̄ ðær ȝereþen iȝ hæþ lichamlic huȝ 7 þ̄ þ̄ ƿe
 ðer on unðerȝandað hæþ ȝaȝtlice mihte; ƿeodlice Crijter lichama
 ðe ðeaþ ðƿoþode. 7 of ðeaþ aƿar. ne ȝrýle nærre heonon ȝoȝri. ac iȝ ece
 7 unþroþenðlic; þ̄ huȝel iȝ hiȝlpenðlic na ece; Hƿoȝnðlic. 7 bið ȝice
 mælum toðælod; Beȝrux toþum tocoþen. and into ðam buce eȝend. ac
 hit bið ðeah hiȝere æfter ȝaȝtlice miht on ælcum ðæle eall; Manȝa
 unðerȝop ðone halȝan lichaman. 7 he bið ȝra þeah on ælcum ðæle eall
 efter ȝaȝtlice ȝerýnu; Þeah ȝumc men. ȝerecote lærre ðæl ne bið ȝra
 ðeah namape miht on þ̄um marjan ðæle ðonne on ðam læran. ȝoȝ ðan þe
 hit bið on ælcum men anȝund æfter þ̄ære unȝereþenlican mihte; ðer
 ȝrýnu iȝ pedd. and hiȝ; Crijter lichama iȝ ȝoþærtnýrre; Ðiȝ pedd
 ƿe healdað ȝerýnlicce. oð þ̄ ƿe becumon to ðære ȝoþærtnýrre. 7
 ðonne bið riþ pedd ȝeendod; Soþlice hit iȝ ȝra ȝra ƿe æn eƿædon
 Crijter lichama. and hiȝ blod. na lichamlice ac ȝaȝtlice;

Vton nu ȝeliȝþan ðær Apoȝtoles ȝoþ embe ðær ȝerýnu;
 Pauluȝ ȝe apoȝtol eƿað be ðam ealdan ƿolce Iȝrahela. ður ȝritende
 on hiȝ riȝtole to ȝeleaƿfullum mannum; Ealle uȝe ƿonð ƿæðenar
 ƿerþon ȝefullode on ƿolene. and on ȝre. and eall hi æton ðone ýlean
 ȝiȝtlican mete. 7 ealle hi ðruncen ðone ýlean ȝaȝtlican oþene; Hi
 ðruncen ȝoþlice of æfter ƿilȝendan ȝrane. 7 ȝe ȝtan ƿær Crijt;
 Nær ȝe ȝtan þe þ̄ ƿæðer ofleop lichamlicum æriȝt ac he ȝeacnoðe
 Crijt. ðe elyþode ður to eallum ȝeleaƿfullum mannum ȝra hƿam

(1) See Edition 1576, page 1117.—Ed.

ƿra dýnſte come to me and dſince; 7 of hſr unnoþe fleopþ hſre pæter; hſr he ræde be ðam halgan ƿarſte ðe ða under feugon. ðe on hſne zelyþdon; Se apoſtol Pauluſ epæþ þ þ Iſrahela folc æte ðone ylcan ƿarſlican mete. 7 dſunce ðone ylcan ƿarſlican dſene. forðan ðe ſe ylca heoſonlica mete ðe hi afædde. xl. geara. 7 þ pæter ðe of þan ſtane fleop. hæpde zetacnunge Cſurterſ lichaman. 7 hſr blodſ. ðe nu beoþ ƿeoſſnode dæghpamlſce on Godeſ cýnean; Hſr þæron ða ylcan ðe ſe nu ofſſnað. na lichamlſce. ac ƿarſlice;

Þe rædon eop hſene æp þ Cſurſ halgode hlaf 7 ƿin æp hſr dſorpuuge to hſre. 7 epæð. ðſr ƿ min lichama. 7 min blod; Ne dſorode he ða ƿýt. ac ƿra ðeah he apende dſurh ungerpenlice miht ðone hlaf to hſr agenum lichama. 7 þ ƿin to hſr blod; ƿra ƿra he æp dýde. on ðam peſtene æpðan ðe he to men geborſen ƿurde. ða ða he apende ðone heoſonlican mete to hſr flæſc. 7 þ flouende pæter of ðam ſtane to hſr agenum blode; Fela manna æton of ðam heoſonlican mete on ðam peſtene. 7 dſuncon ðone ƿarſlican dſene. 7 ƿurðon ƿra ðeah dede. ƿra ƿra Cſurſ ræde; Ne mænde Cſurſ ðone deaþ ðe nan man forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde ðone ecan deað ðe ſume of ðam folce for heora zeleafreſte gearnodon; Moýſeſ 7 Aaron. 7 manega oðre of ðam folce ðe God zelicodon. æton ðone heoſonlican hlaf. ac hi næron deade ðam ecum deað. ðeah ðe hi zemænum deaþ forþ ſepdon; Hi ƿeſaron þ ſe heoſonlica mete pæſ ƿerepenlice. and hſorwendlice. ac hi underſtodon ƿarſlice be ðam ƿerepenlicum ſunge. 7 hit ƿarſlice dſigdon; Se hſelend epæþ. ſe ðe æt min flæſc. and dſuncþ min blod. he hæpþ ece hſ; Ne het he na etan ðone lichaman. ðe he mid beſangen pæſ. ne þ blod dſnuican. ðe he for ƿſr ageat. ac he mænde mid ðam ƿorode þ halge hſre. þe ƿarſlic ƿ hſr lichama 7 hſr blod. 7 ſe þe þæſ onbýnriþ mid zeleafſulne heoſtan. he hæpþ þ ece hſ.

On þære ealden æ zeleafſulle men ofſſodon Gode miſtlice lac. þe hæpdon to pearde zetacnunge Cſurterſ lichama. þe ƿýlſſon upum rýnum rýþþan ƿeoſſnode hſr heoſonlican ræder to onſregeðnýſre; Þitodlice hſr hſre þe nu biþ zehalgode æt Godeſ peofoðe. ƿ zemýnd Cſurterſ lichaman þe he for ƿſr ƿeoſſnode. 7 hſr blodſ þe he for ƿſr ageat. ƿra ƿra he ƿýlſ het. doþ ðſr on minum zemýnde; Aene dſorode Cſurſ þurh hſne ƿýlſne ac ƿra þeah dæghpamlſce bið þſr þorpuug zeedmipod dſurh zemýnu þæſ halgan hſre æt þære halgan mæſſan; ƿſr ƿ eac teſneazene. þ þ halge hſre ƿ ægðer ze Cſurterſ lichama. ze ealleſ zeleafſulleſ folceſ. æpſer ƿarſlicne zemýnu; Spa ƿra ſe ƿiſa Auguſtinuſ be þain epæþ; Giſ ze ƿillaþ underſtandan be Cſurterſ lichaman. zehýpaþ þone apoſtol Pauluſ þſr epæþende; Ge roþlice rýndon Cſurterſ lichama. 7 leomu; Nu ƿ eoper zemýnu zeled on Godeſ mýſan. and ze underroþ eoper zemýnu to þam þe ze ƿýlſe rýnd; Beoþ þ þ ƿereſeoh on ðam peofoðe. 7 underroþ þ þ ƿereſýlſe rýnd; Eſt epæþ ſe apoſtol Pauluſ be þſrum. þe manega rýn don an hlaf. 7 an lichama; Underſtandaþ nu. 7 biſſriah. þeala rýndan hlaf. 7 an lichama on Cſurſ; He ƿſr ƿne hearod. 7 þe rýnd hſr lima; Ne biþ ſe hlaf of anum corne. ac of manegum; Ne þ ƿin of anpe berian. ac of manegum. Spa þe ſeolon eac habban annýſre on upum dſrihtne. ƿra ƿra hſr apiten ƿ be þam zeleafſullan peofoðe. þ hi pæron on ƿra micelne annýſre. ƿſlice him eallum pæne on ſapan. 7 an heoſte; Cſurſ zehalgode on hſr beode þa zemýne ƿne ſebbe. 7 ƿne annýſre. ſe þe underſelþ þære annýſre zernýnu. 7 ne hit ðe ne bend ðære roþan ſebbe. ne underſelþ he na zemýnu for him ƿýlſum. ac zecýðnýſre to zeaner him ƿýlſum; Micel God bið Cſurſtenum mannum. þ hi zelome to hſre gan. ƿſr hi unſeþriðnýſre on heora heoſtan beſaþ to þam peofoðe. ƿſr hi ne beoh mid leahtrun ofſrette; þam ýfelan men ne becýmþ to nanum gode. ac to forþýnde. ƿſr he þæſ halgan hſre unpuþe onbýnriþ; Halge bec beodaþ þ

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

man gemænege præter to þam pine ðe to hufre ſceal. forþan ðe þæt præter hæfþ ðær folcer getacnung. ſpa ſpa þæt pin Cniſtes blodet; and forþi ne ſceal naþor butum oþrum beon geoffrode. æt þære halgan mærgan. þæt Cniſt beo mid us 7 pe mid Cniſte. þæt heafod mid þam leornum. and þa leornu mid þam heafod;

þe woldon gefyrn trahtranian be ðam lambe ðe ſe ealde Iſrahel æt heora eartern týde geoffrodon. ac þe woldon ærſt eop gepæccan ýmbe þær genýnu. 7 ýþþan hu hit man þiegan ſceal; þæt getacnendlice lamb præt geoffrode; ðe æt heora eartern týde. 7 ſe aporſtol Paulus epæþ on þýrum dægþerlicum wirtole. þæt Cniſt iſ ure earter týde. ſe ðe for us præt geafrrod. 7 on þýrum dæge of deaþ apar; Iſrahel frigde þær lambeſ flere. ſpa ſpa God bebead. mid þeorſum hlaſum. 7 fealdlicum lactucum. 7 þe ſceolon þiegan þæt haurge hufel Cniſtes lichaman. and huſ blod buton beornan ýfelnyſſe 7 manfulnyſſe; Spa ſpa ſe beorpa apent þa gerceafta of heora gecýnde. ſpa apendap eac leahtran þær mannes gecýnde fram unſceapþignyſſe to gepemmednyſſe; Se aporſtol tæhte þæt þe ſceoldon gepirtfullian na on ýfelnyſſe beornian. ac on þeornnyſſum wifernnyſſe. 7 roþfærtnyſſe; Lactuca hætte ſeo wýrt þe hi etan ſceoldon mid þam þeornum hlaſum. heo iſ biter on þiegan; 7 ſe ſceolon mid wifernnyſſe roþne behneoprunge ure mod geclæntran. gif þe pillap Cniſtes lichaman þiegan; Nær þæt Iſrahela ſole gepunod. to hneapum flere. þeah þe God him bebode. þæt hi hit hneap ne eton. ne on præter gefoden. ac gebnæd to wíre; Se wíre þiegan Godes lichaman hneapne. ſe þe buton gefceade wenþ þæt he þære anfeald man us gelice. 7 næpe God; and ſe þe æfter menniscum wírdum wýle ſmeagan ýmbe þa genýnu Cniſtes flæſelichnyſſe. he deþ ſwýlce he geofe þær lambeſ flere on prætere. forþan þe præter getacnaþ on ðýſſere ſtore mennire wigelud; Ac þe ſceolon wítan þæt ealle þa genýnu Cniſtes mennirenyſſe wapon gefarode þurh milhte præt halgan garter. þonne þiege þe huſ lichaman gebnædne to wíre. forþan þe ſe halga gart com on wíres hipe to þam aporſtolum on wíre geſceopum;

Iſrahel ſceold etan þær lambeſ heof. d. 7 ða fet. þæt innepearde. 7 ðær nan fring belifan ne morſe of þi milte; Gif þær hpræt belife. forþernan þæt on wíre. 7 ne tohneacan þa baan; Æfter gartlicum and gite þe etap þær lambeſ heafod. ðonne þe and ſcoþ Cniſtes godecundnyſſe on urum geleafan; Eft þonne þe huſ mennirenyſſe mid huſe underſcoþ. ðonne ete þe ðær lambeſ fet. forþan þe Cniſt iſ augu 7 ende. God ær ealle woruld. 7 man on ðýſſere woruld geendunge; Hæt iſ ðær lambeſ innepearde buton Cniſtes wígelan bebodu þa þe et þæt þonne þe huſe wírd mid gnaedignnyſſe underſcoþ; Nan fring ne morſe þær lambeſ belifan of mennere. forþan þe Godeſ epý ðær frind to ſmeagenne mid ſpa wýlceſe carfulnyſſe. ſpa þæt ealle huſ beboda mid and gite 7 weofce beon armeade on milhte ðýſer andweardan huſer. ærþan þe ſe eudenex ta dæg þær gemænlican ærſter æteorize; Gif þe þonne ealle þa genýnu Cniſtes flæſelichnyſſe þurh ſmeagan ne macon. þonne ſceole þe þa lafe betwæcan þær halgan garter milhte mid roþne eadmodnyſſe. 7 na to dýrrelice ýmbe þa deoran wígelnyſſe ofer uref andgýte mæþe ſmeagan;

Hi æton þæt lamb mid bezýrdum lendenum; On lendenum iſ ſeo galnyſſe þær lichaman 7 ſe ðe wíre þæt huſel ðiegan he ſceal g wýþþan þa galnyſſe. 7 mid clennnyſſe þa halgan ðigene onfon; Hi wæron eac gefceode; Hpræt frind gefeý buton deaðra nýtene hýða; þe beoþ forwece gefceode. gif þe efenlæcaþ mid urum ſereld 7 weofce forþfærenna manna huſ þærna þe Gode gefucon þurh gelhealdſumnyſſe huſ beboda; Hi hæfdon huſ wíre on hauda æt þærna

þigene ; Se ƿræf getacnaþ gýmene. 7 lýfðnýſſe ; þa þe bet cunnon 7 maƿon. ƿceolon gýman oþra manna. 7 mið heora ƿultume underſprian ; þan gemettum ƿær behoden þ hi ƿceolbon caſſlice etan. ƿoþþam þe God ouſcunaþ þa ƿleacnýſſe on hiſ þegnum. 7 þa he luſað þe mið modeſ caſneſſe þær ecanheſt miþþe ſecaþe ; Hit iſ arriſten. Ne elca þu to gecýppanne to God. ðýlær þe ƿe tima loſie þurh þa ƿleacan elcunge ; þa gemettan ne moſton ðier lambeþ ban ƿcenam. ne þa campan þe Criſt ahenzon ne moſton tobræcan hiſ halgum ƿcancan. ƿpa ƿpa hi ðýdon þæra tſezra ƿceapena þe him on tpa healþa hangodon.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Ac ðriht aris of deap geſund biton ælcefe ƿoþro toðnýſſe ; 7 lu ƿceolon geſeon æt þan micclan ðome hſene geſundodon ƿælheoſlice on ƿode ; þeoſ tid iſ gehaten on ebreiſ cum geſeoðe Paſca. þ iſ on leden Tpanriſ. 7 on euſhſe ƿepelo. ƿoþin ðe on ðiſum dæge ƿeðe Goder ſole fram Egipta landa ofeþ ða ƿeadan ƿæ. ƿpan þeoſte to þan behatenau earde ; upe ðriht ƿeðe eac on þiſne timan. ƿpa ƿpa ƿe goðſpelleſe Iohneſ cſæþ fram þiſum middan earde to hiſ heoſonlum ƿædeþ ; ƿe ƿceolon ƿýhan uſunheaf ðe. 7 fram fram deoſle to Criſt fram þiſſere unſcæþþigan populð. to hiſ tſa þeſcſetan rice. ac ƿe ƿceolon æreſt on uſum andſcapan ðan hſe fram fram leahtum to halgum mægnum fram unſcapan to Godum þeapum. gis ƿe pillað æfteſ þiſum lænan hſe fram toþan ecam. 7 æfteſ uſum æriſt to hælenð Criſt ; he uſ ſelæð to hiſ hſizendam ƿædeþ. þe hine ſeald ƿoþ uſum ƿýnum to deap. Si him puldoþ 7 loſ. þene ƿeðeða on elna ƿoþuða. Amen.

The same Sermon, translated into English from the Old Saxon.

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

The Almighty God bade Moses, his captain in the land of Egypt, to command the people of Israel, to take to every family a lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the country to the land of promise, and to offer that lamb to God, and after to cut it, and to make the sign of the cross,¹ with the lamb's blood upon the side posts and the upper posts of their door; and afterwards to eat the lamb's flesh roasted, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce. God saith unto Moses; 'Eat of the lamb nothing raw, nor sodden in water, but roasted at the fire. Eat the head, the feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left until the morning; if any thing thereof remain, that shall you burn with fire. Eat it in this wise: gird your loins, and do your shoes on your feet; have your staves in your hands; and eat it in haste. The time is the Lord's passover.'² And there was slain on that night, in every house throughout all Pharaoh's reign, the first-born child: and God's people of Israel were delivered from that sudden death through the lamb's offering, and his blood's marking. Then said God unto Moses, 'Keep this day in your remembrance, and hold it a great feast in your kindreds, with a perpetual observation; and eat unleavened bread always seven days at this feast.'³

After this deed, God led the people of Israel over the Red Sea with dry foot, and drowned therein Pharaoh and all his army, together with their possessions, and fed, afterwards, the Israelites forty years with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard rock, until they came to the promised land.⁴ Part of this story we have treated of in another place, and part we shall now declare; to wit, that which belongeth to the holy housel. Christian men may not now keep that old law bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ghostly signifieth. That innocent lamb which the old Israelites did then kill, had signification, after ghostly understanding, of Christ's suffering, who, unguilty, shed his holy blood for our redemption. Hereof sing God's servants at every mass, 'Agnus Dei!

This mass was not then like our popish and blasphemous masses now.

(1) The sign of the cross is beside the text, but here we must bear with the ignorance of that time.

(2) Exod. xii. 11.

(3) Exod. xiii. 6, 7.

(4) Exod. xvii. 6.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

That only
cross is it
where-
with we
are
marked
of which
St. Paul
speaketh.
Christ
reconciled
both to
God in
one body
through
his cross.

qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;’ that is, in our speech, ‘Thou Lamb of God! that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.’

Those Israelites were delivered from that sudden death and from Pharaoh’s bondage, by the lamb’s offering, which signified Christ’s suffering; through which we be delivered from everlasting death, and from the devil’s cruel reign, if we rightly believe in the true Redeemer of the whole world, Christ the Saviour. That lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour suffered in the sixth age of this world. This age of this corruptible world, is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the lamb’s blood, upon the doors and the upper posts, ‘Than,’¹ that is, the sign of the cross, and so were defended from the angels that killed the Egyptians’ first-born child. And we ought to mark our foreheads and our bodies, with the token of Christ’s rood, that we also may be delivered from destruction, when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in heart, with the blood of our Lord’s suffering. Those Israelites did eat the lamb’s flesh at their Easter time, when they were delivered; and we receive ghostly Christ’s body, and drink his blood, when we receive with true belief that holy housel. That time they kept with them at Easter seven days, with great worship, when they were delivered from Pharaoh, and went from that land. So also christian men keep Christ’s resurrection at the time of Easter these seven days, because, through his suffering and rising, we be delivered, and be made clean by going to this holy housel, as Christ saith in his gospel: ‘Verily, verily I say unto you, ye have no life in you except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlasting life, and I shall raise him up in the last day. I am the lively bread that came down from heaven: not so as your forefathers did eat that heavenly bread in the wilderness, and afterwards died. He that eateth this bread liveth for ever.’² He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, ‘Eat of this bread; it is my body: and do this in my remembrance.’ Also he blessed wine in one cup, and said, ‘Drink ye all of this. This is my blood that is shed for many, in forgiveness of sins.’³ The apostles did as Christ commanded;⁴ that is, they blessed bread and wine to housel again afterwards in his remembrance. Even so, also, their successors and all priests, by Christ’s commandment, do bless bread and wine to housel in his name with the apostolic blessing.

Now men have often searched and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through fire’s heat baked, may be turned to Christ’s body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned, through one blessing, to the Lord’s blood.⁵ Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of Christ by signification, and some be things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is said to be bread by signification, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain. He is called bread, because he is our life, and angels’ life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But Christ is not so, notwithstanding, after true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy housel called Christ’s body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which in the supper by the priest are hallowed, show one thing without, to human understanding, and another thing within, to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and wine, both in figure and in taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ’s body and his blood, through ghostly mystery.

A heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-stone sinful, through Adam’s disobedience; howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font water, that is called the wellspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost’s might cometh to the corruptible water, through the priest’s blessing, and it may, after, wash the body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after ghostly mystery, hath

(1) This Hebrew letter ‘Thau’ was not marked for the sign of the cross, but for the word ‘Torath’; that is, the law of God, the first letter for the whole word. Ezek. ix. That only cross is it wherewith we are marked, that St. Paul speaketh of Eph. ii.

(2) John vi. 58. (3) Matt. xxvi. 27, 28. Luke xxii. 17. Mark xiv. 24. (4) I Cor. xi. 20–34.

(5) Note how Christ’s words were taken by signification before Berengarins’ time.

A neces-
sary dis-
tinction.

Why is
the hous-
el called
Christ’s
body,
when it
is not so
truly?

The
water in
baptism,
and bread
and wine
in the
Lord’s
supper
com-
pared.

wholesome virtue. So also, if we behold the holy housel after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread,¹ and corruptible wine, and is, by might of God's word, truly Christ's body and blood; notwithstanding not so bodily, but ghostly.

Much is betwixt the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body truly, that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his ghostly body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever there is in that housel, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy housel called 'a mystery,' because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape; and what we do there understand, hath ghostly might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That housel is temporal, not eternal; corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; howbeit, nevertheless, after ghostly might, it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is so all in every part, after ghostly mystery.² Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might, notwithstanding, in the more part, than in the less, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth itself; and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but ghostly.

But now hear the apostle's words about this mystery. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old israelites, thus writing in his epistle to faithful men. 'All our forefathers were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea; and all they did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ.'³ Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ; but it signifieth Christ, that calleth thus to all believing and faithful men, 'Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels shall flow lively water.'⁴ This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The apostle Paul saith that the Israelites 'did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink;' because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christ's body and his blood, that now be offered daily in God's church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

We said unto ye ere while, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to housel before his suffering, and said, 'This is my body and my blood.'⁵ Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible might, the bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was born to be a man; when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death, which some of that folk deserved for their unbelief. Moses and Aaron, and many others of that people who pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread, and they died not that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.'⁶ And he bade them not eat that body wherewith he was enclosed, nor to drink that blood which he shed for us; but he meant with those words, that holy housel which ghostly is his body and his blood, and he that tasteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Difference betwixt Christ's natural body and the sacrament.

First difference.

Not the body that suffered in the housel.

Second difference.

Third difference.

Fourth difference.

Fifth difference.

Note this exposition, which is now adays thought new.

Now we eat that body which was eaten before he was born, by faith. Here is no transubstantiation.

What the faithful do now eat.

(1) No transubstantiation.

(2) Matt. xv. 37.

(3) 1 Cor. x. 4.

(4) John vii. 27, 38.

(5) Matt. xxvi. 26, 28.

Luke xxii. 17. Mark xiv. 24.

(6) John vi. 54.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

A signifi-
cation
before
Christ; a
sacrifice
in Christ's
time; a re-
mem-
brance of
Christ.
The
house is
also the
body of all
faithful
men.

No Scrip-
ture en-
forceth
the mix-
ture of
water
with the
wine.
The wine
signifieth
Christ's
blood.

How we
should
come to
the hea-
venly
commu-
nion.

In the old law faithful men offered to God divers sacrifices, that had fore-
signification of Christ's body, which, for our sins, he himself to his heavenly
Father hath since offered to sacrifice. Certainly this house which we do now
hallow at God's altar, is a remembrance of Christ's body, which he offered for
us, and of his blood, which he shed for us. So he himself commanded, 'Do
this in my remembrance.'¹ Once suffered Christ by himself,² but yet, never-
less, his suffering is daily renewed at this supper, through mystery of the holy
house. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how that this holy house
is both Christ's body, and the body of all faithful men, after a ghostly mystery.
As wise Augustine saith of it, If ye will understand of Christ's body, hear
the apostle Paul thus speaking: 'Ye truly be Christ's body and his members.'
Now is your mystery set on God's table, and ye receive your mystery, which
mystery ye yourselves be. Be that which ye see on the altar, and receive that
which ye yourselves be. Again, the apostle Paul saith by it, 'We many be one
bread, and one body.' Understand now and rejoice: many be one bread, and
one body in Christ. He is our head, and we be his limbs; and the bread is
not of one corn, but of many; nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So,
also, we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful
army, how that they were in so great a unity, as though all of them were
one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed, on his table, the mystery of our
peace and of our unity. He that receiveth that mystery of unity, and keepeth
not the bond of true peace, receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness
against himself. It is very good for christian men, that they go often to house,
if they bring with them to the altar unguiltiness and innocency of heart; if
they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to
destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy house. Holy books command
that water be mingled to that wine which shall be for house, because the water
signifieth the people, and the wine Christ's blood; and therefore shall neither
the one without the other be offered at the holy mass, that Christ may be with
us, and we with Christ; the head with the limbs, and the limbs with the head.

We would before have treated of the lamb which the old Israelites offered at
their Easter time,³ but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mystery,
and after, how we should receive it. That signifying-lamb was offered at the
Easter. And the apostle Paul saith, in the epistle of this present day, that
Christ is our Easter, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death.
The Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh, as God commanded, with unleavened
bread and wild lettuce; so we should receive that holy house of Christ's body
and blood without the leaven of sin and iniquity. As leaven turneth the
creatures from their nature; so doth sin, also, change the nature of man from
innocency to uncleanness. The apostle hath taught how we should feast, not
in the leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet dough of purity and truth. The
herb which they should eat with the unleavened bread is called lettuce, and is
bitter in taste: so we should with bitterness of unfeigned repentance, purify
our mind, if we will eat Christ's body. Those Israelites were not wont to eat
raw flesh, and therefore God bade them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in
water, but roasted with fire.³ He shall receive the body of God raw, that shall
think without reason, that Christ was only man like unto us, and was not God.
And he that will, after man's wisdom, search the mystery of Christ's incarna-
tion, doeth like unto him that doth seethe lamb's flesh in water, because that
water, in this same place, signifieth man's understanding. But we should
understand that all the mystery of Christ's humanity was ordered by the power
of the Holy Ghost; and then eat we his body roasted with fire, because the
Holy Ghost came in fiery likeness to the apostles in divers tongues.

The Israelites should eat the lamb's head, and the feet, and the purtenance;
and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left,
they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly
understanding we do eat the lamb's head, when we take hold of Christ's divinity
in our belief. Again when we take hold of his humanity with love, then eat
we the lamb's feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God
before all worlds, and man in the end of this world. What be the lamb's pur-
tenance, but Christ's secret precepts? and these we eat, when we receive with
greediness the word of life. There must nothing of the lamb be left unto the

(1) Luke xxii. 19.

(2) Heb. x. 12, 14.

(3) Exod. xii. 3-5

morning, because that all God's sayings are to be searched with great carefulness; so that all his precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal resurrection do appear. If we cannot search out thoroughly all the mystery of Christ's incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep secretness, above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the lamb's flesh with their loins girded. In the loins is the lust of the body, and he who will receive that housel, shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receipt. They were also shod. What be shoes, but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truly shod, if we match, in our steps and deeds, the life of men departed this life, who pleased God with keeping of his commandments. They had staves in their hands when they did eat. This staff signifieth a carefulness and diligent overseeing: and all they that best know, and ken, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was enjoined to the eaters, that they should eat the lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulness in his servants, and that he loveth those, that seek the joy of everlasting life with quickness and haste of mind. It is written, 'Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying.' The eaters might not break the lamb's bones. No more might the soldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy legs, as they did of the two thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death, sound, without all corruption: and at the last judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the cross. This time is called in the Hebrew tongue, 'pascha,' and in Latin, 'transitus,' and in English 'a passover;' because that on this day, the people of Israel passed from the land of Egypt over the Red Sea, from bondage to the land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith John the Evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the devil to Christ; from this unstable world, to his stable kingdom. Howbeit we should first, in this present life, depart from vice to holy virtue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will, after this our lent life, go to the eternal life; and, after our resurrection, to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins! To him be honour and praise of well doing, world without end, Amen.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

And thus, I suppose, it standeth clear and evidently proved by course of all these ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Augustine, unto the days of this Elfric above mentioned, and after him, that this new-come miracle of Transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the church (at least for any general doctrine of all men to be received) till a thousand years complete after Christ, that is, till Satan began to be set at large.¹ For who ever heard in all the primitive church, or ever read in the works of the old ancient doctors, this question once to be asked or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lord's Supper? or what man was ever so doltish to believe any such thing, or ever called heretic for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the thousand years aforesaid were expired? Wherefore they that stand so much on the antiquity of this article, as a doctrine which hath ever, since Christ's time, been received in the church, taught by the apostles, believed by all catholics, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of counsels, of nations, and people unto this present day; these, I say, either show themselves very ignorant in histories, and in all state of antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of the people.

The matter of transubstantiation never called in question before A. D. 1099.

(1) Apoc. xx.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

When it first came in question.

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

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

This Berengarius lived in the time of pope Leo IX., Victor, and Nicholas II., which latter died in the year 1061. Albeit I do find our writers here in some discrepance; for the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under pope Leo IX., in the council of Vercelli, and afterwards again under pope Nicholas II., about the year 1059,¹ as is to be gathered of Gratian, De Consecrat. dist. 2. "Ego Berengarius," where he saith that pope Nicholas did send about to bishops and archbishops the copy of his recantation.²

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

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

By these, and such other monks of the like fraternity, the error and heresy of transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts publiely, in writing, to be taken about that matter; of which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that faction by writing seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius, about the time of Bertram, and likewise Lanfranc, the first that brought it into England.

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

It followeth then in the act of the council, when the synod of

(1) Foxe says A. D. 1062, but this date is not in Gratian, and should be A. D. 1059, as in p. 292.—Ed.

(2) Vid. Bulling. De Origine Erroris [libri duo; 8vo. Basil, 1529. Tiguri, 1579.—Ed.] Chronici Diblandi.—Acta concilii Romæ habiti contra Berengarium.

Lanfranc a persecutor of Berengarius.

Paschasius the first beginner of the faction of transubstantiation.

archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story)¹ did hold that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding (saith he), divers there were in the said council who held the contrary with Berengarius, but at last were driven to give over. Berengarius, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, confessing his error (where none was), and desired pardon of the council. And this was (as seemeth by William of Malmesbury) his first giving over; who afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, was driven again to recognise the truth, which he before had denied.

The pope (saith Malmesbury),² perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into France Hildebrand, his cardinal chaplain, (as meet a mate for such a feat, as was in all Satan's court), and made him with a wayand to come again 'coram nobis;' who so handled Berengarius, bringing him before the face of the council holden at Tours, that he made him to say, 'erravi,' once again: against whom stood up in that council Lanfranc, and Guimund aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of Malmesbury. But, by the acts of council of Rome, appeareth another declaration, which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius should be at Rome under Hildebrand being then pope, in the year of our Lord 1079, and in the month of February; and that in the same council, holden in the church of Our Saviour, this recantation of "Ego Berengarius," was made, and he enjoined by the said pope Hildebrand, upon his oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of the sacrament there holden,³ &c.

Again, Henry Bullinger in his book, *De Origine Erroris*,⁴ following belike some other author, expresseth the order of the aforesaid recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of pope Leo IX., A. D. 1050, there was a Roman council, holden at Vercelli; in the which council Lanfranc being then present, the book of John Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that council, refused himself to come,⁵ but sent two clerks, who openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto prison. Such is the freedom of the pope's general councils, with prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this council notwithstanding, the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at Angers and Tours, joining and consenting with Berengarius.

Not long after this died pope Leo; and after him succeeded pope Victor, by whom another synod was kept at Florence,⁶ where the acts and doings of the aforesaid council of Vercelli were confirmed, and a legate also appointed to be sent to Tours in France. This legate was Hildebrand above mentioned, who, calling the clergy of France together in a synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the sacrament. Berengarius, not being ignorant of these Roman coun-

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The story and recantation of Berengarius declared by Malmesbury. See Appendix.

The order of his recantation.

Council of Vercelli.

Council of Florence.

Council of Tours

(1) Malmesbury, *De Gestis Anglorum*, lib. iii.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ex Actis Romani concilii.*(4) Hen. Bulling. *De Origine Erroris*, cap. x. [libri duo, 8vo. Basil, 1529; Tiguri, 1579. Ed.](5) Malmesbury, *De Gestis Anglorum*, lib. iii. 'Sine retractione, a quibusdam habeatur sanctus,' &c.—Ed.

(6) The councils of Florence and Tours were held A. D. 1055.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

cils,¹ so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the faith of the catholic church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the council, rather deluding the pretences of his enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Council
of Rome.

Again, after Victor, came pope Nicholas II., who, congregating another council at Rome, A. D. 1059, sent for Berengarius there to appear, who, being present, argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: in the pope's general councils such a stroke and mastership beareth authority above verity. Berengarius being thus borne down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again (for the law of relapse was not yet in season), he desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would require of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lorraine, and, afterwards, a cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his recantation, after the prescription of Rome, which he should read, and publicly profess before the people; the form of which words is registered in the Decrees.² The effect thereof is this:

Might,
beareth
down
right.Another
recanta-
tion of
Berenga-
rius.

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

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius³, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave to the contrary part no little triumph, whereby, ever since, they have taken the greater courage to tread down the truth.

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

(1) All the councils here mentioned are included in Labbe's collection (Lutet. Paris. 1671), tom. ix., col. 1055, 1079, &c. Also in Hardouin's Royal Collection (Ex. Typogr. regia, Paris, 1713), tom. vi., col. 1013 to 1584.—Ed.

(2) [Decret. Pars II.] De Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. [42.] 'Ego Berengarius.'

(3) See Appendix.—Ed.

At length, when all was quieted, and pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but eftsoons summoneth a new council at Rome, in the church of Lateran, to revive again the old disceptation of Berengarius about the year, as some hold, 1079. Thus Berengarius, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of conscience, that he had now twice denied the truth, on the other side, the man (as is of him reported), after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for his living, all the residue of his life.¹

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1539.

The opinion which Berengarius sustained touching the sacrament (as by his own words, in Lanfranc's book, may appear) was this :²

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

True opinion and judgment of Berengarius of the sacrament.

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

His doctrine falsely slandered.

And now that you have seen the doctrine of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfranc and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side, with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them soundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of Lanfranc be these :³

'I believe the earthly substances, which, upon the Lord's table, are divinely sanctified, through the ministration of the priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously, by the operation of God's mighty power, into the essence of the Lord's body, the outward forms only of the things themselves, and certain qualities reserved, and that for two respects: the one, lest the sight of the raw and bloody flesh might otherwise make men to abhor from

Gross opinion of Lanfranc and the papists, on the sacrament.

(1) The doctrines of Berengarius engaged the attention of as many as ten, and, according to some accounts, twelve different councils. In the 'Acta Conciliorum,' (fol. Paris, 1714) it is stated that he abjured at Tours in 1053, and at Rome in 1059 and 1079. The same work represents him as recanting in 1059, for the *third* time. So that some doubt may exist, whether he did not recant earlier than 1055, and in consequence of the council of Verceil (1050): though Malmesbury's words, 'sine retractatione,' in reference to that period, go far to establish the contrary. Berengarius died in 1083.—Ed.

(2) Ex lib. Lanfranci Archiepis. contra Bereng.

(3) In De la Bigne's Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. col. 232, 233. Edition 1576.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

eating thereof; the other, for that they who believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lord's body notwithstanding, yet is the selfsame body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath its essential being at the right hand of his Father, immortal, inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted; so that truly it may be affirmed, the selfsame body both to be received of us, and yet not the selfsame. The selfsame, I mean, as touching the essence, property, and virtue of his true nature: and yet not the selfsame, as touching the forms of bread and wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses, &c.

The impious and gross opinion of Guimund.

And thus have ye the confession of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. From this confession of Lanfranc, the opinion and assertion also of Guimund,¹ archbishop of Aversa, doth nothing differ in grossness and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending: "that the body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the hands of Thomas."

And moreover, the said Guimund (if his book be not rather counterfeited at Louvain), in the same place, answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce, that whether we take tearing for hard biting, or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the body of Christ may be touched with hands, bitten with mouth, crushed, yea and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the cross, according to the prophet, saying,² "He was bruised for our iniquities," &c.; so the same body, for the health of the faithful, may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c.³ Judge now, all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of God's Word, saying, in Exodus, "And of him ye shall not break a bone," &c.

The great confirmation of this doctrine of transubstantiation was by miracles.

This rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached, so, if you would now know by what learning and Scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest grounds and substance to persuade the people were at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the same above recited of Odo, which Osberne or some other monkish legend invented of him, how he should show unto certain the host, turned into the likeness of flesh and blood, dropping into the chalice, for the conversion of those clerks, who before would not believe it. Another like miracle is also told by the said Osberne of Dunstan,⁴ in this order: how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain lame cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored; which cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan, appearing again by the way,

(1) Guimund, or Guitmund: his treatise is included in *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and in a collection of writers 'De corpore et sanguine Christi,' published at Louvain in 1561, to which Foxe refers soon afterwards.—Ed.

(2) Isa. liii.

(3) Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol. 30.

(4) B. Osberneo, lib. ii. De Vita Dunstan.

asked from whence he came, and whither he would. The cripple, answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried; and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan: "I am," saith he, "Dunstan, the fellow-servant of all God's servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary business, for which I could not be present there with my children: for Elfric," said he, "otherwise surnamed Bata, hath attempted to disherit my church; but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail."¹

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1539.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, and to others more, which, to recite all, would fill a whole sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. There was a priest of Almain (saith he), named Plegildus, who did see and handle with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar; and so, after he had embraced and kissed it, it returned again to the likeness of bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof. This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he, merrily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words:² "A godly peace," quoth he, "of a false varlet; that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth."³

A lying
miracle
of Pas-
chasius
to prove
transub-
stantia-
tion.

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

Another
monkish
miracle.

(1) By this it appeareth that Elfric, the translator of the Saxon sermon, was archbishop of Canterbury.

(2) 'Speciosa, inquit, pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet basium, ei dentium inferret exitium.

(3) This and the succeeding story, are in Malmesbury.—P.O.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

ber of whom was Hildebert, bishop of Mans; whose verses in commendation of his master I thought here not unworthy to be preserved, being otherwise rare, peradventure, to be found in our story writers.

Verses in Praise of Berengarius.¹

Quem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
 Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit:
 Quem sacræ fidei fastigia summa tenentem,
 Tandem extrema dies abstulit, ausa nefas.
 Illa dies damnosa dies, et perfida mundo:
 Qua dolor et rerum summa ruina fuit.
 Qua status ecclesiæ, qua spes, qua gloria cleri,
 Qua cultor juris, jure ruente ruit.
 Quicquid philosophi, quicquid cecinere poetæ,
 Ingenio cessit cloquioque suo.
 Sanctior et major sapientia, majus adorta,
 Implevit sacrum pectus et ora Deo.
 Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit:
 Singula factori sic studuere suo.
 Vir sacer et sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas:
 Quo minor est quisquis maximus est hominum.
 Qui census peperit paucos servavit honores:
 Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
 Cui nec desidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
 Nec tumidum fecit multus et altus honos.
 Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit,
 Sed doluit quoties cui daret hæc, aberat.
 Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
 Donec inops dando pauper et ipse fuit.
 Cujus cura sequi naturam, legibus uti,
 Et mentem vitis, ora negare dolis;
 Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso,
 Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere.
 Lædere nec quenquam, cunctis prodesse, favorem:
 Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
 Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam,
 Ante sitem potus, nec cibus ante famem.
 Quem pudor hospitium statuit sibi, quamque libido,
 Incestos superat, tam superavit eam.
 Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit (inquit),
 Degenerant alii, nascitur iste mihi.
 Quæque vagabatur, et pene reliquerat orbem,
 Inclusit sacro pectore justitiam.
 Vir sacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi,
 Fama, adeo famæ præminet ipse suæ.
 Fama minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
 Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
 Vir pius atque gravis, vir sic in utroque modestus,
 Ut livor neutro rodere possit eum.
 Livor enim deflet, quem carpsit antea nec tam,
 Carpsit et odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat.
 Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
 Et queritur celeres hujus abisse dies.
 Vir vere sapiens, et parte beatus ab omni,
 Qui cælos anima, corpore ditat humum.
 Post obitum secum vivam precor ac requiescam,
 Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.

Although in this time of Berengarius, which was about the year of our Lord 1050 (as ye have heard), this error of transubstantiation

(1) These verses are in Malmesbury, with a few trifling variations. Lib. iii.—Ed

began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain popish monks above rehearsed, as Lanfranc, Guimund, Algerus,¹ Hugo bishop of Langres, Fulbert (of whom it is said in stories, that our Lady gave him suck, being sick, with her own breasts), and such others: yet, notwithstanding, all this while the said transubstantiation was decreed for no public law, nor doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the church of Rome, or any other council, before the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III, who, A.D. 1215, celebrating in the church of Lateran a general council of thirteen hundred bishops,² enacted there divers constitutions, as of yearly confession, and the communion to be used by the whole multitude once a year through every parish church. Item, for the recovery of the holy land, with subsidy also to be levied for the same. Item, for the abolishing³ of the books and writings of Joachim the Abbot, and also the opinions of Almaric before mentioned. Notwithstanding that the said Joachim did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same doctrine which was in the church of Rome, and also submitted his books to be presented to the see of Rome, there to be corrected or approved, yet was he judged, though not a heretic, yet to be erroneous; and especially in those books which he wrote against Peter the Lombard, called afterwards the Master of Sentences.⁴

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Transubstantiation first decreed for a general law by pope Innocent III.

In the said council, besides divers other constitutions and the articles of the creed there in order repeated, as appeareth,⁵ there was also enacted, decreed, and established the faith and belief of transubstantiation, in these words following.

The Words of the Council whereby Transubstantiation was first established.

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

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

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, yet was not this body elevated over the priest's head, nor adored by the

Elevation and adoration brought in by pope Honorius III.

(1) 'Algerus.' The treatises of Algerus and Hugo are found in the Bibliotheca Patrum, Lugduni, 1677, tom. xviii.—Ed.

(2) This number includes abbots and priors. See Collier's Historical Dictionary.—Ed.

(3) The words of the council are these:—'Joachim omnia scripta sua nobis assignari mandaverit, apostolicae sedis judicio approbanda seu etiam corrigenda.' See Acta Conciliorum, Paris, 1714, tom. vii. col. 19.—Ed.

(4) Ex Antonin. pars 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

(5) Extr. De summa Trinit. 6. a. 1. 'Firmiter credimus,' et Fide Catholica, chap. 1. [The passage appears in the Decretals of Gregory IX. lib. i. tit. i. § 1, of the 'Corpus Juris Canonici a Pithæo,' Paris, 1677.—Ed.]

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

people, till the days of pope Honorius III., succeeding after Innocent, who, by his council, likewise commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation; as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

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

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

Persecution first beginning in these latter days.

And thus much for the first article of Transubstantiation, which, as you have heard, was not admitted into the church for any general doctrine of faith, before the year and time above assigned of pope Innocent III.: and therefore, if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion still of this doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance than for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own catholic sort, John Duns Scotus I mean, who, in his fourth book, writing of transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: "These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation; but the church did choose this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold, of the sacraments, the same which the church of Rome doth hold," &c. And further, in the same place, the said Duns, expounding himself what he meaneth by the church of Rome, maketh there express mention of the said Innocent III., and of this Council of Lateran, &c. And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention, I will also adjoin to this testimony of John Scotus, the judgment and verdict of Erasmus, where he writeth in these words:¹ "In the sacrament of the communion, the church concluded transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true body of Christ to be present either under bread, or else by some other manner," &c.

(1) 'In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definiuit ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocumque modo adesse verum corpus Christi,' &c. Erasmi lib. Annot. in 1 Cor. cap. vii. Ser. 6.

THE SECOND ARTICLE: OF BOTH KINDS.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

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

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

Objections of the papists against both kinds.

Item, where they alleged the place of St. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread,¹ &c.; citing, moreover, many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of those places may be understood of the sacrament, yet, that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the sacrament was only ministered to the people without the other, when, by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed unto them: for so we find by the words of St. Paul, that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate, not only in breaking of bread, but in participating the cup also: "The cup," saith he, "which we participate,"² &c.

Also, after the apostles, in the time of Cyprian, of Jerome, of Gelasius, and others successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the church. First Cyprian,³ in divers places, declareth that the sacrament of the blood was also distributed. "How do we," saith he, "provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their blood, if we deny unto them the blood of Christ, when they prepare themselves to the conflict?"

The words of Jerome are plain:⁴ "Priests," saith he, "who minister the Eucharist, and divide the blood unto the people."

In *Historia Tripartita*,⁵ it was said to the emperor Theodosius, "How will you receive the body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the cup of his precious blood with that mouth, who have spoiled so much innocent blood?"

In the canon of Gelasius, and in the pope's own decrees, these words we read: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving only the portion of the Lord's body, do abstain from the cup of his sacred blood; to whom we enjoin that either they receive the whole sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither: for the dividing of that whole and one sacrament, cannot be done without great sacrilege," &c. So that this decree of pope Gelasius being con-

(1) Luke xxiv.

(2) 1 Cor. x.

(3) Cypria. lib. i. Epist. 2. De Laicis Martyribus scribens.

(4) Hieronymus, in Sophon. cap. 3.

(5) Hist. Tripart. lib. ix cap. 30.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The Council of Constance a sacrilegious council. No custom may derogate from the Lord's express commandment.

His testament ought not to be altered.

The natural body of Christ not to be broken.

Another objection.

tradietory to the Council of Constance, it must follow, that either the pope did err, or else the Council of Constance must needs be a sacrilegious council; as no doubt it was.

The like testimony also appeareth in the Council of Toledo, that the laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old precedents remaining yet in the churches both of Germany and also of France, declaring likewise the same.¹

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

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

Further, as concerning those places of Scripture before alleged, "De fractione panis;" that is, "Of breaking of bread;" whereupon they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first, we say, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture "De fractione panis," are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament therefore was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread, to signify generally the whole feast or supper: as in the prophet Isaiah, these words, "Frangere esurienti panem tuum," do signify as well giving drink, as bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, "De fractione panis," be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For, if the sacrament were administered among them "in fractione panis," that is, in breaking of bread, then must they needs grant, that if bread was there broken, ergo there was bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the natural body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, "And ye shall break no bone of him,"² &c. Wherefore take away the substance of bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christ's body, neither yet the accidents without their substance can be broken, neither again will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken? And what then was it, in this their "fractione panis," that they did break, if it were not "panis," that is, "substantia panis, quæ frangebatur?" To conclude: if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramental breaking of Christ's body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christ's natural body in the sacrament is a sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Item, They object further, and say, that the church, upon due

(1) Thus the forbidding of both kinds of the sacrament hath no ground of ancient custom.

(2) Exod. xii

consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies and sacraments.

Henry VIII.

Answer:—The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first, he divided the bread severally from the cup; and afterwards, the cup severally from the bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death, to the world's end. Thirdly, besides this order taken, and example left, he added also an express commandment, "Hoc facite," "Do this:" "Bibite ex hoc omnes," "Drink ye all of this," &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church, nor council of men, nor angel in heaven, hath any power or authority to change or alter; according as we are warned: "If any bring unto you any other gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed," &c.¹

A. D. 1539.

Order.

Example

Commandment

Item, Another objection: And why may not the church (say they) as well alter the form of this sacrament, as the apostles did the form of baptism? where, in the Acts, St. Peter saith, "Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ," &c.²

Another objection.

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

The Apostles changed not the form of baptism.

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

Man's curiosity in magnifying his own devices above God's.

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

In summa: Divers other objections and cavillations are in popish books to be found, as in Gabriel, the difference made between the laity and priests; also the distinction used to be made between the priests' communion, and the laical communion: where is to be understood, that when priests were bid to use the laical communion,

(1) Gal. i.

(2) Acts ii.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Private example makes no instance against public usages of the church.

All must give place to the obedience of the word.

thereby was meant, not receiving under one kind, as laymen do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the laymen then did. Some also allege certain special or particular examples, as of the cup only serving for the bread, or of the bread only sent to certain sick folk for the cup. And here they do infer the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the sacrament of bread, which she only received without the cup, was turned to a stone, &c.¹ Others allege other private examples likewise of infants, aged men, sick persons, men excommunicated, frantics, and madmen, or men dwelling far off from churches, in mountains or wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custom of public congregations frequented from the apostles' time; and much less ought they to derogate from the express and necessary precept of the Gospel, which saith to all men without exception, "Hoc facite," &c. "Bibite ex hoc omnes," &c.

See Appendix.

THE THIRD ARTICLE; OF PRIVATE MASSES, TRENTAL MASSES, AND DIRIGE MASSES.

Definition of the mass.

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

Rule of christian doctrine.

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

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

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

IV. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is idolatry; "Fugite idola,"² &c.

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

(1) Illst. Eccle. lib. viii. cap. 5.

(2) 1 Cor. x.

VI. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death by any work-doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing: "Justus ex fide sua vivet."¹

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

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

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

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

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

The sacrament of the Lord's supper put out of its right use, by private masses.

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

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

Christ's memory put out in dirige masses.

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

An application.

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

Adoration and oblation.

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

Meriting for others.

(1) Hab. ii.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

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

Private masses against the free grace of God.

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

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the Scripture saith,¹ "With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever:" against this rule the private mass proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, anew to be done again: and finally, that which was instituted only for eating, and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the popish mass maketh an oblation, and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead.

They turn our faith from Christ's body crucified, to Christ sacrificed in their masses.

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

See Appendix.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH ARTICLES; OF VOWS AND PRIESTS' MARRIAGE.

As we have discoursed before, by stories and order of time, the antiquity of the three former articles above mentioned, to wit, of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now, coming to the article of vows, and that of priests' marriage, the reader will look, perchance, to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued; wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of Anselm, also of pope Hildebrand, &c., yet, for the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to the intent that the world may see and judge the said law and decree of priests' single sole life to be a doctrine of no ancient standing here within this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege for me the words of Henry of Huntingdon,² here following:

(1) 'Unica oblatione consummavit eos, qui sanctificantur, in perpetuum.' Heb. x.

(2) 'Eodem anno ad festum Michaelis tenuit Anselmus archiepiscopus concilium apud Londonias: in quo prohibuit sacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam

'The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in which synod he forefended priests here in England to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have: which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should take upon them such chastity, more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of christian profession,' &c.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, in the days of king Edgar, A. D. 959, as they were all monks themselves, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing monks in churches and colleges, and putting out the married priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leave their wives, or their rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth Malmesbury,¹ "Therefore divers and sundry clerks of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways," &c. So also Elfric, after them (of whom mention was made before), was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfranc likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriage was never publicly established for a law here, in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and king Henry I., writing in these words: "Boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome, began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been showed; and also besides him were other popes more, as pope Innocent III., Nicholas II., and Calixtus II., by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Priests first restrained from their wives generally in England.

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

See Appendix.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, who, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers countries, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be found by credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067,² at what time pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into

mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum: ne dum munditias viribus majores appeterent, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus incidere, &c. De Historia Anglorum, lib. vii.

(1) 'Itaque clerici multarum ecclesiarum, data optione ut aut anctum mutarent aut locis valedicerent, cessere,' &c. Malmesb. in Vita Dunstani.

(2) See the Appendix respecting an error in this date.—ED.

Henry VIII.

the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same.¹

A. D. 1539.

St. Paul prophesieth for-
bidding of marriage.

And this was, as I said, about A. D. 1067,² well approved and testified by course of histories: whereby appeareth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., where he writeth in these words: "The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving," &c.

His prophecies found true for the count of times.

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of meats, which God generally hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be noted is, the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurrerth right well with these years of pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

The married life of priests more ancient than the single.

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

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

II. Before this council of Nice, we read of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A. D. 193,³ dissenting from pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

Syricius an enemy to priests.

III. Pope Syricius, about A. D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Syricius in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Syricius replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul,⁴ "If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die," &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, who showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer we come to

(1) Ex actis Syn. Mediolan. [See note 4, page 330 of this volume.—Ed.]

(2) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(3) Foxe gives A. D. 180; but Victor was not made pope till the year 193. See 'L'Art de verifier des Dates.' Paris, 1783, vol. i. p. 221.

(4) 'Si secundum carnem vixeritis, morietur vobis.' Rom. vii. 15.

the ancient and primitive time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself,¹ "Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have?" Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria,² who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation,³ "Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you," &c. so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited), do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to contemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.⁴

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Divers of the apostles were married.

Canons of the apostles.

As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word 'contemning' for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that, to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And because I have here made mention of Clement of Alexandria, it shall not be to our purpose impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend priests' lawful matrimony, against certain vain boasters of virginity in his time.⁵ "These glorious braggers do vaunt themselves to be the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet possessed any thing here in the world," &c. And it followeth,⁶ "To these the Scripture maketh answer, God withstandeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Again they consider not the cause why the Lord took no wife. First, he had his own peculiar spouse, which is the church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he should stand in such need of a helper after the flesh," &c. And in the same book a little after, alleging against them that abhor matrimony, he inferreth the words of St. Paul, how that in the latter days, "Some shall fall from the faith, attending to spirits of error, and to doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, and bidding to abstain from meats," &c.⁷ Which place of St. Paul, Clement here applieth not against the Novatians, and then that condemn matrimony in general in all men as naught; but he applieth it only against such as forbid marriage in part, and namely in priests, &c. This Clement wrote after Christ two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the council of Gangra⁸ three hundred years, and also by the council

A sophistical gloss.

The cause why Christ had no wife.

(1) 'Non habemus potestatem sororem circumducendi?' &c. (2) Strom. lib. vii.

(3) 'Unusquisque suam uxorem habeat,' &c.

(4) Dist. xxviii. [Gratian (Paris, 1612.), col. 153.—Ed.]

(5) 'Dicunt gloriosi isti jactatores, se imitari Dominum, qui neque uxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid possedit, se magis quam alios evangelium intellexisse gloriantes.' Clemens Alexandrinus. [Strom. lib. iii. cap. 6. f. 49.—Ed.]

(6) 'Eis autem dicit Scriptura, Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde nesciunt causam eum Dominum uxorem non duxerit. Primum quidem, propriam sponsam habuit ecclesiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, ut opus haberet etiam adjutore aliquo secundum carnem,' &c.

(7) 1 Tim. iv. 3.

(8) According to some authorities, this Council was held A. D. 324 or 340, and Du Pin places it as late as A. D. 370. The Council of Nice, stated here to be 460 years after Christ, was held A. D. 325.—L.D.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

of Nice four hundred years, after Christ, the same liberty of priests' marriage, established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the council of Gangra be these: ¹ "If any do judge that a priest, for his marriage' sake, ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstain from the same, let him be accursed."

Moreover, proceeding yet in times and chronicles of the church, we shall come to the sixth council, called the "Synod of Constantinople," almost seven hundred years after Christ; the words of which council be alleged in the Decrees, and be these; ² "Because, in the order of the Roman canon we know it so to be received, that such as be deacons and priests shall profess themselves to have no more connexion with their wives; we, following the ancient canon of the diligent apostles and constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawful marriage, from henceforth, shall stand in force, in no case dissolving their conjunction with their wives, neither depriving them of their mutual society and familiarity together, in such time as they shall think convenient," &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree: hear now the penalty in the same decree and distinction contained. ³ "If any man, therefore, shall presume, against the canons of the apostles, to deprive either priest or deacon from the touching and company of his lawful wife, let him be deprived. And likewise this priest and deacon, whosoever, for religion's sake, shall put away his wife, let him be excommunicated," &c. (and the council of Gangra saith: "let him be accursed.") By these words of the council recited, six things are to be noted:

Six
things
in this
council
to be
noted.

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

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

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

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

V. By the Roman canon here mentioned, which began with Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, a little before this council, it cannot be denied but that the church of Rome began then to dis sever, not only from the verity, but also from the unity of all other churches following the apostolic doctrine; albeit the said Roman canon at that

(1) 'Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, et ab ejus oblatione ideo se abstinet, anathema sit,' &c. *Distinct. xxviii.* [Canon 4. The words as quoted by Foxe are according to Isidore Mercator's translation: Labbe; *Concilia General. tom. ii. col. 425.* See also Gratian, (Paris, 1612,) col. 153, and the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) 'Quoniam in Romani ordine canonicis esse cognovimus traditum, eos, qui ordinati sunt diaconi vel presbyteri debere confiteri, quod jam suis non copulerunt uxoris, nos antiquum sequentes canonicum apostolicæ diligentia, et constitutiones sacerorum virorum, legales nuptias amodo valere volumus, nullo modo cum uxoris suis eorum connubia dissolventes, aut privantes eos familiaritate ad invicem in tempore opportuo,' &c. *Concil. Constantin. vi. [A. D. 680.—Ed.] dist. xxxii. ca. 'Quoniam.'* [See Appendix.]

(3) 'Si quis igitur presumpsit contra apostolicos canones, aliquos presbyterorum et diaconorum private contactu et communione legalis uxoris, deponatur,' &c. [See the above quotations *Cat. Test. Veritatis. Francof. 1666, p. 73;* or in *Catalogi Test. Verit. Auctarium, Cattapoli, 1667, p. 10.* Also Gratian (Paris, 1612), col. 165.—Ed.]

time stood not long, but was shortly disannulled by the said Gregory again, by the occasion of infants' heads found in the fish pond; whereof (Christ willing) more shall be spoken hereafter.

VI. Sixthly, here is to be noted and remembered the crafty false packing, and fraud of the Romans, who, in the Latin book of Councils, in divers new impressions, have suppressed this canon, because belike it maketh little with their purpose: playing much like with this, as pope Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine played with the sixth council at Carthage, who, for their supremacy, would have forged a false canon of Nice, had not the council sent to Constantinople for the true exemplar thereof, and so proved them open liars to their faces. So likewise this canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in some books, yet, being found in the ancient and true written copies, being alleged of Nilus, a Greek bishop of Thessalonica, two hundred years ago;¹ and moreover being found and alleged in the pope's own book of Decrees, dist. 31, must needs convince them of manifest theft and falsehood.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the deprivation of priests' lawful marriage, all this space, was not entered into the church, neither Greek nor Latin, at least took no full possession, before pope Hildebrand's time, A.D. 1073,² and especially pope Calixtus' time, A.D. 1119, who were the first open extorters³ of priests' marriage. Aventine,⁴ a faithful writer of his time, writing of the council of Hildebrand, hath these words: ⁵

'In those days priests commonly had wives, as other christian men had, and had children also, as may appear by ancient instruments, and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses; in which instruments, both the priests and their wives, also, with them (who there be called Presbyterissæ), I find to be alleged for witnesses. It happened, moreover, at the same time (saith Aventine), that the emperor had the investing of divers archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeyes, and nunneries, within his dominions.' Pope Hildebrand disdaining against both these sorts aforesaid, (that is, both against them that were invested by the emperor, and also against all those priests that had wives), provided so in his council at Rome, that they who were promoted by the emperor into livings of the church, were counted to come in by simony: the others, who were married priests, were counted for Nicolaitans. Whereupon pope Hildebrand, 'writing his letters to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates, namely to Berthold of Zaringia, to Rodulph of Suevia, to Welphon of Bavaria, to Adelberon, and to their ladies, and to divers others to whom he thought good, also to bishops, namely, to Otto bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people, willesh them, in his letters, to refuse and to keep no company with those Simoniacs and those Nicolaitan priests' (for so were they termed then, who had either any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or else who had wives): 'to avoid their masses; neither to talk, neither to eat or drink with them, nor once to speak to them, or to salute them; but utterly to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise than they would eschew the plague or pestilence, and unless they would submit to refuse them support.

'By reason hereof ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ, such as lightly the like hath not been seen: for the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy: briefly all ran together in heaps and in confusion. Men and women, as every one was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took thereby occasion,

(1) Nilus was bishop of Thessalonica A.D. 1355.—Ed.

(2) Foxe 'A. D. 1067:' see p. 305, note (2).—Ed.

(3) 'Extorters,' violent takers away.—Ed.

(4) P. 346, Edit. Francof. 1627. The best edition of this writer, Jo. Aventini Annalium Boiorum libri vii., is that published in folio, Lipsiæ, 1710. See Schelhorn's *Amenitates Literariæ*, vol. v.—Ed.

(5) 'Sacerdotes illa tempestate publice uxores, sicut cæteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant, sicuti in instrumentis donationum, quæ illi templis, mystis,' &c. Aventinus in *histor. Boiorum*, lib. v. [Cap. 6.—Ed.]

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

The
crafty
packing
of the
Romans,
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and coun-
tervail-
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councils.

First ex-
torters of
priests'
lawful
marriage.

Simo-
niacal
and Nica-
litan
priests.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister, to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people contemned the priests who had married wives, despised their religion, and all things that they did; yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been with holy water, and burned their tithes. Also, such was the mischief of them, that they would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: for so then had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no priests, neither that they were sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by this occasion many false prophets rose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, wresting the Scriptures as served best for their own purposes: of whom few there were, that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boasts and brags thereof; but the greatest part, under the show and pretence of honesty and pureness of life, committed incest, fornication, adultery, every where almost, and no punishment was for the same, &c.

To this testimony of Aventine above mentioned, we will also adjoin the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of this our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who doth testify, that in the time of the emperor Henry IV., A.D. 1057, the number of twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, with the clergy also of their diocese. Of which Spanish bishops we read also in Isidore,¹ who wrote more than six hundred years after Christ (and the place is also cited in the pope's distinctions) in his book "*De Clericorum Vita,*" how they ought either to lead an honest chaste life, or else to keep themselves within the band of matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of priests either to be then voluntary, or else their marriage not to be restrained as yet by any law.

Moreover, such Calixtian priests² as be now-a-days, counting priests' marriage as a new device, and not standing with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of pope Symmachus, and answer thereof to the Gloss, dist. 81; where it is written, "Let priests be all restrained from the conversation of all women, except it be their mother, sister, or their own wife," &c.: where the Gloss, in the margin, giveth a note, saying, "*Hic loquitur secundum antiqua tempora.*"

Thus, if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men, which be so rigorous against priests' marriage; or if the examples of the apostles might move them (whom St. Ambrose witnesseth to have been all married,³ except only Paul and John); or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them; here might be rehearsed—that Tertullian was a married priest, as witnesseth Jerome; Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had wife and children; Hilary, bishop of Poitiers,⁴ was also married; Gregory, bishop of Nissa;⁵ Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum;⁶ Prosper, bishop of Rheggio; Cheremon, bishop of Nilopolis: all these were married bishops. Of Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops and married men, we spake before. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in Justinian's time, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors before him were priests and bishops married. Jerome saith, that in his time, "many priests were then married men."⁷

All the
apostles
were
married,
except
John and
Paul.

See
Adlenda.

(1) Isidorus, *De Vita Clericorum*. Dis. xxiii. cap. 'His igitur.' [See also Gratian, col. 115. Isidore was archbishop of Seville for about forty years. He died A.D. 636.—Ed.]

(2) Calixtian priests, that is, of Calixtus's sect, who chiefly forbade priests' marriage.

(3) Ex Ambros.: 2 Cor. xi.

(4) Ex Epist. Hilarii ad Abram filium.

(5) Ex Bulluo, lib. ii. cap. 9.

(6) Ex Nazianzeno. Ex Novel. constit. iii.

(7) 'Plurimi sacerdotes habebant matrimonia.' Ex Hieron. adv. Jovinian. lib. i. [§ 13.]

Pope Damasus reciteth up a great number of bishops of Rome, who were priests' sons; as, Sylverius, A. D. 536; Deodatus, about the year 614; Adrian II., about the year 867; Felix III., about the year 483; Osius;¹ Agapetus, A. D. 535; Gelasius, A. D. 492; Boniface, A. D. 418; Theodore (whose father was bishop of Jerusalem), about the year 642; John X., A. D. 914; John XV., the son of Leo, a priest, about the year 985; Richard, archdeacon of Coventry; Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon; Volusianus, bishop of Carthage; Thomas, archbishop of York, son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester.² And how many other bishops and priests in other countries, besides these bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure were such as to make a whole head-roll of them all!

In the mean time the words of cardinal Sylvius, afterwards bishop of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain friend of his, who, after his orders taken, was disposed to marriage. To whom the aforesaid Sylvius answereth again in these words following:³ "We believe that you, in so doing, follow no sinister counsel, in that you choose to be married, when otherwise you are not able to live chaste. Albeit this counsel should have come into your head before that you entered into ecclesiastical orders: but we are not all gods, to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now, forasmuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the law of the flesh, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.

All the premises well considered, it shall suffice, I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general law and prohibition of priests' marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time, nor long continuance of years, as they make it, but rather to be a late-devised doctrine, gendered by the monks, and grounded upon no reason, law, or Scripture; but that certain who be repiners against the truth, do rack and wrest a few places out of the doctors, and two or three councils, for their pretended purpose: whose objections and blind cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, refer to the further discussion of divines, in whose books this matter is more at large to be sought and searched. In the mean season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquity, and to the conservation of such acts and monuments as are behoveable for the church, I thought hereunto not unprofitable to be adjoined, a certain epistle learned and ancient of Volusianus, bishop some time of Carthage, tending to the defence of priests' lawful wedlock, which Æneas Sylvius in *Descriptione Germaniæ*;⁴ also *Illyricus in Catalogo*;⁵ and *Melanethon, Lib. de Conjugio*,⁶ do father upon Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg,⁷ in the time of pope Nicholas II. But as I find it in an old written example, sent by John Bale to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, as it is joined in the same book, so it beareth also the same title and name of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage; joining also

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

(1) 'Osius.' No such bishop of Rome, but Foxe has had authority. See the note (Corr. Rom.) to cap. ii. dist. 56; p. 77 of the 'Corpus Juris Canonici' (fol. Par. 1687). See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Vicelio, *De Sacrificio Missæ*. [See Chemnitz 'Examen. Conc. Trid.' pars iii. loc. ii. de Cœlibatu, cap. 4. § 11.—Ed.]

(3) 'Credimus te uti non insulso consilio, si, cum nequeas continere, conjugium quærís: quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antequam initiareris sacris ordinibus. Sed non sumus dii omnes, qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum est, ut legi carnis resistere nequeas, melius est nubere quam uri.' Ex Ænea Sylvio. *Epist.* 307. [See p. 809, *Opera Omnia*, (Basil. 1571.)—Ed.]

(4) Æneas Sylvius, *Opera Omnia*, Basil. 1571, p. 1053.—Ed.

(5) See pp. 972 to 984. Edit. 1608.—Ed.

(6) See p. 172. Pars II. Witeb. 1601.—Ed.

(7) Hulderic became bishop of Augsburg about A. D. 923. See note 1, p. 311. As Foxe's reasoning seems to prove that Nicholas II. was the pope addressed, Hulderic can hardly be the writer.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

withal another Latin epistle (with the English), which perhaps hath not been seen in print before. The copies of both which epistles in Latin, as being pertinent to the purpose present, hereunder ensue, in form of a note.¹

(1) *The Epistle in Latin of Volusianus, or, as some think, of Hutteric, Bishop of Augsburg, to Pope Nicholas, against the forbidding of Priests' Marriage.*

Epistola Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Episcopum.

See
Apj. condz.

••• Hæc est rescriptio Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao, De Continentia Clericorum, non justè, sed impiè, nec canonicè sed indiscretè tractanti, ita respondit.

Nicolao Domino et Patri, pervigili sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Prævisori, Volusianus, solo nomine Episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut servus. Cum tua, O Pater et Domine, decreta super clericorum continentia nuper mihi transmissa à discretione invenirem aliena, timor me turbavit cum tristitia, timor quidem—propter hoc, quod dicitur pastoris sententiam, sive justam sive injustam, timendam esse; timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel justæ vix obediunt sententiæ, ne, injustam conculcantes liberè, oneroso imo importabili pastoris præcepto prævaricatione se obligarent: tristitia verò vel compassio—dum considerabam, qua ratione membra cavere possent, capite suo tam gravi morbo laborante. Quid enim gravius, quid totius ecclesiæ compassione dignius, quam te, summæ sedis pontificem, ad quem totius ecclesiæ spectat examen, à sancta discretione vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hæc deviasi, cum clericos, quos ob continentiam conjugii monere debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim meritò communi omnium sapientium judicio hæc est violentia, cum contra evangelicam institutionem, ac Sancti Spiritus dictationem, ad privata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum ergo plurima Veteris ac Novi Testamenti suppetant exempla, sanctam (ut nosti) discretionem docentia, tuæ rogo ne grave sit paternitati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interseri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege sacerdoti conjugium constituit, quod illi postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Sed idem in evangelio loquitur [Matt. xix.]: Sunt enuchi, qui se castraverunt propter regnum celorum, sed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui potest capere, capiat. Quapropter apostolus quoque ait [I Cor. vii.]: De virginibus præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. Qui etiam, juxta prædictum Domini, non omnes hoc consilium capere posse considerans, sed multos ejusdem consilii assentatores, hominibus non Deo falsa specie continentia placere volentes, graviora videns committere, patrum scilicet uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrire; ne morbi hujus aspersione ad usque pestilentiam convalescente nimium status labefactetur ecclesiæ totius, propter fornicationem, dixit, unusquisque suam uxorem habeat. Quod specialiter ad laicos pertinere lidem mentiuntur hypocritæ: qui licet in quovis sanctissimo ordine constituti, alienis tamen uxoris non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in supradictis sæviunt sceleribus. Hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt, cujus mammillam quia durius pressere, sanguinem pro lacte biberunt.^a Nam illud apostolicum, Unusquisque suam habeat uxorem, nullum excipit vere, nisi professorem continentia, vel cum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate prefixit.

Quod nihilominus tuam, Pater venerande, concedet strenuitatem, ut omnem, qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentia postea voluerit apostatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito constringas, aut ab omni ordine canonica autoritate deponas; et ut hoc viriliter implere sufficias, me omnesque mei ordinis viros adjutores habebis non pigros. Verum ut hujus voti necios omnino scias non esse cogendos, audi apostolum dicentem ad Timotheum: Oportet (inquit) episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris virum. Quam sententiam ne quis ad solam ecclesiam verteret, subjunxit, Qui autem domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam habebit? Similiter, inquit, diaconi sint unius uxoris viri, qui filius suis benè præsit, et suis domibus. Hanc autem uxorem à sacerdote benedicendam esse, Sancti Sylvestri papæ decretis scito te sufficienter doctum esse. His et hujusmodi sanctæ Scripturæ sententiis Regulæ clericorum scriptor non immeritò concordans ait: Clericus sit pudicus, aut certè unius matrimonii vinculo foderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veraciter colligit quòd episcopus et diaconus reprehensibiles notantur, si in mulieribus multis dividuntur. Si verò unam sub obtentu religionis abjiciunt, utrumque, scilicet episcopum et diaconum sine graduum differentia, hæc canonica damnat sententia: Episcopus aut presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciat, si verò rejecerit, excommunicatur; et si perseveraverit, dejiciatur.^b Sanctus quoque Augustinus, sanctæ discretionis non inscius: Nullum (inquit) tam grave facinus est, quin admittendum sit, ut devitetur pejus.^c

Legimus præterea in secundo Tripartitæ Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libro, quòd cum synodus Nicæna hæc eadem vellet sancire decreto, ut videlicet episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, post consecrationem à propriis uxoris vel omnino abstinere, vel gradum deponerent; surgens in medio Paphnutius (ex illis martyribus quos Maximinus imperator, oculis eorum dextris evulsis et sinistris suris incisis, damnavit) contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias, ac castitatem esse dicens omnium eum propria uxore; persuasitque concilio ne talem ponerent legem, gravem asserens esse causam, que aut ipsius aut eorum conjugibus occasio fornicationis existeret. Et hæc quidem Paphnutius, licet nuptiarum expertus, exposuit; synodusque ejus sententiam laudavit, et nihil ex hac parte sanevit, sed hoc in uniususque voluntate, non in necessitate dimisit.

Sunt verò aliqui qui S. Gregorium suæ sectæ summum adiutorem; quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculosum hujus hæresis decretum à S. Gregorio factum, condigno penitentia fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippe cum die quadam in vivarium suum propter pisces misisset, et allata inde plus quam sex millia infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus penitentia ingemuit, et factum à se de abstinentia decretum tante cædis causam confessus, condigno illud, ut dixi, penitentia fructu purgavit: suoque decreto prorsus damnato, apostolicum illud laudavit consilium; Melius est nubere, quam uri [I Cor. vii.]; addens ex sua parte, Melius est nubere, quam mortis occasionem præbere. Hunc forsitan te eventum si illi mecum legissent, non tam temere, credo, judicarent, Dominicum saltem timentes præceptum: Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini [Matt. vii.]. Inde Paulus dicit, Tu quis es, qui judicæ alienum servum? suo Domino stat, aut cadit. Stabit autem; potens est enim Dominus

Notes upon the same.

- (a.) Scripturæ perperam intellectæ. Durius premendo sanguis elicitur. (b.) Can. Apoc. v
(c.) If this rule of St. Austin be true, better it is for the papists to admit the marriage of priests, than that adultery and other like inconveniences should follow, as they do.

As touching the antiquity of the first epistle,¹ it appeareth by the copy which I have seen and received, of the above-named Matthew,

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

statuere illum. [Rom. xiv.] Cesset ergo sanctitas tua cogere, quos tantum deberet admonere; ne privato (quod absit) præcepto tam Veteri quam Novo contrarius inveniaris Testamento. Nam, ut ait S. Augustinus ad Donatum, Solum est quod in tua iustitia pertimescimus, ne non pro lenitate christianæ consideratione, sed pro immanitate facinorum censeas coerendum. Quod te per ipsum Christum ne facias obscramus, sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, ut supersint quos peccasse prænteat. Illud etiam Augustini volumus te recordari, quod ait, Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate: et nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter. Idem de eodem, In timore Christi, in nomine Christi exhortor, quicumque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicumque habetis, in eis non præsumatis. Dico autem, non, si ista habetis damnamini; sed, si in istis præsumatis damnamini; si propter talia magui vobis videamini; si generis humani conditionem communem propter excellentem unitatem obliviscamini. Quod nimirum peculum discretionis ex illo fonte apostolice hauserat prædicationis: Solutus es ab uxore, noli quærere uxorem; alligatus es uxori, noli quærere solutionem? Ubi et subditur, Qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes; et qui utuntur mundo, tanquam non utantur [I Cor. vii.] Idem dicit de vidua, Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino. Nubere in Domino est, nihil in contrahendo connubio, quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare, Jeremias [Jer. vii.] quoque ait, Nolite confidere in verbis mendacii, dicentes, Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini est. Quod Hieronymus exponens, Potest, inquit, et hoc illis virginibus convenire, quæ jactant pudicitiam suam impudenti vultu: præferunt castitatem, cum aliud habeat conscientia, et nesciunt illam apostoli definitionem de virgine, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. Quid enim prodest corporis pudicitia, animo constuprato, aut si cæteras virtutes, quas propheticus sermo describit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, et quia discretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in aliis tamen vitæ tuæ constitutionibus honestè conservatam non ignoramus: hujus intentionis pravitatem te citò correcturum non desperamus. Et ideo non quanta possumus gravitate istam, licet gravissimam, negligentiam corripimus vel judicamus. Quanquam enim secundum vocabula quæ usus obtinuit, sit episcopatus presbyterio major; tamen Augustinus Hieronymo minor est, et à minori quolibet non est refugienda vel dedignanda correctio: præsertim cum is qui corripitur, et contra veritatem et pro hominibus nati invenitur. Neque enim (ut ait S. Augustinus ad Bonifacium), quorumlibet disputationes quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum virorum velut Scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut non liceat nobis, salva honorificentia quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respicere, si fortè invenerimus quod aliter senserint magis veritas habeat, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati quæ contrarium potest inveniri, quam hoc, quod—cum Ipsa Veritas de continentia loquens, non unius hominis, sed omnium (planè excepto numero professorum continentia) dicat, Qui potest capere, capiat [Matt. xix.];—isti (nescitur unde instigati) dicant, Qui non potest capere, feriatur anathemate.

Quid vero per homines fieri potest stolidius, quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui, vel episcopi videlicet vel archidiaconi, ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum (proh pudor!) turpissimos amplexus sciant abhorre; casta clericorum conjugia sibi dicant fœtere; et clericos ab eis non verè justitiæ compassione, ut conservos rogent continere, sed falsæ justitiæ dedignatione, ut servos jubeant ac cogant abstinere?^d Ad cuius imperii, ne dicam consilii, tam fatuam tamque turpem suggestionem addunt, ut dicant, Honestius est pluribus occulte implicari, quam apertè in hominum vultu et conscientia cum una ligari. Quod profecto non dicent, si ex illo, et in illo essent qui dicit, Væ vobis Iharisæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines. Et per psalmistam [Psalm liii.]: Qui hominibus placent, confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus sprevit eos. Hi sunt, qui prius deberent nobis persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cui omnia nuda et aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum mundi esse. Licet ergo merito suæ pravitatis, nullius consilium mereantur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis, divinæ eis consilium autoritatis, nunquam pietate vacantis, per viscera ministrarum charitatis. Dicimus nempe, Ejice primum, hypocrita, trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc perspicies ut ejicias festucam de oculo fratris tui. [Matt. vii.]

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod Dominus dicit de muliere; Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat [John viii.] quasi diceret: Si lex jubet, si Moses jubet, jubeo et ego, sed competentes legis ministros exigo. Attendentes quid adducitis, attendite quæso et quid estis: quia, si te ipsum, ut ait Scriptura, perspexeris, nulli unquam detraxeris. Significatum est autem nobis de quibusdam eorum, quod tanta apud se intumescant elatione, ut gregem Domini, pro quo boni pastores animas non dubitant ponere, isti verberibus etiam absque ratione præsumant laniare. Quorum sententiam S. Gregorius nimium deplorans ait, Quid fiet de ovibus, quando pastores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, nisi qui sævit? Quis verò persecutorem judicabit, nisi qui dorsum suum ad flagella patienter ministravit? Opera pretium est autem, ut audiatur, quo fructu tantum ecclesia Dei scandalum, tantum clerus despectum, ab ipsis episcopis ut ab infidelibus patiat. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitaverim, de quibus Paulus apostolus dicit ad Timotheum [I Tim. iv.]: Quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, et doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, et cauteriatam habentium conscientiam, prohibentium nubere.

Hic est autem, si diligenter inspicatur, totus eorum manipulus zizanizæ, totus eventus insanie, ut dum clerici licita unius mulieris consortia, Pharisæico devicti (quod absit) furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicationis et adulterii et aliarum pravitatum turpissimi ministri ab ipsis efficiantur, qui hanc in ecclesia Dei hæresim sicut cæci duces cæcorum machinantur: ut videlicet illud impleatur quod psalmista [Psalm lxxix.] eis, utpote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur: Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, etc. Quia ergo nemo, qui te, ð apostolice, novit, ignorat, quod, si tu per tui decreti sententiam tantam futuram esse pestilentiam solitæ discretionis claritate perspexisses, nunquam quorumlibet tam pravis suggestionibus consensisses: debita tibi subjectionis fidelitate consulimus, ut vel nunc ad tanti scandali ab Ecclesia Dei propulsionem evigiles; et qua nosti discretionis disciplina Pharisæam ab ovili Dei extripes doctrinam, ne scilicet unica Domini Sulamitis,² adulterinis diutius usa maritis, gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, per irreparabile à sponso, Christo videlicet, avellat divortium: dum nemo sine castimonia, non tantum in virginali flore sed etiam in conjugali habita conjunctione, visurus sit Dominum nostrum; qui cum Deo patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

(d.) Turpis papistorum vox. (e.), Christus legem non solvit, sed competentes legis ministros exigit.

(1) It is inserted in the Chronicon Abbatis Urspergensis, p. 436, folio. Argentorati. 1537.—Ed.

(2) See Canticles vi. 9, 13.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

archbishop of Canterbury, to be of an old and ancient writing, both by the form of the characters, and by the wearing of the parchment, almost consumed by length of years and time.

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

Furthermore, which pope Nicholas this was, to whom these epistles¹ were written, it is not plainly showed in the same; but that by probable conjecture it may be guessed rather to be pope Nicholas II., forasmuch as in his time, priests' marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more than at other times before. Now as touching the English of this first epistle hereunder exhibited, forasmuch as the same is before inserted, we will refer the reader unto the same place:² wherein if the translation of the English do swerve any thing from the Latin here annexed, the cause was for that the Latin copy which here we have followed, came not before to our hands.³

See
Appendix.

(1) Illyricus, in his preamble to this letter, claims it for Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg in the year 859; he states this on the authority of Onuphrius Pavinius, an Augustine monk, in his Chron. Ecclesiasticum. He states also, that an anonymous writer, in the year 1595, published a work entitled, 'Vita Sancti Udalrici, August. Episcop.', in which he ascribes this letter to him, while at the same time he confesses that the said Udalricus, or Ulric, was not born till A. D. 890, and was not made bishop till A. D. 923. Much diversity of opinion exists as to the author of these letters; "quæ apud Joan. Foxum, et ad calcem Calixti 'de conjugio clericorum,' p. 444. edit. Francof. 1653, qui diffuse illius meminit, pp. 358-59. Utraque autem epistola extat inter MSS. codices Univ. Cantab. num. 1144 in MSS. codicibus Coll. Casi et Gonvilli, codice 80 num. 7 et 8. Et prima etiam ibidem numero 1641 in MSS. codicibus Coll. D. Benedicti cod. 374, num. 8. Amhæ editæ a I. Fox., quas sub Volusiani Carthag. Episc. falso nomine illic latitantes eruit. Utrumque autem opusculum pertinere dubio procul ad Udalricum Augustanum Antistitem, constat ex Bortoldo Constantiensi Presbytero, in Historia rerum sui temporis ab anno 1053, ad an. 1100!" See Oudin. Comment. de script. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 249; or in Cave. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 52.—Ed.

(2) See vol. ii. p. . . . of this edition.—Ed.

(3) Another Epistle of the said Volusianus, concerning Marriage not to be restrained from Priests and Ministers of the Church.

Cum sub liberi arbitrii potestate creati simus, et non sub lege sed sub gratia [Rom. vi.], qualiter creati sumus vivamus. Vos qui continentia legem nobis invitit imponitis, liberi arbitrii nos potestate privatis. Quod nolimus velle, et quod volumus nolle imperatis et imperando cogitis: et legis vinculo, à quo ipsa gratia liberati sumus, nos alligare, et spiritum servitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipsamque gratiam, sine qua nihil facere possumus, omnino evacuare satagitis; ita ut (sicut ait apostolus, Rom. ix. xi.) Ipsa gratia jam non sit gratia, et Dei donum non sit Dei donum; et non ex Deo, sed ex homine, nec ex vocante, sed ex operante; cum idem apostolus dicat, Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis.

Nam cum sint tria principalia et quasi effectiva, per que omnis anima humana capax et compos rationis, quicquid spiritualis boni apprehendere et percipere potest, apprehendit et percipit, et sine quibus nihil prorsus capere possit; liberum arbitrium videlicet, mandatum, et gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona a nalis discernimus atque eligimus; mandato ad omnia facienda provocamus ac incitamus; gratia promovemur et adjuvamus) horum omnium tamen gratia domina et magistra et quasi prepotens imperatrix et regina est, ad cujus nutum cætera pendunt et ab ea vim et efficaciam expectant, et sine illa nihil prævalent, sed quasi stollida et mortua, sicut materia sine forma, jacent et subjacent. Loco enim materia, secundum propositionem aliquam, liberum arbi-

*Henry**VIII.*

The Epistle of Volusianus, Bishop of Carthage, for Priests' Marriage.
Translated from the Latin.

A. D.

1539.

Forasmuch as we are created under the power of free-will,¹ and not under the law, but under grace, let us so live as we are created. You, who lay upon

trium possumus accipere non incongruè; gratiam verò, loco formæ; mandatam autem, quod medium est quasi instrumentum, ad utramque respicere, quo summus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quasi stolidam materiam moveat et promoveat, et formam gratiæ illi componat. Et sicut materia sine forma est horrida et deformis, ita liberum arbitrium est horridum et deforme sine gratiæ superveniente, se movente et promovente, mandato medio quasi instrumento (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergo forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam similitudinem est gratia: et quod materia sub forma, hoc idem est libera voluntas sub gratia. Et item quod est instrumentum ipsorum, hoc est mandatam ad utrunque istorum. Instrumentum namque sordidam materiam, et horridam atque asperam, obscuram, et quasi cæcam, emaculat et expolit, et claram, planam, ac lucidam, forma superveniente, reddit. Sic et mandatam, liberum arbitrium sordidum et horridum, asperum et incultum, obscurum et cæcum, nitidam, comit, lenit et excolit, incidat et illuminat: sicut propheta dicit: Præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, splendore gratiæ superveniente. [Psal. xix.] Et sicut materia et instrumentum sine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas et mandatam sine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatam sine gratia præveniente et subsequente potest? Gratia namque ad liberum arbitrium mandatam quasi nuntium ac famulum mittit: mandatam liberum arbitrium provocat atque quasi sopitum excitat, ut ad bona faciendâ evigilet et exurgat, viamque ei, quam peragere debeat, quasi cæco deducendo demonstrat. Quorum utrumque si à gratia deserit, nihil omnino per se potest. Quod si conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præsumit, non assumit, sed potius totam operam et laborem frustra consumit. Cùm enim mandatam seu per hominem sive per angelum mittitur, et etiam liberum arbitrium seu humano seu angelico mandati nuntio commovetur, provocatur, et instruitur; nisi divina gratia comitetur, præveniat, et subsequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè valuit homini in paradiso posito mandatam quod audivit: Ex omni ligno paradisi comede, de ligno vero scientiæ boni et mali ne comedas [Gen. ii.]? Nihil prorsus ad salutem, sed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia salvatrix et auxiliatrix defuit, quam ille, injuste suis viribus fisus, contempsit. Aut quid valuit Israelitico populo in cæco constituto mandatam legis, quod per Moysen accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi, qui Dominum sequi suo arbitrio et non illius vocatione præsumit, dicens: Domine, sequar te quocumque ieris. [Matt. viii.] Ex multis aliis divini Scripturæ locis Novi et Veteris Testamenti demonstrari potest, quòd neque mandatam neque liberum arbitrium per se quicquam valet, nisi divina gratia præveniendo et subsequendo adjuvet. Cùm igitur continentia bonum, inò omne bonum, sit solius divini gratiæ donum, nec per mandatam nec per liberum arbitrium comprehenditur, errant et frustra laborant qui se suis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc invitis et nolentibus imperant, et non spontaneè sed coactè in sacrarium Dei dona offerre sudent, nescientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Moysi, et Moyses à Domino, præcepit, dicens: Separate apud vos primitias Domino, quisque voluntarius; ut bono animo offerat eas Domino. [Lev. xxii. 19, 29.] Quid est separare apud vos primitias Domino, nisi studiosa cogitatione et meditatione in cordibus nostris tractare, et cum discretione deponere et dividere, quid Domino de theseauro cordis nostri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras et non rectè divides, peccasti. Et quid est prono animo offerre, nisi quod ait psalmista [Psal. liv.]: Voluntariè sacrificabo tibi? Et apostolus [2 Cor. ix.]. Non ex tristitia aut necessitate; hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon [Ecl. xxxv.]: Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, et in omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, et in exultatione sanctifica decimas tuas, et in bono oculo facito ad inventionem manuum tuarum. Et apostolus Jacobus: Non amat Dominus (inquit) coacta servitia. Et, Maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter [Jerem. xlviii.]; (id est) non curiose, neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus invitos aliquid offerre non jubet, ita vos invitos aliquid offerre aliquid cogere prohibet per eundem Moysen ubi ait [Lev. xix.]: Ne facias calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere est, eum non compatiendo et miserando corrigere de peccato; sed dedignando et exprobrando et detrahendo arguere et accusare, et non in spiritu lenitatis instruere, sed in spiritu asperitatis et austeritatis destruere, cum apostolus dicat [Gal. vi.]: Si præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo dilecto, vos qui spirituales estis instruite hujusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans teipsum ne et tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximum est, ultra vires suas aliquid exigere, et onus quod portare non potest imponere, imponentibus fortassis importabile, cum Dominus de pharisæis ad discipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens [Matt. xxiii.]: Super cathedram Moysi sedent scribæ et pharisæi, &c. Et apostolus Petrus [1 Pet. v.]: Pascite (inquit) qui in vobis est, gregem Domini, providentes, non coactè sed spontaneè, secundum Dominum; neque turpis lucri gratia, sed voluntariè; neque dominantes in clero, sed forma estote gregi ex animo. Hic pastor pastorum, princeps apostolorum, quod cæteri pastores vel apostoli debent facere, quomodo gregem Domini sibi creditum tractare, aperte et piè demonstrat atque insinuat; et quantum sollicitudinem et compassionem erga subditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat; et omnem potestatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in subditos sibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat; et eos non dominos sed patres subditorum debere esse pronunciat; neque eis aliquid typo potentia imperare, sed zelo pietatis admonere et obsecrare juxta vires uniuscujusque, secundum Dominum, non secundum suæ voluntatis arbitrium vel potestatis imperium; et illos formam esse gregi debere, ut quid aliis imperant, ipsi priores faciant, et non minus exemplis, quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo (inquit) non ex imperio; ex voluntate, non coactione; ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plerique qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis, accensi, aliis imperant quod implere non valent; et dum lucrum animarum quaerere se simulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod benè Balaam propheta exprimit [Num. xxii.], qui prophetiæ donum et benedicendi gratiam, quam divinitus acceperat, non ad utilitatem aliorum, sed ad usum suæ cupiditatis vertit; et sicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere se ostentant, et dum meliores aliis se videri volunt, hoc præsumptione quadam et temeritate agunt, et ideo in ipso præsumptionis suæ et temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit apostolus [Rom. x.]: Qui zelum Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam. Zelum Dei secundum scientiam habere est, provide et consulte in divinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profecto Oza similitudinem gerit, qui dum Arcam Domini, calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatam parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mor-

(1) What he meaneth here by free-will, he expoundeth plainly in another place

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

us the law of continency against our will, do deprive us of the liberty of free-will. You command us, and by commanding compel us, to will that we would

tuus cecidit. Aream Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari est, legem Domini quam ipsi sacerdotes portare et tenere debent, ab eis non observando contradici, et quasi à recto statu in diversam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adiutor Dei interpretatur, erigere tentat. Quia sunt quidam prælati, qui dum sacerdotalem ordinem, ipsam legem divinam maligno excessu vel leviter à sua reititudinis via quasi inclinare et in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem castigare et corrigere magis virtutis suæ ostentatione quam divina æmulatione præsumunt; et quia hoc inconsulte agunt dum adiutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumque mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt et alii, qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ considerationem, nec ullum misericordiæ respectum et compassionis affectum habent, et eum apostolo dicere nescientes: Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor [2 Cor. xi.]? dum se subditis, non conditione qua pares, sed autoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, etque magistri videri, et plus præesse quam prodesse cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis præmunt, et eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in evangelio legitur [Luke xxiii.], quem angariaverunt persecutores Domini ut tolleret crucem ejus. Cujus etiam nomen hunc figuræ convenienter aptatur. Simon namque interpretatur obediens. Simon verò, id est, obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur, eum subiecti quique à suis magistris vi dominationis vel autoritatis vel anathematis pressi, et eis obedire compulsi, crucem continentiam patiuntur inviti: ipsam crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipsam plus ad perniciem suam, quam ad salutem portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur, sed potius ipsi peccato vivificantur; nam et alia peccata graviora exindè oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali unius mulieris conjugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: surrepit illicita et damnabilis, non legitima sed contra legem alienæ uxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam et meretriciabilis nefanda pollutio: quinetiam abominabilis omnibus parentalis incestio, et aliarum multarum immundiciarum vel libidinum à Diabolo inventarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Unde Lot de Sodomitico incendio angelo Domini educte eripus, et uxoris consortio viduatus, dum suæ infirmitatis conscientia ad montana non ausus est angelo monente ascendere, ipse in Segor, parva civitate quæ juxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso angelo præcipiente et sic ad eum loquente, Salva animam tuam: noli respicere post tergum, sed in monte salvum te fac, ne et tu simul pereas. Cui dixit Lot: Quæso Domine mi, quia invenit servus tuus gratiam coram te ut salvares me: Non possum in monte salvari, ne fortè apprehendat me malum et moriar. Est civitas juxta hæc ad quam possum fugere parva, et salvabor in ea. [Gen. xix.] Quid est quod Lot à Sodomis fugiens, præcipiente angelo ut in monte salvaretur, montem ascendere, quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, sed Segor parvam civitatem juxta montem positam, ut in ea salvaretur, ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicumque fidelium, Sodomiticæ libidinis incendium et periculum evadere cupiens, dum celsitudinem virginalem non valet, et castitatis vidualis timet ascendere ne in ea periclitetur, ad conjugalem copulam, cum ad utramque continentiam parvula est et utrique proxima, confugit. Namque post continentias supradictas, hæc castitas probatur laudabilis et non privatur præmio regni cælestis. Ad hæc castitatem, qui non potest continere, jubetur accedere et in ea salvari, ne forte si montem ascenderit, apprehendat eum malum et moriatur, et ne, si continentiam non sibi divinitus concessam suis viribus obtinere tentaverit, malum incontinentiæ, vel fornicationis, vel aliarum supradictarum pestium eum apprehendat, et in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dum infirmitatem suam non considerant, et dum majora se apprehendere conantur, ipsa sua præcautione retroacti, in deteriora labuntur; quia dum majora inconsultis ambiunt, minora, quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod sane exemplo ipsius Lot aperte demonstratur; qui dum, relicta Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat et in qua salvari petierat, in montem ascendit inique mansit, in incestum filiarum suarum, ipsarum surreptione corruit, sicut Scriptura dicit. Ita namque scriptum est: Ascendit Lot de Segor et mansit in monte, dederuntque filiæ patri suo bibere vinum nocte illa, et ingressa est major, dormivique eum patre. Quod nequaquam sibi contigisset, si in Segor in qua salvari poterat, ad præceptum angeli, sicut ille postulaverat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod sibi ab angelo concessum fuerat, dereliquit, et quod concessum non fuerat, id postea sua voluntate contra præceptum angeli præsumpsit, salutis suæ dispendium pertulit, et grave incestus peccatum incurrit. Sic plerisque contingit, qui dum quod sibi concessum est à Deo relinquunt, et id quod sibi concessum non est ambiunt, et illud quod sibi concessum est perdunt, et illud quod sibi concessum non est apprehendunt. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui, dum conjugalem vitam, quæ sibi concessa est et in qua salvari possent, vel inviti vel volentes deserunt, et majoris profectus desiderio ecclibem vitam acitfare satagunt, salutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, et periculum maximum in ista incurrununt, et ex quo proficere conabantur, magis deficient et (sicut supra diximus) in majoris ruinæ voraginem vergunt. Quod hene doctor gentium Paulus considerans, et infirmis quibusque benigne prospiciens Corinthiis, super his scriptis suis se consulentibus, ita rescripsit, dicens [1 Cor. vii.]: De quibus autem scripsistis mihi, bonum homini est mulierem non tangere; propter fornicationem autem vitandam, unusquisque uxorem suam habeat; et unaqueque virum. Et uxori vir debitum reddat; similiter uxor viro. Et post pauca, Nolite, inquit, fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi: et iterum revertimini in idipsum, ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram. Quoniam, sicut ait poeta, Non omnia possumus omnes: et sicut apostolus in superioribus dixit [Rom. ix.]: Quia non est volentis neque eurrentis, sed Dei miserentis; et alibi [Ephes. iv.], Quia unicuique nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Hæc mensuram unicuique tenendam nec transgrediendam esse docens, mox intulit [1 Cor. vii.]: Vale autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, sed unusquisque proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidem sic, alius autem sic. Qua videlicet mensura nos arectos et debere esse contentos in sequentibus intimavit, dicens, Unumquem quæsit vocavit Deus, ita ambulet. Et unusquisque in qua vocatione vocatus est, in hæc permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulo inferius causa confirmationis: Unusquisque in quo vocatus est frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanam videbat non posse tolerare incentiva gemini calor, nisi per gratiam Dei, neque vincere pugnam carnis adversus spiritum: et quia sic ipse dixit de se alibi, Videbam aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc se misericorditer et compatienter, et unanimiter, non regulariter neque imperativè dixisse monstrat: sicut in alia epistola monstraverat, ubi ait [Rom. vi.], Humanum dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestræ. Et in hæc ipsa paulò superius, in eodem schemate, ubi ait [1 Cor. vii.]: Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum Imperium, subdendo demonstrat: De virginibus autem præceptum domini non habeo: consilium do tanquam misericordiam consecutus, ut sint fideles. Id est, Ea misericordia qua mihi Dominus consulit quando ad fidem me vocavit, et sibi fidelem fecit, et ego alii consulo et eandem misericordiam illis impendo. Et quoniam bonum est utrumque, cum uxore esse et sine uxore esse, et cum viro esse et cum viro non esse, neque peccatum est vel cum uxore esse, vel cum viro esse, mox subinfert dicens; Æstimo ergo bonum esse propter instantem necessitatem; quoniam bonum est homini esse sic, &c.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem? Quæ est necessitas instans, nisi infirmitas præsens?

not, and not to will that we would do. You bind us to the law, from which by grace we are made free; and you constrain us to receive the spirit of bondage

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

Vel necessitas instans, est necessitas urgens et cogens prout necessitas extiterit vel cogerit. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem et arguitiam, quæ tunc extabat et tum cogebat ut talia scriberet et eis sic indulgeret, causa scilicet vitandæ fornicationis, quæ tunc temporis acciderat, et aliarum multarum fornicationum supradictarum, quæ accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incepit, et sibi scribentibus rescripsit, et Corinthiis in superioribus hujus epistolæ vehementer invecus, in hæc verba prorupit [1 Cor. iv.]; Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate et spiritu mansuetudinis? Omnino auditer inter vos fornicatio, et talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita ut uxorem patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitandæ fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, ut si continere non potest, nubat, vel uxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo subdit [1 Cor. vii.]: Alligatus es uxori? Noli quærere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? noli quærere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccasti: et si nupsit virgo, non peccavit. Et hoc iterum non imperando sed indulgendo et compatiendo se dixisse ostendit; Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestræ cedo. Hoc itaque in potestate voluntatis uniuscujusque posuit, utrum velit eligere; nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quo eum astringat et teneat, injicere; consequenter subjungens porrò: Hoc ad utilitatem vestram dico non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, et quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, et quos consortio uxoriæ conjunctionis impediri, vel sollicitos esse nolebat. Aliis vero ita dicit: Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit superadulta, et ita oportet fieri; quod vult, faciat: non peccat si nubat. Et iterum, utrumque bonum esse, unum tamen melius esse concludendo confirmat: Igitur qui matrimonio conjungit virginem suam, bene facit, et qui non jungit melius facit. Quod concordatur superiori sententiæ utriusque sexui datae, in qua ait [1 Cor. vii.], Si acceperis uxorem non peccasti, et si nupsit virgo non peccavit. Si ergo virum accipere uxorem, et virginem nubere, juxta apostolum, peccatum non est, et beatitudinem non aufert, sed affert; et quia uterque bene facit, ideo ambo beati: nos qui uxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut si apostolus unicuique propter fornicationem uxorem suam habere indulget et permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, et carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatrice traximus, et continere non possumus, propter eandem causam, et secundum eandem indulgentiam, uxores habere non permittitur, et habitas dimittere angariarum? Aut itaque uxores nobis habere imitantes apostolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, et permissionem non esse concessam ab apostolo demonstrate. Quod opinor dicturi estis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab apostolo clericis aut alieci nostri ordinis, sed solis laicis; hoc ex verbis apostoli, vel ex circumstantia epistolæ non potest defendi, cum nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel graduum sive professionum, nec ipse discernit sui nominibus, seu officiis, vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipse rescribebat, nisi tantum generaliter omni ecclesiæ Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio hujus epistolæ his verbis demonstrat [1 Cor. i.]: Paulus vocatus apostolus Christi Jesu per voluntatem Dei, et Sosthenes frater ecclesiæ Dei quæ est Corinthi, sanctificatus in Christo Jesu, vocatis sanctis, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. [Et post nonnulla alia quæ compendii causa hic rescridimus, laud ita multum ad rem attentiam, subinfert mox ad hunc modum:] Infirmitatem nostram vos considerare ac misereri rogamus, et ne ei violentiam inferatis suppliciter imploramus. Nam sicut jam satis superius inculcavimus vobis, nullus ad continentiam invitatus debet compelli. Neque hoc genus virtutis ulli per legem Dei necessario imperatum est, sed voluntaria devotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipso de hoc evangelio: Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est. Ad quam tamen benigna mox exhortatione eos qui possunt invitatur, dicens [Matt. xix.]: Qui potest capere capiat. Unde gratia distinctionis non Moses feminalibus vestre Aaron et filios ejus jubetur, ut in prioribus dicitur [Exod. xxi.]: Vestes iis Aaron fratrem tuum et filios ejus cum eo: sed vest facies [inquit] feminalia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ. Ipsi [inquit] operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ, tu feminalia Pontifici et filiis ejus facies; tu castitatis regulam docebis; tu abstinentiam ab uxorio complexu eis qui sacerdotio functuri sunt, intimabis: nulli tamen violentum hujusmodi continentię jugum imponens; sed quicumque sacerdotes fieri ac ministerio altaris servare volunt, ipsi sua sponte uxori servi esse desistant. Quod ubi perfecterint, atque, suscepto semel continentię proposito, ministros se sanctuarii atque altaris fore consenserint, aderit divina gratia, quæ velut cæteris illis habitum sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo vivere vel docere debeant, abundanter instituit. Qui sensus subsequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus post pauca subjungit [Exod. xxix.]: Cumque laveris patrem cum filijs aqua, indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id est, linea et tunica, et superhumerali, et rationali, quod stringes balteo, et pones tiaram, et oleum unctionis fundes super caput ejus, atque hoc ritu consecrabis. Filios quoque illius applicabis et indues tunicis lineis, cingesque Aaron balteo, scilicet et liberos ejus; et impones ei mitras, eruntque sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua. Namque hoc de feminalibus à Mose accipiendis præcipitur. Unde liquido constat, quod se hoc genere vestimenti ipsi prius Aaron ac filij ejus induerant, et sic ad manum Mosi lavandi, induendi, unguendi, et consecrandi intrabant. Hic aperte ostenditur et docetur, nulli continentię jugum invito imponendum, sed à Deo prompta et devota voluntate accipiendum. Quod et Dionysius Areopagita, theosophus, id est, Deum sapiens, Pauli apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Atheniensium archiepiscopus ordinatus, in epistola quadam ad Pinytum Gnosiorum episcopum missa, in qua plurima de nuptiis et castitate commemorat, sicut ecclesiastica refert historia, monet, et precatur illum ne gravia onera discipulorum cervicibus imponat, neve fratribus necessitatem compulsæ castitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum periclitatur infirmitas. Atque Pinytus Dionysio rescripsit sententiam se consilij melioris, quod ipsæ dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem et Paphnutius, vir divinissimus atque castissimus, cum in Niceno concilio (ut in Tripartita Historia invenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere sacerdotibus voluissent, in medium eorum zelo commotus et humane infirmitatis conscius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogavit, quin potius in voluntate uniuscujusque poerent exoravit, ne forte per hoc locum darent et occasionem adulterio et fornicationi. Hac namque cautela sancti viri in religione utebantur, ut cum de instructione et ædificatione subditorum aliquid agerent, et eos ad meliorem vitam de divinis præceptis commoveri facerent, cum patientia et mansuetudine potius obedienda præciperent, quam cum potentia et austeritate imperarent, nullumque invitum sibi obedire compellerent. Quorum vos exempla sequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis et nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilm sarcinam quæsumus imponatis, ne impræcatione dominica cum pharisæis et legisperitis suscipiamini, in qua ait [Luce xi.]: Væ vobis legisperitis, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non possunt portare, et ipsi uno digito vestro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum Israel ascendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præsumt operibus [Exod. iii.] Neque vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris sic nati sunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violentè ab hominibus facti sunt, sed potius eos eunuchos, qui seipsos sua sponte eunuchizaverunt propter regnum caelorum [Matt. xix.]:

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1539.

again to fear; and go about to make the grace of God of no effect, without which we can do nothing; so that, as the apostle saith, 'Grace is now no grace, and the gift of God is not the gift of God; and not of God, but of man; not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh:' whereas the apostle saith, 'It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy.'¹

Grace,
ady and
queen
over the
com-
mand-
ment and
free-will.
Free-will
likened to
'materia,'
grace to
'forma.'

For whereas there be three principal and effectual things, whereby every human soul, endued with reason, apprehendeth and perceiveth whatsoever spiritual thing it is able to apprehend and perceive, and without which it can perceive nothing; which three things be these: to wit, free-will, the commandment, and grace (for by free-will we discern and choose the good from the evil: by the commandment we are provoked and stirred up to do all things: by grace we are furthered and holpen to do the same): yet, of all these, grace is the lady and mistress, and, as a mighty empress and queen, upon whose beck the others do wait and give attendance, receiving from her both their strength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remain as things of themselves dull and dead, much like as amongst the philosophers their 'materia' without 'forma' being thereto adjoined.

For in the stead of 'materia,' we may, after a manner, not unfitly place free-will; and in the place of 'forma' we may set grace, and the commandment (which is the mean between them both, as a certain instrument) to have respect to both; whereby the principal artificer, who is God, furthereth and setteth forward free-will as a rude dull matter, applieth to it his grace as the form thereof. And like as the said 'materia' without 'forma' is rude and shapeless, so free-will² is a thing rude and deform, if it be not holpen with grace coming

neve sacris ordinibus et divino mysterio, propter nos, tantam calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter nostram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne a nobis illud audiant et percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam infamatis et odorem nostrum coram Pharaone et servis ejus fetere facitis [Exod. v.] Quod vos non recte, si dici liceat (ne moleste accipiatis) videtur nobis facere, et contra divinam autoritatem et canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis, esse: cum Dominus per legislatorem dicat: Turpitudinem matris tuæ non reveles, et ignominiam ejus ne discoperias. Mater nostra ecclesia est: filii hujus matris quique fidelium sunt. Cujus tamen materna appellatio maxima in sacerdotibus est [Lev. xviii.]; nam ipsi generant fideles et verbo prædicationis et sacramento baptismatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat: Filii mei quos iterum parturio [Gal. iv.]? Turpitudo ergo et ignominia matris nostræ reprehensibilis est actio sacerdotalis vitæ. Quæ turpitudo tunc revelatur, et ignominia discooperitur, cum sacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirum facitis, qui fragilitatem nostram, quasi hæc tenus latentem et coopertam (quia eam nullus ita cognoverat) hominibus diffamatis, et propter eam divina mysteria vel ministeria aspernanda sanctitis. Quasi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena, et ea pollutat et commaculat immunditia nostra, cum psalmographus [Ps. xviii.] dicat, Lex Domini immaculata. Aut quasi illi nostra contagione contaminentur, qui ea ex nostro ore et ex nostro officio adipiscuntur. Quod si, ut dicitis, esset, nequaquam discipulis et turbis de pharisæis Dominus præcipere: Omnia quæcunque dixerit vobis, servate et facite [Matt. xxiii.]. Et rursus, si ita esset, nequaquam Dominus Judam, quem furem esse sciebat et profidorem suum futurum, eum discipulis aliis ad prædicandum mitteret, neque potestatem signa faciendi et sanitates donandi, neque ad communionem sacrosanctæ cœnæ eum admitteret. Et si immunditia nostra divina mysteria et ministeria et eorum capaces et auditores inficere et deteriorare, nequaquam Dominus leprosum, quem mundaverat, tangeret, neque ei osculum daret; et nequaquam cum Simone alio leproso manducaret; et nequaquam à Maria peccatrice pedes suos osculari, et lacrymis lavari, et capillis tergi, et caput suum ungi permitteret. Hinc sacrorum canonum veneranda autoritas sanxit, nullum qui etiam ab hæretico sacramenta dominica rectè perceperit, ullatenus ipsa hæretica pravitate corrumpi, nec ulla sacramenta illius contagione commaculari. Unde Romana ecclesia per Anastasium papam, in quadam epistola ad Anastasium imperatorem directa, deerevit et scripsit, quod nullum de his vel quos baptizavit Acatius, vel quos sacerdotes vel levitas secundum canones ordinavit, ulla ex nomine Acati portio lesionis attingat, quâ forsitan per iniquum tradita sacramenti gratia minus firma videatur. Nam et baptismum (quod procul sit ab ecclesia) sive ab adultero, sive à fure datum fuerit, ad pereipientem non minus pervenit illibatum. Quod vox illa quæ sonuit per columbam omnem malitiam vel maculam humanæ pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur; Hic est qui baptizatus, &c. [Matt. iii.] Nam si visibilis solis istius radii cum per loca fœdatissima transeunt, nulla contactus inquinatio maculantur; multò magis virtus illius qui istum visibilem solem fecit, nulla mysterii dignitate constringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in ecclesia minister pro officio suo videtur operari, hoc totum continetur implendo divinitatis effectus. Ita ille, per quem Christus loquitur, Paulus affirmat [1 Cor. iii.], Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non quaritur quis vel qualis prædicet, sed sic prædicet, ut invidos etiam bene de Christo prædicare confirmet. Tanta est namque divinæ potentia gratiæ, ut per malos acquirat bonos, et per reprobos et improbos acquirat et colligat probos. His itaque autoritatibus et aliis predictis rationibus persuaderi debetis, neque nos à divini officii celebratione arceret, neque illos, quorum nihil interest, ab ejus communione suspendere. Quod si mali sumus, nobis ipsi sumus, et plus nobis quam aliis nocemus; et quos fortasse malos conspiciatis, quid boni interius habeant ignoratis. Sunt enim plerique quos de incontinentia judicatis, qui continentiores sunt quam illi quos de continentia glorificatis. Qui habemus uxores, juxta apostolum, tanquam non habemus [1 Cor. vii.] Quam videlicet continentiam quia nobis non potestis dare, orate nobiscum et pro nobis ut Ille nobis donet, cujus hoc donum noscitur esse, et sine quo nemo poterit continens esse. Alter enim illam habere non possumus, nisi ex totis præcordiis illum oremus ejus hoc donum esse cognoscimus. Et hoc ipsum (inquit Salomon) [Sap. viii.] est sapientia, scire cujus hoc donum est, et quoniam super hoc nihil est.

(1) Rom. ix. 16.

(2) Free-will, which after he calleth voluntary devotion.

thereunto, to move it and to further it: the commandment coming as a mean between them both, in the stead of the instrumental cause, as is before said. Therefore like as 'forma' is in respect of 'materia,' the like resemblance beareth free-will in respect of grace. And again, as 'materia' is in respect of 'forma,' the same also is free-will in respect of grace. And as the instrument serveth between the aforesaid 'materia' and 'forma,' so doth the commandment between free-will and grace. The instrument coming and working upon the said 'materia' being of itself ugly, rugged, and a thing without all shape and fashion, doth form it, shape, and polish it, and maketh it handsome, sightly, lightsome, bright, and clear: even so likewise the commandment, coming and working upon free-will, being of itself a thing rude, gross, unshapen, and deformed, blind, and obscure, doth clarify it, deck it, adorn it, beautify and enlighten it, through the brightness of grace coming unto it, according to the saying of the prophet, 'The commandment of the Lord is bright and clear, giving sight to the eyes.'¹

And as the matter and the instrument without the form, can do nothing, even so free-will and the commandment without grace, have no power to work. For what can either free-will and the commandment do, except they be holpen with grace, both going before and following? For grace sendeth the commandment as a messenger and minister to free-will; the commandment provoketh free-will and stirreth it up, as out of a sleep, to do good works, and leadeth it as a blind man by the hand, teaching him the way wherein to go: which both, if they be destitute of grace, are able of themselves to do nothing. And if they begin, yet they proceed not, neither do they perform or accomplish any thing; and if they presume, it prospereth not, and is but labour lost. For where the commandment cometh, either by man or by angel, and also where free-will is moved, provoked, and informed either by the motion of man or of angel, yet, unless God's grace go withal, preventing and following the same, what is it able to do? For when man was put in paradise, what availed him the commandment which he heard, 'Thou shalt eat of every tree of paradise, but only of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat;'² which commandment wrought not to his salvation, but to his condemnation. And why? because grace, that saveth and helpeth, was wanting, which he, presuming unjustly upon his own strength, despised. Or what did the commandment of the law, given by Moses, profit the people of Israel in the wilderness, which law they refused to obey? or what profit wrought it to him who presumed to follow the Lord of his own free-will, and not of the Lord's calling, saying unto him, 'Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.'³ By these, and many other places of holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, it may be proved that neither the commandment, nor free-will, have power to work of themselves, unless they be holpen, by God's grace preventing and following them.

Seeing therefore the gift of continency, as all other gifts be, is the gift of God's grace only, and cometh not by the commandment, nor by free-will; they err, therefore, and strive in vain, who labour to obtain it by their own power: and much more they also do err, who by force constrain men against their will thereunto, moving them to offer gifts into the sanctuary of God, not of their own accord, but by coercion; either not knowing, or else not remembering, the saying of the Lord to Moses, 'Separate amongst you the first fruits unto the Lord, and let every man, of his own voluntary and willing mind, come and offer the same unto the Lord.'⁴ What is this, to separate with you the first fruits to the Lord, but only to weigh and consider diligently in your hearts, and with discretion to lay down and separate unto the Lord, what we ought to present unto him out of the treasure of our heart? For if thou offer rightly, and dost not rightly divide, thou sinnest. And what is it to offer with a willing and ready mind, but as the Psalmist saith, 'I will offer sacrifice unto thee willingly and cheerfully.'⁵ And the apostle saith, 'Not grudgingly or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver.'⁶ And Solomon saith, 'Give the Lord his glory with a good and free heart, and in every gift thou givest, show a joyful countenance, and sanctify thy tithes with gladness: and with a cheerful eye do all that thou takest in hand.'⁷ And the apostle James saith, 'The Lord loveth not con-

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1539.

Free-will without the law, and the law without grace, can do nothing.

The commandment, without grace, availed Adam nothing in paradise.

Continency the gift of God only.

(1) Psalm xix. 7.

(2) Gen. ii. 16.

(3) Matt. viii. 19.

(4) Lev. i. 3: xxii 19, 29.

(5) Psalm liv. 6.

(6) 2 Cor. ix. 7.

(7) Eccl. xxxv. 8, 9, 10.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

strained service ;' and, 'Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently ;' ¹ that is, not carefully, and with a willing mind.

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth us not to offer any thing to him against our wills, so doth he forbid us to compel any man to offer any thing against his will by the aforesaid Moses, where he saith, 'Thou shalt not do thy neighbour wrong, neither oppress him with violence.'² To do wrong to thy neighbour, is to correct him for his sin, not of any compassion or mercy towards him, but to reprove him, and to accuse him, in disdain, upbraiding, and rebuking him : not to inform him in the spirit of lenity, but to destroy him in the spirit of bitterness and rigour ; as the apostle saith, 'If a man be taken in any fault, you that are spiritual, inform such in the spirit of lenity, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.'³

To oppress our neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him above his power, and to lay upon him more than he is able to bear, and more, peradventure, than they themselves are able to wield, who lay it upon him. Whereas the Lord, speaking of the Pharisees to his disciples, forbiddeth them the same, saying, 'The scribes and Pharisees do sit upon the chair of Moses,' &c. ; and the apostle Peter, 'Feed,' saith he, 'as much as in you lieth, the Lord's flock ;'⁴ providing for them, not by constraint, but willingly, after a godly sort ; and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ; not as though ye were lords over the clergy, but be you as an example to the flock of good will.'

Lordship
over the
clergy for-
bidden.

This shepherd of shepherds, and prince of the apostles, doth plainly and evidently declare and insinuate, what all other pastors and apostles ought to do : how to entreat the flock of the Lord committed unto them, and what great care and compassion of mind they ought to have towards their cure ; and removeth far out of their hearts all power of tyrannical lordship, and all ambition, which some do exercise with greediness upon those that are committed to their charge ; and pronounceth, that they ought not to be lords, but fathers over their flock ; and not imperiously to command them, as exercising stately authority and power upon them, but gently to admonish them, and beseech them in the zeal of piety, according to the strength of every person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their own will, or ambitiously setting forth their own power and jurisdiction ; and that they ought to be an example to the flock, doing first themselves that thing which they command others, and so to teach them no less by examples than by words ; willingly, saith he, and not by constraint ; of charity, and not for greedy gain. For there be many, who being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greediness and ambition, command others that which they are not able to accomplish ; and while they pretend to seek the gain of souls, they hunt and seek rather for worldly lucre ; which Balaam the prophet did well express,⁵ who converted the gift of prophecy, and the grace of blessing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his own commodity.

Zeal
without
know-
ledge,
what it is.Uzzah
punished
for hold-
ing up
the ark.

And some there be, who, while they correct others, pretend to do it with the zeal of God ; and while they would seem to be better than others, this they do with a certain presumption and rashness, and so fall in their own presumption and temerity : of whom the apostle speaketh ; 'Which have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.'⁶ To have a zeal of God according to knowledge, is to do any thing in God's matters prudently and circumspectly ; of whom Uzzah beareth a type and resemblance, who, while he went about with his hand to stay the ark of the Lord, staggering a little by reason of the kicking of the oxen which carried it, fell down therefore dead.⁷ The ark of the Lord to stagger or miscarry by the kicking of the oxen, signifieth the law of the Lord (which the priests themselves ought to bear and hold up) to be contraried of them in not observing the same, and to be turned out of the right course to the contrary part, which Uzzah (who is interpreted to be a helper of God) attempteth to hold up. For there be certain prelates, who, while they see the order of priesthood, by some enormity or excess, to strain the law of God ever so little out of the right course, and labour to redress and rectify that misorder rather by vain ostentation of their own strength, than for any pure zeal to God : while they thus presume inordinately to do, thinking to seem to be the helpers of God, many times thus do mortally fall, and incur thereby great danger and peril.

(1) Jer. xlviii. 10.

(2) Lev. xix. 13.

(3) Gal. vi. 1.

(4) 1 Pet. v. 2.

(5) Num. xxii. 7.

(6) Rom. x. 2.

(7) 2 Sam. vi. 6.

Some others also there be, who, having before their eyes no consideration of man's infirmity, neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor knowing how to say with the apostle, 'Who is infirm and I am not infirm?' these, while they compare themselves to such as be under their charge, not in condition, wherein they are equal, but in authority, wherein they are superiors, and covet to be their masters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppress the weakness of them, by force and violence of authority, and compel them to their obedience; which is rightly figured by the fact, which is read in the gospel of Simon the Cyrenean, whom the persecutors of the Lord constrained to take up the cross of Christ.¹ Whose name also doth fitly agree with the same figure: for Simon, by interpretation, is called 'Obedient.' Simon then, that is to say, the obedient man, is forced to bear the cross of the Lord, when subjects, being constrained by their masters, by the rigour either of lordship or authority, or fear of their curse, and so compelled to obey them, are driven to sustain the cross of continency against their wills; who neither do love the cross which they bear, because they bear it rather to their destruction than to their health; neither by bearing the cross do die unto sin; but by the bearing thereof are rather quickened unto sin: for thereof rise divers other more grievous sins. For, by the inhibiting of lawful and natural marriage with one woman, riseth the unnatural and most execrable Sodomitical fornication; riseth also the unlawful and damnable defiling of other men's wives; riseth, furthermore, cursed and whorish filthiness and pollution; and moreover riseth most abominable incest against all nature, with their own kindred; with a heap of manifold other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frail infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great peril.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1539.

What inconvenience riseth of coacted matrimony.

Wherefore Lot, being delivered from the burning of Sodom through the guiding of the Lord's angel, and bereaved of the fellowship of his wife, while he, considering his own infirmity, durst not ascend unto the mountain as the angel bade him, did choose rather to dwell in Zoar, a little city near by, the angel thus bidding him, and speaking unto him, 'Save thy soul, and look not behind thee, but save thyself in the mountain, lest thou also perish.' To whom Lot answered, 'I pray thee, Lord, because thy servant hath found such grace in thy sight, that thou wilt save me: I cannot be saved in the mountain, lest perhaps some evil take me, and I die: there is a little city hereby, whereunto I may fly and be saved in it.'²

What meaneth this, that Lot, flying from Sodom by the commandment of the angel, to be saved in the mountain, would not ascend up to the hill, fearing there to perish, but did choose rather to dwell in Zoar, a small city near unto the hill, there to be saved, but that every faithful man, coveting to eschew the burning and danger of Sodomitical lust, while neither he is able to mount up to the top of virginity, and also is afraid to ascend to the mountain of the state of widowhood, lest he perish therein, flieth therefore to the state of matrimony, which is a small continency in respect of the other two, and also near unto them both. For after those two kinds of continency, this chastity is also proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of the reward of the kingdom of heaven.

Lot's refusing to go up to the mountain, what it meaneth.

The chastity of marriage, as near to heaven as virginity.

Unto this chastity he is commanded to fly, who cannot otherwise contain, and to be saved in it, lest, peradventure, if he climb up to the mount, he fall into inconvenience and perish therein: that is, lest if he shall attempt to obtain, by his own strength, the continency which is not given unto him of God, the evil of incontinency, or fornication, or of some of the other evils before rehearsed, do fall upon him, and so he perish in them mortally. For there be many, who, while they consider not their own infirmity, and while they strive to achieve greater things than they are able to reach, in this their climbing do fall headlong into worse inconvenience; and while they foolishly seek for great things, do lose the less, which before they seemed to have: which we may well understand by the example of Lot aforesaid, who, what time he left the small city Zoar, which he chose before to inhabit, in which he sought to be saved, went up to the mountain, and there abiding, fell into the stolen incest of his own daughters, as the Scripture witnesseth, saying, 'Lot went up from Zoar, and remained in the mountain; and his daughters gave to their father wine to drink that night. And the elder of them went, and lay with her father:' which thing had not befallen him, if he had kept himself still in Zoar, where he might have been saved at the bidding of the angel, as he himself required. But because he forsook

(1) Luke xxiii. 26.

(2) Gen. xix. 17—20.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.Every
man
ought to
be con-
tented
with his
own gift.

that which was granted to him of the angel, and presumed to that upon his own will, contrary to the precept of the angel, which was not granted, therefore, he fell into great danger of his soul, and committed the grievous sin of incest.

No otherwise doth it happen to many others, who, while either they forsake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiously climb after that which is to them not granted, both they lose that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be, who, while they forsake, either willingly or against their will, the married life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be saved, and strive with a presumptuous desire to lead a single life, both they lose that health and safety which they might have had in the one, and incur great danger in the other: so that, whereby they suppose most to gain, by the same they lose and fall into the pit of greater ruin. Which thing St. Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, well considering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weak Corinthians, writing to him for counsel touching this matter, did write to them again in this wise, saying, 'As concerning the things whereof you wrote unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid whoredom, let every man have his wife, and let every woman have her husband. Let the husband give unto his wife due benevolence: likewise also the wife unto her husband.'¹ And a little after, 'Withdraw not,' saith he, 'yourselves one from another, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give yourselves unto fasting and prayer; and afterwards come together again, lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency.' For, as the poet saith, 'We cannot all do all things:' and as the apostle saith, 'It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy.'² Also in another place, 'For to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ.'³ And that every one of us ought to keep, and not to transgress this measure, he teacheth anon after, saying, 'I wish that all men were as I myself am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that.'⁴

And that we are to be kept within our compass and measure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth, moreover, as followeth, 'Let every man abide in that vocation wherein he is called.' And shortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the same again, and saith, 'Let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord.' And because he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to sustain the burning motions and heats of nature stirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither able to conquer the flesh fighting against the Spirit, according to that which he saith of himself in another place, 'For I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind,' he, therefore, of mercy and compassion, as condescending unto their weakness, and not by rigour of law and force of commandment, thus said. As also in another place in his epistles, he speaketh in like words, saying, 'I speak thus grossly, after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh.'⁵ And in this aforesaid epistle, moreover, a little before, using the same manner of speech, he saith, 'This I say to you, as of favour and not of commandment.'⁶ And adding moreover, he showeth, 'As touching virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, but only do give counsel, as one that have found mercy with God, that I should be faithful:' that is, after the same mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and instructed me, when he called me to the faith, and made me faithful to him, so I, likewise, do give counsel to others, and show the same mercy to them.

For present
necessity to
marry,
what it
meaneth.

And forasmuch as both are good, to wit, to have a wife, or not to have; to have a husband, or not to have; neither is there any sin in having wife or husband; shortly after he inferreth, saying, 'I suppose, therefore, this to be good for the present necessity: I mean, that it is good for a man so to be.' What meaneth this, 'for present necessity?' What is this necessity present, but present infirmity, or else instant necessity, compelling to do as the order of necessity requireth? Or else he meaneth by this present necessity, the distress of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write; and so to bear with them: which was for the avoiding of fornication amongst them, and many other kinds of filthiness above touched, which might have happened. For which fornication he took occasion to write unto the Corinthians, and to answer to their letters; and therefore he vehemently, against the said

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 1—3.

(2) Rom ix. 16.

(3) Eph. iv. 17.

(4) 1 Cor. vii. 7.

(5) Rom. vi. 19.

(6) 1 Cor. vii. 6.

Corinthians, in the former part of the said epistle, uttereth these words: 'What will you? shall I come to you with a rod? or in love and in the spirit of meekness? There is heard among you to be fornication, and such fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his own father's wife,'¹ &c. And therefore for this necessity of avoiding such fornication, he saith, 'It is good for a man so to be, that he which cannot contain, shall marry and take a wife;' which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferring, 'Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed. And if thou be loosed from a wife, seek not a wife. But if thou take a wife, thou sinnest not; and if a virgin marry, she sinneth not,'² &c. And that he spake not this by way of commanding, but of sufferance and compassion, he showeth plainly in these words following: 'But I spare you;' that is to say, 'I bear with your infirmity;' and therefore he leaveth it in the free power and will of every man, to choose what he best liketh. Neither doth he enforce any man (he saith) violently, nor charge them with any strait commandment; and therefore addeth these words following: 'And this I speak for your own commodity, not to tangle you, as in a snare, but for that it is good and honest for you, that you may serve the Lord without separation.'

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

This he saith to them whom before he exhorteth to continency, and whom he would not to be let or troubled by matrimonial conjunction. But to others he saith thus: 'If any man think that it is uncomely for his virgin to remain overlong unmarried, and if need so require, let him do what he thinketh good: he sinneth not; let them marry.' And again, 'Both be good,' he saith; but yet the one to be better he concludeth, saying, 'Therefore, he that joineth in matrimony his virgin, doth well; but he that doeth not, doth better:' which agreeth well with the text above, speaking of both kinds, as well the man as the woman, where he saith, 'If thou take a wife, thou sinnest not; and if the virgin take a husband, she sinneth not.'

If, therefore, it be no sin for the man to take a wife, nor for the virgin to take a husband, after the apostle's mind, neither doth diminish their felicity, but rather increase it; and forasmuch as both do well, and so both be blessed; we then, who take wives for our infirmity, what do we sin in having them? or, if the apostle do suffer and permit to every man, for the avoiding of fornication, to have his wife, we then, who come of the same lump or mass, and taking our sinful flesh of the sinful flesh of Adam, are not able otherwise to contain: why are we not permitted for the same cause, and by the same permission, to have likewise our wives, but are enforced to forsake them, being married?

Wherefore, either do you permit us, following the apostle, to have our wives, or else teach us that we come not of the same mass; either else show us that the same sufferance and permission is not granted to us by the apostle, which is granted to others. Which cause, peradventure, you will thus pretend: that this sufferance was granted of the apostle, not to the clergy, or to any of our order, but only to laymen. This cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the apostle, nor by any circumstance of his epistle, forasmuch as there is no certain distinction or denomination either of persons, or degrees, or professions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in names or offices of men, either of them that wrote unto him, either of those persons of whom he wrote, or else of those to whom he answered, but only in general to the whole church of the Corinthians; as he himself, in the beginning of his epistle, purporteth in these words: 'Paul, called the apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, and Sosthenes, his brother, to the church which is at Corinth, such as be sanctified in Christ Jesus, called saints, with all that invoke the name of the Lord,'³ &c.

Marriage is permitted to the infirmity of all men. Priests are infirm as other men be: ergo, marriage ought to be permitted to priests also.

And after a few other words, which here for brevity's sake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent, thus he inferreth.

These premises being well considered, we beseech you to have regard and compassion of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you not to oppress us with this violence. For, as we have sufficiently before proved, no man ought to be constrained unto continency against his will, neither is this kind of virtue commanded of God to any man of necessity, but only of voluntary devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himself speaketh in the gospel, 'All men cannot

Forced continency is no virtue

(1) 1 Cor. iv. 21; v. 1.

(2) 1 Cor. vii. 8, 9, 27, 28.

(3) 1 Cor. i. 1, 2.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

receive this saying, but to whom it is given :¹ whereunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, saying, 'He that is able to receive this, let him receive it,' &c. Wherefore, for distinction's sake, Moses is not himself commanded to clothe Aaron and his sons with breeches, as in these words going before, 'Thou shalt clothe with these Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him,' &c. ; but he thus saith : 'Thou shalt make linen breeches, that they themselves may cover the filth of their flesh.' 'That they themselves (saith he) may cover the filth of their flesh,' Thou (saith he) shalt make the breeches for the bishop and his sons: thou shalt teach the rule of chastity; thou shalt exhort them to abstain from the company of their wives, and shalt do the priest's office; yet laying upon none violently the said yoke of continency: but whosoever shall be priests, and shall serve the altar, shall of their own accord surcease from the use of matrimony; which when they shall do, and of their own voluntary consent shall take upon them the purpose of continency to serve the altar, then shall the grace of God be present, which, as it did apparel those other priests aforesaid with attire for them convenient, so shall it instruct these abundantly, how they ought to live and to teach. And this sense well agreeth with the text that followeth, saying, 'And when thou shalt wash the father and the sons with water, thou shalt take the garments, that is, the strait coat, the tunicle, and the breast-lap, and put them upon Aaron, and gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the ephod. Then thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and shalt put the holy crown upon the mitre, and thus shall he be consecrated. Also thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them, and shalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron and his sons, and shalt put bonnets on them; and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual law.'²

The place
of Moses,
Exod.
xxix.
4—9, ap-
plied.

Thus then you see a commandment of receiving of the linen breeches of Moses: whereby it plainly appeareth, that Aaron and his sons first did apparel themselves with this kind of apparel, and so entered in to be washed, inducted, anointed, and consecrated, by the hands of Moses.

By this we are plainly taught, that the yoke of continency is not to be enforced upon any man against his will, but is to be received of God with a prompt and devout will. Which thing also Dionysius the Areopagite, that godly wise man, the disciple of St. Paul, and ordained of him bishop of Athens, in a certain epistle of his sent to Pinytus, bishop of the Gnoossians, in which he toucheth many things of marriage and chastity (as is in the Ecclesiastical History rehearsed), doth admonish the said Pinytus, and prayeth him that he will lay no grievous burdens upon the necks of the disciples, neither infer any necessity of compelled chastity upon the brethren, whereby the infirmity of some of them might be in danger. And Pinytus, answering to Dionysius again, sheweth himself willing to embrace the sentence of his wholesome counsel. The same also did Paphnutius, that divine and chaste bishop, who, in the council of Nice (as the Tripartite History doth show us), when the fathers who there were present, went about to restrain priests from marriage, he, rising up among them, and moved with the zeal of man's infirmity, desired them that they would not so do, but rather to leave it unto the voluntary discretion of every man, lest, in so doing, they might, peradventure, give occasion of adultery and fornication. For those holy men did then use this cautel and moderation in religion, that when they treated any thing concerning instruction and edification of the people, and would have them stirred up to a better life by godly instructions, they would rather persuade things to be observed with patience and lenity, than command with rigour and authority; neither would they compel any man to their obedience against his will.

The spi-
rit of
lenity re-
quired in
bishops.

Whose examples you also following, who succeed in their room and name, do you not lay upon us, infirm persons, such importable burdens, lest you be partakers with the pharisees and lawyers of the Lord's curse, who saith, 'Wo to you, lawyers, which lay burdens upon men which they cannot bear; and you yourselves touch not the burdens with one finger :'³ and lest the cry of the children of Israel ascend up to the Lord, for the cruel dealing of them that are overseers of the works.⁴ Neither do you make such cunuchs, who are so born from their mother's womb, or such cunuchs who are violently made by men, but rather those cunuchs, that, of their own accord, have made themselves such, for the kingdom of heaven.⁵ Neither do you bring upon the holy order of God's

(1) Matt. xix. 11.

(2) Exod. xxix. 4—9.

(3) Luke xl. 46.

(4) Exod. iii. 7. Also read the Canons of the Apostles, Can. xxii.

(5) Matt. xix. 12.

ministers, for us only, such an offence and slander, that for our wicked life you make the ministry to be despised of others, while you will not suffer them either to hear us, or to receive the sacraments of us; infaming thereby our lewd life, and causing the favour of us to stink before Pharaoh and his servants.¹ Wherein it seemeth to us that you deal not soundly and uprightly, if a man may so say, (I pray you take it in good worth that I speak), and also to be against the authority of God's word, and the canonical constitutions, which you do; whereas the Lord saith, by Moses the lawgiver, 'The shame of thy mother thou shalt not disclose, and her ignominy thou shalt not discover.'² Our mother is the church; the sons of this mother be all the faithful, which name yet most fitly is appropriate to priests, for they do beget the faithful, both by the word of preaching and sacrament of baptism. Was not he to be counted a right mother who said, 'My little children, of whom I travail in birth again?'³ The shame and ignominy of our mother, what is it but the reprovably conversation of the life of priests? which shame and ignominy is then revealed when the life of priests is publicly infamed; which thing you do, that discover and notify to men our fragility, lying before as hid and covered, because before it was not known: and for the same you bring the holy ministry and mysteries of God into contempt and hatred; as though the polluted life of others did any thing pertain thereto to pollute the same, and as though our uncleanness did any thing blemish them, or diminish the pureness thereof; whereas the Psalmist saith, 'The law of the Lord is pure and immaculate;'⁴ or, as though they were any whit polluted by our infection, who do receive the said mysteries either by our mouth or by our ministry: which if you grant, then the Lord would never have spoken so to his disciples, and the people, touching the pharisees, saying, 'Whosoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.'⁵

And again, if it were so, the Lord would not have sent forth Judas, who, he knew, should betray him, with the other disciples, to preach; neither would he have committed to him the power of working miracles, and of giving health; nor have admitted him to the communion of the supper. And if our impurity should infect our holy mysteries or ministrations, and make them worse that hear and receive the same, then the Lord would never have touched the leper whom he had healed; neither would he have kissed him; neither would he have eaten with Simon, another leper; neither would he have suffered his feet to be kissed, and with the tears to be washed, and with the hair to be dried, and his head to be anointed of Mary the sinner.

Therefore the holy canons have thus decreed, that no man, who rightly receiveth the Lord's sacraments of a heretic, should be therefore any thing corrupted by his heretical pravity, nor the said sacraments should be any whit distained by the infection of him. Whereupon the church of Rome, in a certain epistle directed unto Anastasius the emperor, by Anastasius the pope, did so ordain and write, that none of all them whom Acatius did baptize, or whom he ordained canonically to be priests or Levites, should be any thing hurt by the name of the said Acatius; so that thereby the sacraments which by him were ministered, should seem the less firm and effectual. For the sacrament of baptism also, being ministered by an adulterer or a thief (which God forefend to be in the church), doth come unto the receiver never a whit the worse. What meant that voice which sounded by the dove, but that it excluded all evil and impurity of the corruption of man? in which it is declared and said, 'This is he which baptizeth,'⁶ &c. For if the beams of this visible sun, passing by the filthy places, receive no spot of filthiness thereby, much more the grace of him who made this visible sun, is not tied to any worthiness of our works. Whatsoever, therefore, any minister of the church worketh in his function to the behoof of the people, all, that taketh its effect, is by the operation of God. Thus witnesseth Paul, by whom Christ speaketh: 'I have planted, and Apollos hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath given the increase.'⁷ God regardeth not so much who or what manner of person doth preach, but that he so preach, that he may confirm them that be naught, and cause them to preach well of Christ. For such is the operation of God's mighty grace, that by evil men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked persons, he getteth and gathereth together those that be good.

By these, and such other reasons and authorities above alleged, you ought to

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

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The wickedness of the ministers makes not the ministry worse.

See Appendix.

(1) Exod. v. 21.
(5) Matt. xxiii. 8.

(2) Lev. xviii. 7.
(6) John i. 33.

(3) Gal. iv. 19.
(7) 1 Cor. iii. 6.

(4) Psal. xix. 8, 9.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.

be persuaded, neither to abandon from the administration of divine service us that be married, nor yet to excommunicate such from the communion thereof, to whom the matter nothing pertaineth. And if we be evil, we are evil to ourselves, and hurt ourselves more than others; and such as you suppose, peradventure, to be vicious, yet may have some good thing inwardly, which you know not of. For many there be whom you judge to be incontinent, who live more chastely than they whom you so greatly extol for their continency. We that have wives according to the apostle's mind, 'so have them, as though we had them not.'¹ Which gift of continency, forasmuch as you cannot give us, pray therefore with us and for us, that He will give it unto us, who only is the giver thereof, and without whom no man is able to live continently. For otherwise we cannot have it, unless we pray unto him, from the bottom of our hearts, who is known to be the author and giver thereof. And this same (saith Solomon) is wisdom,² to know whose gift it is, neither is there any gift above this.

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

Whether
this Ni-
cholas
was first
or second.

And although it be not here expressed, which pope Nicholas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of pope Alexander,³ it may probably be esteemed to be Nicholas II., and not Nicholas I., as some do suppose; amongst whom is Illyricus,⁴ and also John Bale,⁵ with certain others: from whose judgments, although I am loth to dissent, yet, notwithstanding, modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were thoroughly tried, it might, peradventure, be found that they be herein deceived, and all, by mistaking a certain place of Gratian: for the better explanation hereof here it is to be understood, that amongst the distinctions of Gratian, there is a constitution,⁶ the tenor whereof is this, "No man shall hear mass of any priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a concubine, or a woman privily resorting to him," &c.

This decree, forasmuch as Gratian doth allege under the name and title of pope Nicholas, not naming what Nicholas he was, therefore John Bale, and Illyricus, one following the other, and they both following Volterran,⁷ do vouch this constitution upon Nicholas I. The words of Volterran be these, writing of Nicholas I., "Multa hic utilia constituit, inter quæ, ne quis concubinam habenti presbytero aut sacrificanti interesset, ut testatur Gratianus," &c.

In like effect follow also the words of Illyricus aforesaid, "Decretum fecit, ne quis à sacerdote sacramenta suscipiat, quem sciret habere concubinam, seu uxorem;" and he allegeth, as Volterran doth,⁸ the said distinction of Gratian,⁹ in alleging whereof they both seem to be deceived, in mistaking belike one Nicholas for another: as may be proved and made good by three or four reasons.

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 29.

(2) Sap. viii. 21.

(3) Dist. 32. 'Præter.' [See Decret. Gratiani. Paris, 1612. cap. vi. col. 169.—Ed.]

(4) Plac. Illyric. cent. ix. cap. 10.

(5) Johan. Haleus, de Scripturis, Cent. 2.

(6) 'Nullus missam audiat presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem,' &c. Dist. 32. [Gratian. cap. v. col. 169.—Ed.]

(7) Lib. 22.

(8) Volterran. lib. 22. Dist. [32. § 6.] 'Præter.'

(9) Dist. 32. 'Nullus.' [See Gratian. cap. v. col. 169.—Eu.]

First, by the words of pope Alexander II., in the next chapter following, who, being the successor of Leo, and of Nicholas II., useth the same words in his synod at Rome (which Gratian referreth unto Nicholas), and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alleging, moreover, the former constitution of both his predecessors, popes Leo and Nicholas, who, by all stories, are known to be Leo IX. and Nicholas II., who both were next before him. The words of Alexander II. be these; "Præter hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, ut nullus missam audiat presbyteri quem scit concubinam habere indubitanter, vel subintroductam mulierem. Unde etiam sancta synodus hoc capitulum sub excommunicatione statuit, dicens: Quicumque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sanctissimi papæ Leonis, et Nicolai de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit," &c.; by which words, speaking of Nicholas his predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be pope Nicholas II., who was his next predecessor, and not pope Nicholas I., who was about two hundred years before him.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The first reason to prove this to be Nicholas II. The constitution of pope Alexander II. against priests' marriage.

The second reason, I take out of the chapter of Gratian next going before, where he allegeth again the same Nicholas, writing to Otho archbishop; which Otho was then, in the time of this Nicholas II., archbishop of Cologne, and was afterwards in the council of Mantua, under pope Alexander II., as witnesseth Johannes Quintius, the lawyer.¹ Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was Nicholas II. and not Nicholas I.

The second reason. See Appendix.

The third conjecture or reason is this, for that pope Nicholas I. never made any such act or decree, that neither priests that were entangled with a concubine, should sing mass, nor that any should resort to hear the mass of such, &c.; but rather the contrary. For so we read in the history of Antoninus,² and in the Decrees, c. 15. q. 8. "Sciscitantibus vobis, si à sacerdote, qui sive deprehensus in adulterio, sive de hoc solâ famâ respersus est, debeatis communionem suscipere, nec ne, respondemus. Non potest aliquis, quantumcunque pollutus sit, sacramenta divina polluere; quæ purgatoria cunctarum contagionum existunt," &c.³

The third reason.

And yet more plainly also afterwards he saith,⁴ "Where ye demand concerning the priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honour him, or reject him from you: we answer, that albeit they be very much blameworthy, yet ye ought to be followers of God, who maketh his sun to rise both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you," &c.

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

Fourthly: forasmuch then as it is undoubted that Nicholas II. and Alexander II., through the instigation of wicked Hildebrand, were

The fourth reason.

(1) In Speculo Sacerdotii. (2) Antonin. Part II. tit. 16. (3) See Decret. Grat. col. 1185.—Ed. (4) 'Consulendum decernitis, utrum presbyterum habentem uxorem debeatis sustentare et honorare, an à vobis projicere? ad quod respondemus, quoniam licet ipsi valde sint reprehensibiles, vos tamen Deum convenit imitari, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos. Dejicere verò eum à vobis ideo non debetis,' &c. Dist. 28. [See Decret. Gratian. col. 153.—Ed.]

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

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

And further, lest my judgment herein should seem to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian doctor, and a famous lawyer, Johannes Quintius above mentioned, who in his book ‘*De Clericorum Moribus*’ plainly accordeth with mine opinion touching this Nicholas, author of the decree aforesaid, where he writeth in these words;¹ “Pope Nicholas, writing to Otho, archbishop of Cologne, &c.—Gloss: There have been in all, five popes called by the name of Nicholas; of which five, this Nicholas, the writer hereof, must be either the first or second: the one a Roman, in the year 860; the other a Burgundian, in the year 1059, or 1060. The other Nicholases lived after Gratian, who wrote in the year 1151. In my judgment I suppose this to be Nicholas II., who, in the third Book of the Laws, called Pannomia,² tit. ‘*De Lapsis*,’ is named Nicholas the younger: which Nicholas, also, is author of the next decree that followeth,” &c.

Objection
answered.

Wherefore if any man shall object hereafter, that, because Gratian, in the distinction aforesaid, nameth pope Nicholas absolutely, without any addition, he is therefore to be taken for Nicholas I., unto this objection I set here these two lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I add also, that the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his distinctions is, that when he speaketh of popes, as of Innocent, Gregory, Leo, Lucius, and such others, very seldom he expresseth the difference of their names: so in the 27th distinction, cap. 8, ‘*Presbyteris*,’ where he bringeth in the decree of pope Calixtus in like manner, against the matrimony of priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, he addeth thereto no discrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus II., and not Calixtus I., &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters, no doubt, by their title appear to be written by Volusianus. Most certain this is, by whomsoever they were written, fruitful epistles they are, and effectual to the purpose.

But lest we should seem too much to digress from our purpose, let us return to the story and time of Nicholas II. again, who was about the year, as is said, 1059, a little before Hildebrand was pope. This Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him listed in the church of Rome, and also made popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this Nicholas, and also pope Alexander, who followed him. So that this dissolution of priests’ marriage began somewhat to

(1) ‘*Nicolaus papa Othoni Coloniensi archiepisc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices: primum secundumve oportuit esse, qui hæc rescripsit; ille Romanus an. 860; hic Burgundus, an. 1059. Reliquos Nicolaos antecessit Gratianus, qui scripsit hæc, an. 1150. Posteriorem fuisse credo, qui in Pannomia, lib. iii. tit. De Lapsis, nominatur Nicolaus junior, cuius est et aliud decretum sequens,*’ &c. Ex testimonio Joan. Quintii, *De Clericorum Moribus*.

(2) The author of this book of Pannomia was Ivo de Chartres, in which book he compiled divers canons of popes and bishops. [See fol. 84. Edit. Basilee 1499: it bears this title, ‘*Liber Decretorum, sive Pannomia Ivonis,*’ &c. He was made bishop of Chartres by Urban II. A. D. 1092.—Ed.]

kindle under this pope Nicholas, through the pestilent means of Hildebrand, and after him increased more under pope Alexander, as appeareth by the synod holden at Milan, in the year 1067.¹ But most of all it burst out under the said Hildebrand himself, being pope in the year, as is said, 1076.²

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Although, as touching this prohibition of priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary faction, in searching out the reach and antiquity of this tradition, for priests to abstain from wives, do refer the same to the time of the second council of Carthage, which was about the time of pope Syricius, a great enemy to ministers' wives, as appeareth in the eighty-fourth distinction, "Cum in præterito;"³ yet, notwithstanding, to the same may be answered,

The times examined of Volusianus's epistle.

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

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

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

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

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

Priests and bishops married long after the second council of Carthage.

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

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

(1) This synod was held under Nicholas II. A. D. 1059; see Note 4, p. 330.—Ed.

(2) Read before. [Vol. 11. p. 115. Correct date 1073.—Ed.] (3) See Decret. Grat. col. 437.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

When forbidding priests to marry first began.

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

After him pope Nicholas (to whom the aforesaid letter of Volusianus seemeth to be written) made this ordinance:¹ "Nullus missam audiat presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem." And presently, "Whatsoever priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, notwithstanding the constitution of pope Leo our predecessor concerning the chastity of clerks, shall openly marry a concubine, or shall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God," &c., "we utterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no mass, nor read the gospel or epistle at mass, nor execute any divine service,"² &c. And this was about A.D. 1059. Although, in this constitution of pope Nicholas, this word "concubine" may be understood for no wife, but so as Gratian³ understandeth it in the seventeenth canon of the apostles, in these words, "Concubina intelligenda est præter uxorem:" that is, "For one besides a man's wife."

Then, after this pope Nicholas, cometh pope Alexander, and especially pope Hildebrand, who do expound this concubine forbidden, for a wife; and such priests as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitans; for so we read in the synod of Milan, under pope Alexander II.:⁴ "Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur clerici, qui contra castitatis ecclesiasticæ regulam feminis admiscerunt," &c. And further it followeth in the same synod, "Nicolaitarum quoque hæresim nihilominus condemnamus, et non modo presbyteros, sed et diaconos et subdiaconos, ab uxorum et concubinarum fædo consortio nostris studiis, in quantum nobis possibilitas fuerit, sub eodem quo supra testimonio arcendos esse promittimus," &c. And after it followeth in this wise, "Si hæc de Simoniaca et Nicolaitarum hæresi delenda et funditus destruenda fideliter non observavero, ab omnipotenti Deo et omnibus sanctis sim excommunicatus et anathematizatus, et ab omni Christianorum consortio inveniar alienus."

And moreover it followeth upon the same⁵ in words which are as much as to say in English, "I do accurse all heresies extolling them-

(1) 'This ordinance.' Ex Romana Synodo 4. [See 'Concilia Generalia, studio Labbei.' (Lut. Paris, 1671.) Tom. ix. col. 1099. Also Gratian. (Paris, 1612.) dist. 32. c. v. col. 169.—Ed.]

(2) 'Quicunque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum beate memorie prædecessoris nostri sanctiss. papæ Leonis [ac Nicolai], de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, et auctoritate beati Petri et Pauli præcipimus, et omnino contradicimus, ut missam non cantet,' &c. [See Gratian. col. 169. dist. 32. c. vi.—Ed.]

(3) Dist. 33. 'Si quis post.' [See Gratian. cap. i. col. 177.—Ed.]

(4) This synod of Milan (suppressed, it is believed, in all the tables of Councils) was not held under pope Alexander II., but under pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1059. The evidence is conclusive, for cardinal Damian, who presided as legate, has left a full account of the proceedings, in his *Opusculum V.*, entitled '*Actus Mediolanensis*;' see his '*Opera Omnia*,' (fol. Paris, 1743) tom. iii. pp. 39—41. Damian says of himself, that he gave great offence by placing Anselm, bishop of Lucca (afterwards Pope Alexander II.), on his right hand. He does not speak of Anselm, as being a cardinal at that time, and still less of his being a legate; and yet, by Puricelli, in his History of Milan, § cclxx., the same Anselm is described as appearing in this synod in both these characters. Another writer, Tristanus Calchus, in the fourth book of his '*Historia Mediolanensis*,' speaks of Hildebrand also, as having been sent to this synod as a legate along with Anselm and Damian: The '*Opusculum*' of the latter, however, meets this point likewise; for Damian addresses his account to Hildebrand, as to an absent person.—The oaths at length, and all the passages quoted by Foxe, appear in Damian's narrative. The date 1059, is given by both the Italian chroniclers.—Ed.]

(5) 'Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreses extollentes se adversus sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, specialiter vero et nominatim Simoniacam hæresim,' &c.: 'deinde Nicolaitarum

See Appendix.

Married priests called Nicolaitans. The synod of Milan against priests' marriage.

selves against the holy catholic and apostolic church; but especially and namely, the heresy of simony: and in like manner the abominable heresy of the Nicolaitans, which impudently barked, that the ministers of the holy altar may and ought to use wives lawfully, as well as laymen," &c. And thus much concerning the synod of Milan, under pope Alexander II. A.D. 1067.¹

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

Although, notwithstanding, the greatest part of ecclesiastical ministers, seeing this strange doctrine and proceedings (which St. Paul expressly calleth 'the doctrine of devils'²), did what they could to withstand the same: of whom Lambert of Aschaffenburg thus writeth:³ "Against this decree, the whole number of the clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious heretic, and one that maintained fantastical doctrine: who, forgetting what the Lord saith, "All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it;" and also what the apostle saith, "Whoso cannot otherwise contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn;" yet, notwithstanding, would he bind men to live like angels: who, if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the order of priesthood, than their order of matrimony," &c.

This Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the bishops every where to execute his commandment with all severity; threatening to lay the apostolical censure upon them, if otherwise they showed not their diligence therein to the uttermost.⁴ This was A.D. 1074. Of the same Hildebrand, Radulph also writing, hath these words:⁵ "Pope Gregory VII., called Hildebrand, holding a synod, accursed such as committed simony, and removed married priests from saying service; forbidding also the laymen to hear their mass, after a new and strange example; and, as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the sentence of holy fathers."

And thus much for the antiquity of bringing in the single life of priests, which, first springing from the time of pope Nicholas and Alexander II., began first with a custom, and afterwards was brought into a law, chiefly by pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Hildebrand the greatest enemy to priests' marriage.

The council of Rome against priests' marriage.

æque abominalem hæresim, quæ impudenter latrat sacri altaris ministros debere, vel posse licenter uti conjugibus, quomodo et laicos: &c.

(1) A. D. 1059. See Note 4 on the last page.

(2) 1 Tim. iv. 1.

(3) 'Adversus hoc decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem plane hæreticum, et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui, oblitus sermonis Domini, quo ait: Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum: qui potest capere, capiat: et apostoli: Qui se non continet, nubat; melius est nubere, quam uri; violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum,' &c.: quod si pergeret sententiam confirmare, malle se sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere,' &c. [Keruz Germanicarum Scriptores à S. Scharidio collecti (Basil, 1574), tom. i. p. 768.—ED.]

(4) Ex Lamberto. [See vol. ii. p. 120.]

(5) Gregorius papa septimus Hildebrandus, celebrata synodo, Simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos sacerdotes à divino removit officio, et laicos missam eorum audire interdixit novo exemplo; et (ut multis visum est) inconsulato præjudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam, &c. Ex Radulpho de Dicto. [Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores X. cura Twysden (Lond. 1632), col. 485.—ED.]

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

Lan-
franc's
law for
priests
not to
marry.

into other countries, and at length into England also; albeit not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

In the mean while, as pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, likewise, was doing here in England about the same matter; although he began not altogether so roughly as pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his council holden at Winchester; where, though he inhibited such as were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet did he permit, in his decree, that such priests as dwelt in towns and villages, having wives, should retain them still, and not be compelled to be separate from them; and they that had none, should be inhibited to have: enjoining, moreover, the bishops thus to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into orders any priests or deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no wives. The words of the council be these: "Decretumque est, ut nullus canonicus uxorem habeat: sacerdotum vero in castellis et in vicis habitantium habentes uxores, non cogantur ut dimittant: non habentes, interdicantur ut habeant." And then, "Caveant episcopi, ut sacerdotes vel diaconos non præsumant ordinare, nisi profiteantur ut uxores non habeant," &c.¹

Lanfranc
supposed
not to be
a pure
virgin.

Anselm,
arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury, a
constant
doer
against
priests'
marriage.

And here, to note by the way of the said Lanfranc, for all his glorious gay show of his monkish virginity and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of Matthew Paris, writing of Paul of Caen, whom Lanfranc preferred so gladly to be abbot of St. Alban's, thus reporteth of him:² "Paul, a monk of Caen, and nephew of the archbishop Lanfranc, yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so," &c.

Then, after Lanfranc, came Anselm into the see of Canterbury, who, taking to him a stouter stomach, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the universal clergy; not permitting (as Lanfranc did) priests that had wives in villages and towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also (which is against the council of Lateran),³ who were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into orders hereafter, without profession of perpetual chastity.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish *μισογάμος*, the priests, yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful injunction, but kept still their wives almost two hundred years after; refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaketh, writing to Anselm in these words:⁴—

(1) Ex Actis Concilii Wintoniensis sub Lanfranco. [Anno 1076, in Wilkins's Concilia, Lond. 1737, tom. i. p. 367.—Ed.]

(2) 'Paulus monachus Cadonensis, archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, imo aliquorum relationibus, consanguinitate propinquior,' &c. Ex Mat. Paris. [The words here given are rather the sense than the actual words, in the Vitæ S. Albani Abbatum, p. 49, Lond. 1640.—Ed.]

(3) Conc. Later. can. 14. De Clericis matrimon. copulatis. [See Acta Concil. (Par. 1714), tom. vii. col. 31.—Ed.]

(4) 'Stitio clericorum meorum integritatem; sed, præterquam in paucis admodum, vel a pidis surditatem vel fabulosi ejusdem Protei mutabilitatem invenio. Variis linguarum aculeis, modò minas, modò convitia impugnant. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores sunt, tolero. Illud omnino grave genus mali est, quod hi qui quasi in sinu meo sunt, qui canonicorum nomine gaudent, canones aspernant, adversus concilii nostri statuta quasi sophisticè disputatores argumentantur.

'I much desire the purity of my clergymen: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafness of the serpent, aspis, and the inconstancy of Proteus, that the poet's fable spake of. With their stinging tongues they cast out some while threats, some while taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me less in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they that be of mine own church, as in mine own bosom, and prebendaries of mine own see, contemn our canons, and argue, like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries who inordinately have been taken into orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make any profession to me. And they that be priests or deacons, having married before openly wives or concubines, will not be removed, for any reverence, from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive order, stiffly they deny to profess chastity in their ordering,' &c.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1539.

Thus, for all the rigorous austerity of this Anselm, enforcing his decree made at London against the marriage of priests, yet the same had no great success, either in his lifetime, or after his life. For although sundry priests, during his lifetime, were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many denied to obey him.¹

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

Anselm, at this time, was over the sea, making his voyage to the pope; who, hearing hereof, writeth to the king, declaring that such forfeitures appertained nothing to him, but only unto bishops, and in their default to the archbishops: whereof read more before.² So wilful was the blind zeal of this prelate, against all reason, against nature itself, against the example of his fore-elders, against public custom of his own time, against the doctrine of the apostles, the constitution of councils, against all honesty, and all God's forebode, that he, neither at the contemplation of the king, nor at the crying out and public dolour of so many priests, nor yet moved with the letters of pope Paschal himself, who, putting him in remembrance of so many priests' sons, willed him to consider the necessity of the time, would yet any thing relent from his stubborn purpose unto his latter end: in whom, as many great crimes may justly be noted, so of all others this is most principally in him to be reprehended, for that he, seeing and perceiving what sodomitical fedit and abomination, with other inconveniencies, did spring incontinently upon this his diabolical doctrine, yet, for all that, would not give over his pestilent purpose. For so the story recordeth, that when Anselm had established his synodal constitution,³

After the prohibition of matrimony followed the grossest vices.

Professiones verò mihi penitus abnegant canonici illi, qui sine professione ad sacros ordines inordinabiliter sunt promoti, et qui, in presbyteratu vel diaconatu constituti, uxores sive concubinas in publico haectenus habuerunt, atque ab altari nulla se reverentia continuerunt. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos invito, dura cervicè nituntur, ne in ordinando castitatem profiteantur.'

(1) Hereby it appeareth that priests, in the old time here in England, never made vow of chastity at their orders, nor before this time.

(2) See Vol. II, page 167.—Ed.

(3) This synodal constitution of Anselm was made at an ecclesiastical council held at London Michaelmas A. D. 1102. Foxe indeed dates it A. D. 1103, and at p. 338 refers to it as having been issued by a council at Winchester A. D. 1104, and at p. 339 he gives the constitution itself so dated: but he herein confounds two distinct councils, the first held at London Michaelmas A. D. 1102, the other at London also, May 24th, 1103. The reader will find the history of these councils correctly given at vol. ii. pp. 167—169. Foxe has been misled apparently by *Jornalensis* or *Brompton*, (*Decem Script.* cols. 999, 1000.) But Henry of Huntingdon says (*Script. post Bedam*, p. 378): "Eodem anno ad festum S. Michaelis tenuit Anselmus archiepiscopus concilium apud Londoniam in quo prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum ante non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est,

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

See the Act of Anselm.

in separating priests from their wives (which was A. D. 1102), not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of sodomitry, which then began especially to reign in the clergy, after this inhibition of matrimony. Whereupon Anselm was constrained to call another council at Paul's, within London,¹ to provide for this mischief; in which council this act was made:² "All them that commit the ungracious sin of sodomitry, and them also that assist them in their wicked purpose, with grievous curse we do condemn, till such time as they shall deserve absolution by penance and confession," &c.

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

The penalty provided against that execrable vice.

Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy council:³ "It is enacted, that whosoever shall be publicly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious person, he shall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath already, shall be taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole realm of England, and that none under a bishop shall presume to assail such as have been monks professed, of that trespass. It is also enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every parish church in England, this general curse aforesaid shall be published and renewed."

The curse against that cursed vice called in again.

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

quibusdam periculosum, ne, dum munditias viribus majores appeterent, in immunditias horribiles, ad Christiani nominis summum decedens, inciderent." Eadmer the friend and chaplain of Anselm (p. 67) says: "Anno Domini incarnationis millesimo centesimo secundo, quarto autem præsulatus Paschalis summi pontificis [who was elected pope August 13th, 1099], tertio regni Henrici gloriosi regis Anglorum [his reign dates from August 5th, 1100], ipso annuente celebratum est concilium in ecclesia beati Petri in occidentali parte juxta Landoniam sita [i. e. at Westminster Abbey] &c." Eadmer then gives *all* the ordinances which are translated at vol. ii. p. 167, 168. After which he proceeds, "Et hic quidem Landoniensis Concilii textus est, qui post non multos institutionis sue dies multos sui transgressores in omni genere hominum fecit. Sane quod ultimum de renovanda excommunicatione Dominicis diebus statutum fuit, ipsemet Anselmum rationabili dispensatione usus postponi concessit." Afterwards, at p. 95, Eadmer describes the other Council as held A. D. 1103; not however at Winchester, but "in solemnitate Pentecostes apud Landoniam;" and he mentions as present, not Gerard, but "Thomas electus archiepiscopus Eboracensis (nam Gerardus tunc nuper ad eandem curiam tendens obierat) &c.": then follows the decree, which is the same as that given by Foxe at p. 339. Simeon of Durham adopts the dates given above. (Deem Script. cols. 227, 228.)

(1) Foxe reads "1103." See the note preceding this.—Ed.

(2) 'Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, et eos in hoc voluntariè juyantes, gravi anathemate damnamus, donec penitentia et confessione absolutionem mereantur,' &c. [See note 3 in last page, where it appears that Eadmer knew of no such additional council "at Paul's," but makes this and what presently follows a part of the proceedings of the council of London just mentioned: see vol. ii. p. 168.—Ed.]

(3) [See Wilkins's 'Concilia,' tom. i. p. 383. The words cited are from the canons 29 and 30. Wilkins reads 'non voverunt,' Eadmer, 'non voverunt,' (Hist. Novor. lib. iii. p. 64. Edit. Par. 1721.) See also Anselm's Letter 62, p. 390, in the same edition.—Ed.] 'Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, statutum est, si quidem fuerit persona religiosi ordinis, ut ad nullum amplius gradum promoveatur, et si quem habeat, ab illo deponatur; si autem laicus, ut in toto regno Anglie legali sue conditionis dignitate privetur. Et ne hujus criminis absolutionem fuis, qui se sub regula vivere voverunt, aliquis nisi episcopus deinceps facere presumat.—Statutum quoque est, ut per totam Angliam in omnibus ecclesiis, et in omnibus diebus dominicis, excommunicatione præfata publicetur ac renovetur,' &c. Ex Epist. Anselm, 278; et Rog. Hoveden.

the vice which before was not known; in such sort that in short time after, that curse was called in again.¹

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

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

The Reasons and Arguments of Anselm against the Marriage of Priests.

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

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

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

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chastely always without wives.

Argument: David, before he should eat of the shew-bread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their wives three days:

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

Argument: Uzzah, who put his hand to the ark,² was slain therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before:

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

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

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

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

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

Argument: Christ was born of a virgin, Christ lived ever a virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him, to follow him. 'Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur;' id est, 'Si vis mihi ministrare, me castè vivendo imitare.'³

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

The gross Expositions of Anselm upon the words of St. Paul.

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

Exposition: 'That is meant and granted of the apostle only to laymen: Hoc solis laicis eum concessisse, nemo ignorat.'

Text: 1 Cor. vii. 9. 'It is better to marry than to burn.'⁴

Exposition: 'It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be consumed with concupiscence of strange women.'⁵

Text: 1 Tim. iii. 2. 'A bishop ought to be unreprouable, the husband of one wife,' &c.⁶

Exposition: 'The apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be priest, but he who, being a layman before, hath had no more but one wife: and after he be made priest, not to couple himself any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living,' &c.⁷

(1) Ex Johan. Trevisa. [See Higden's Polychronicon, lib. vii. cap. 13.—Ed.]

(2) 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7.

(3) John xii. 26.

(4) 'Melius est nubere quam uri.'

(5) 'Melius, id est, levius est legitimæ uxoris nubere, quam uri, id est, quam alienarum mulierum concupiscentia consumi.'

(6) 'Oportet esse episcopum irreprehensibilem, unius uxoris virum,' &c.

(7) 'Præcipit apostolus, ne quis ad sacerdotium accedere præsumat, nisi is qui non nisi unicam uxorem laicus habuisset: accepto autem ordine, nunquam ei carnis commixtione se copulet, tantum vitæ necessaria ei subministraret.'

Henry
VII.

A. D.
1539.

Virtue
punished.
vice esca-
peth.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

His conclusion or censure.

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

ANSWER TO ANSELM'S REASONS AGAINST PRIESTS' MARRIAGE.

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

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

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

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

A time for all things.

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

Special examples break no general orders.

And thus should Anselm, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture, that is commanded to some, and at some time, which extendeth not to others; and that which for a time is convenient, is not, by-and-by, always convenient: neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever: neither ought special

(1) ' Per hoc autem quod sacras vestes induunt, vel sacra vasa tangunt, Christo violenter manus injiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præsumunt, Christum quodam modo visibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur ministerium eorum Christi persecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur.'

(2) ' Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram,' &c. 1 Cor. vii. 5.

examples to break general orders: neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make a universal rule.

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

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

For as they do not well, who never follow the time of St. Paul, called *προσκαρδόν*, for abstinence and prayer; so do they worse, who fall into that *παρακαρδόν*, whereof St. Paul again giveth us warning: 'Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam vestram.' But worst of all do they, who so separate their wives clean from them, and so abjure all matrimony, that they fall headlong into the devil's pitfall of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord, foreseeing the peril thereof, said unto the people, "Estote parati in diem tertiam, et ne appropinquetis uxoribus vestris,"¹ &c.; appointing indeed a separation from their wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of man, he limiteth the time withal, adding, "in diem tertiam," and goeth no further. He saith not, as Anselm said in the council of Winchester,² "Jurabunt presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub restrictione censuræ," &c.

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

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Separation of the Israelites from their wives for three days is no argument that priests should never marry.

Separation in wedlock, how it is to be used.

Objection of the papists.

Answer to the objection.

(1) Exod. xix. 15.

(2) No doubt, that of London, A. D. 1108 (see notes on pp. 333 and 339), though the exact words here quoted have not been met with. See however the canons as translated from Eadmer, Malmesbury, and Polychronicon, supra vol. ii. pp. 167—169. Gabriel Cossartius is of opinion that we have the statutes of one at least of these councils, namely, that held in 1102, only in an abbreviated form. See the Acta Conciliorum (Par. 1714), tom. vi. col. 1863.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

No sacrificer but Christ.

only performed that pure chastity in his sanctified body, which the law then in those priests prefigured.

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

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

Marriage more convenient for priests of the new law than of the old.

Fourthly : Forasmuch as in these, principally above all others, pureness and sanctification of life is required, as much as, and more too, than was in the priests of the old law, from whom all fornication, adultery, incest, and uncleanness of life ought most to be banished ; therefore, in these especially, above the priests of the old law, matrimony and spousage is most requisite and convenient, whosoever he be, who otherwise cannot contain ; according to the apostle, saying, "Unusquisque uxorem suam habeat propter fornicationem."¹

Matrimony no hinderance, but a furtherance to sanctification.

Fifthly : Neither is this matrimony in these, any hinderance to their sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification ; forasmuch as where matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth adultery, fornication, and all kinds of filthiness ; according to the true saying of Bernard,² "Take from the church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with concubinaires, with incestuous persons, Sodomitical vices, and finally with all kinds of beastly filthiness ?"

The truth of which saying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we list here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of matrimony, even from Lanfranc, the first ringleader of this dance here in England, with Paulus,³ monk of Caen, his nephew, whom Matthew Paris misdoubted to be his own son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his gold locks, the author and work-master of these six articles. But to the reasons of Anselm hitherto sufficient ; which, of themselves, be so frivolous and gross, that only to recite them is enough to confute the same.

No public law in England against priests' marriage before Lanfranc and Anselm.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest, by process of times and histories, that this cruel law, compelling ministers of the church to abjure matrimony, entered not into this land before Lanfranc A. D. 1076, and Anselm his successor, as both may appear by the multitude of priests' sons lawfully begotten in matrimony, and succeeding in the churches here in England, testified by the epistle of pope Paschal to Anselm before, and also may appear likewise by the council of Anselm, holden at Winchester,⁴ which partly was touched before, and now the full act⁵ we have more largely

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 2.

(2) 'Tolle de ecclesia honorabile connubium et torum immaculatum, nonne replebis eam concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus et omni denique genere immundorum?' Bern. Sup. Cant. Serm. lxxvi. [§ 3.]

(3) 'Paulus monachus Cadomensis, Archiepis. Lanfranci nepos, imo aliquorum relationibus consanguinitate propinquior.' Matth. Paris.

(4) London (A. D. 1108), not Winchester. See the third note on page 333.—Ep.

(5) This act is given, with some variation, by Florentius Wigorniensis in his 'Chronicon ex

expressed, to be read and seen of all posterity, as hereunder may be seen.¹

And yet this unreasonable statute of Anselm, so diligently defended with sharp censures and penalties, had no such great speed, neither in the lifetime of the said Anselm, nor long after his death; but that divers priests notwithstanding still kept their wives, or after his death they returned to their wives again, through the sufferance of the then famous and learned king, named Henry Beauclerk, who something stayed the importunity of this monkish prelate, and willed the priests should keep both their wives and their churches, as they did before in Lanfranc's days.²

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

Next after this Radulph, then succeeded William Corbeil, surnamed De Turbine, who renewed again the constitution of Anselm against married priests, especially by the help of Johannes, priest, and cardinal of Crema, the pope's legate, sent the same time into England, A.D. 1125. Of which cardinal of Crema, because enough hath been before declared,³ how, after his stout replying, in the council of London, against the married state of priests, exclaiming what a shameful thing it was to rise from a polluted bed, to make Christ's body, the night following he was shamefully taken with a notable whore, &c., as is apparent before.

I will therefore pass over that matter, returning again to William

chronicls,' p. 653. edit. Francof. 1601. For 'extra hortum,' upon which there is a marginal explanation in Foxe given in the tail note (b), Florentius reads 'extra chorum.' The same chronicler inserts A.D. 1108, as the date of this council, and confirms it by naming Thomas as the archbishop of York: Gerard having died in May that year. Florentius makes no reference to Winchester. See the third note on page 333.—Ed.

(1) *The Act against Priests' Marriage, concluded in the Council at Winchester, under Anselm, A.D. 1104.*

Hæc sunt statuta de archidiaconis, presbyteris, et canonicis in quocunque gradu constitutis, quæ Wintoniæ statuerunt Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et cum eo, Girardus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et omnes alii Angliæ episcopi, in præsentia gloriosi regis Henrici, assensu omnium baronum suorum. Statutum est, ut presbyteri et diaconi castè vivant, et feminas in domibus suis non habeant, præter proxima consanguinitate sibi junctas, secundum hoc quod sancta Nicæna Synodus definivit. Illi verò presbyteri, diaconi, sive subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Londinensis concilii feminas suas tenuerunt, vel alias duxerunt, si elegerint in sacris ordinibus remanere, jurent quod cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum est etiam ut prædictæ feminae in domo cum eis scienter non conveniant, neque hujusmodi feminae in territorio ecclesiæ habitent. Si autem propter aliquam honestam causam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si vero duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus, vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum accusatus fuerit, quod hoc statutum transierit, purgabit se adjunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, sex si presbyter, quinque si diaconus, quatuor si subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, ut transgressor sacri statuti judicabitur. Illi verò presbyteri, qui divini altaris et sacrorum ordinum contemptores præelegerint cum uxoribus suis habitare, à divino officio remoti, extra hortum^b ponantur, infames pronunciantur. Eadem sententia archidiaconos et canonicos omnes complectitur, et de abjurandis uxoribus, et de vitanda earum conversatione, et restrictione censura si statuta transgressi fuerint. Jurabunt et archidiaconi omnes, quod pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda transgressione hujus statuti, neque ullo modo tolerabunt presbyteros uxoratos cantare, vel vicarios habere, et quod ipsi non dissimulabunt per archidiaconatus suos hoc inquire, et fideliter episcopis suis renunciabunt, et attente, et fideliter de exequenda hujus rei vindicta episcopos suos adjuvabunt. Qui verò archidiaconus, vel diaconus hoc jurare noluerit, archidiaconatum vel diaconatum irreparabiliter perdet. Presbyteri vero, qui relictis uxoribus Deo et sacris ordinibus servire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio cessantes, pro se vicarios habebunt, injuncta eis pœnitentia secundum quod episcopis eorum visum fuerit.

Notes upon the Act.

(a) Read, 'Council of London, A.D. 1108,' and for Girardus, 'Thomas.' See Note 5, on the last page (338), and also the third note on page 333.—Ed.

(b) Forte, 'extra hortum' paradisi intelligit.

(2) Ex Epist. Anselm. 77.

(3) Of this cardinal of Crema read before, vol. ii. page 181

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The cruel law of Anselm took no great place.

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Henry
VIII.A. D.
1539.The
priests
kept their
wives,
contrary
to the
arch-
bishop's
com-
mand-
ment.

the archbishop, who with the cardinal legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himself in reproving the matrimony of priests, inso- much that he would give them no longer respite to put away their wives but from Michaelmas to St. Andrew's day following, yet could he not bring his purpose to pass but that the priests still continued with their wives by the king's leave, as the Saxon story plainly recordeth in these words: "Ðij bebede Apebiscop Ðilham of Cantep- bprigeſ. and ealle þa leod Biſcopes ꝥa ꝥa pæron on Engelonde. and ne forþtoð nohƿ calle ꝥa boblaceſ. call heoldon hep pifeſ be ðær Kingeſ leue. ꝥa ꝥa hi eap dion,"¹ That is to say in English, "This William, arch- bishop of Canterbury, and the bishops who were in England, did command, and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all held their wives by the king's leave, even so as they before did." So hard was this cause to be won, that the archbishop at length gave it over, and left the controversy wholly unto the king.² Whereupon he decreed that the priests should remain with their wives still. And so continued they after that, in the time of Theobald after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard, Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and others, during well-near the time, after Anselm, of two hundred years.

And, lest the quarrelling adversaries, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the spiritual men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any law of this realm: to avoid, therefore, what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this story, and for the further satisfy- ing of the reader's mind herein, to infer and make known, by good record, not only that the liberty of marriage, amongst spiritual men, hath continued within this realm during the time aforesaid, to wit, two hundred years, or thereabouts, after Anselm; and that not in secret wise, but also openly; and being known, the same to be suffered, and lawfully allowed of, in such sort as both they, their wives, children, and assigns, might inherit and enjoy lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, by way of feoffment, deed of gift, or any other assurance, in such sort, manner, and form, as laymen, their heirs and assigns, at this day lawfully may do: as by divers writings and instruments, showed to us at the writing hereof, by divers men whose names hereafter follow (some to this day remaining fair sealed, some by antiquity and long keeping much worn, and their seals mouldered and wasted), is very evident and manifest to be seen. The copies whereof, being by us truly and faithfully excerpted out of the very originals (being yet extant), we have hereunder inserted.³

Priests
with
wives,
how long
they con-
tinued in
England
after An-
selm.

(1) Chronic. Saxon.

(2) An. 25. Henry I.

(3) *Certain Instruments and Evidences of ancient Record, declaring the Marriage of Priests to have stood, in times past, both with ancient Custom, and public Laws of this Realm.*

Carta feoffamenti Wil. de Blund. Mil. facta Stephan. de Saxlingham, Clerico, et Matild. uxori suæ, de terris in Neuton in Com. Norf.

Seiant presentes et futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwel, miles, concessi, dedi, et hac presenti charta mea confirmavi Stephano de Saxlingham, clerico, et Matildæ uxori suæ pro homagiis et servitiis suis et pro sex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in gersumam, unam peciam terræ arabilis, quæ jacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter messuagium Galfridi Sulyard, et cœmete- rium ecclesiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, et terram Joannis de Neuton, et abuttat super regiam stratam versus orientem, et super terram quæ fuit Henrici Popillete versus occidentem: habendam et tenendam de me et hæredibus meis, illis et hæredibus suis aut quibus- cunque dare, legare, vendere vel assignare voluerint, in quocunque statu fuerint, liberè et quietè, in feodo, perpetuè et hæreditariè: reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis duos denarios, scilicet ad festum Sancti Andree unum denarium, et ad nativitatem Sancti Joannis Baptistæ unum

Although these instruments and evidences here specified be of themselves evident and plain enough, so that no man can reasonably

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

denarium; et ad scutagium domini regis quando evenit unum obolum tantum et non amplius pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, sectis curiæ et exactionibus secularibus. Et ego Willielmus de Blunwel et hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus prædictam pecaniam terræ prænominatis Stephano et Matildæ uxori suæ et hæredibus suis aut cuiuscunque dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, contra omnes gentes tam Judæos quam Christianos in perpetuum pro præfatum servitium. Et ut hæc mea concessio et donatio rata sit et stabilis in perpetuum, hæc chartam sigillo meo roboravi; his testibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Keynestorpi, Joanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebot, Joanne filio Simonis, Milione le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielmo de Champo, Thoma Croce, Andrea Waleys, Willielmo Valiant, et aliis.

This said piece of evidence, called a Deed of Feoffment of Lands, remaineth in the keeping of Thomas Blundevill, of Neuton Flotman, in the county of Norfolk, esq. at this present, to wit, 22 die Novembris, anno reginæ Elizabeth. reginæ decimo, et A. D. 1567; who, I know, will not refuse to show the same to any man that shall desire the sight thereof.

I. *Eleven other Deeds and Instruments of like Antiquity, declaring the same, received of Master John Forde.*

Carta Will. filii Walteri de Ridware facta Joan. de Edinghal clerico, et Matildæ uxori suæ, de terris in Edinghal in Com. Darb.

Sciunt omnes præsentés et futuri, quod ego Williel. filius Walteri, dominus de Ridware Hamstal, concessi et tradidi Joanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal, clerico, et uxori suæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, unam dimidiam virgatam terræ in Edinghal, cum omnibus pertinentiis in toftis et croftis, pratis et pasturis in villa et in territorio de Edinghal; illam scilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit: habend. et tenend. de me et hæredibus meis, sibi et uxori suæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum liberè, et quietè, benè et pacificè, &c. Et ego vero Willielmus et hæredes mei prædictam dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinentiis prædictis Joanni et uxori suæ prædictis ad totam vitam eorum contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In hujus concessionis et traditionis robor et testimonium uterque nostrum alterius scripto sigillum suum apposuit; his testibus, Roberto Salvein de Haselour, Andrea Salvein de eadem, Joanne filio Radulphi de Edinghal, Richardo de Ykebrom, Rob. de Fryeford, et aliis.

II. *Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of Leicester.*

Carta feoffament. Radulphi Wilsarde de Sceyle facta Agneti de Willintona et pueris suis de Will. parsona de Lollinton præcreatis.

Sciunt præsentés et futuri, quod ego Radulphus filius et hæres Joannis Wilsarde de Sceyle, dedi, et concessi, et hæc mea præsentis charta confirmavi Agneti de Willintona unam acram terræ in territorio de majori Sceylæ quæ jacet super le Wovelondis, inter terram monachorum de Merival, extendentem se ad unum caput super foreram monachorum de Merival, et aliud caput versus villam de Sceyle: Habend. et tenend. de me et hæredibus meis vel assignatis et eorum hæredibus, præd. Agnet. de Willintona et pueris suis de Will. parsona de Lollinton præcreatis, videlicet Wil. filio suo primogenito si supervixerit matri suæ, deinde Galfrido fratri ejus, postea Roberto fratri eorum juniori, deinde sororibus eorum si frater superstes non fuerit; ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram, cum pertin. licentia liter sine omni recognitione mihi et omnibus meis prædicti faciendâ: et quod hæred. vel assign. ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum, liberè et quietè, benè et in pace, jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæred. meis vel assignatis meis et eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad pascha, pro omnibus servitiis et exactionibus wardis, maritagis, releviis legatis tallagiis, et omni modis sectis comitatus, hundredorum, et curiæ meæ, et hæredum meorum et aliorum, et servitiis forinsecis et exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus et hæredes mei vel assignati et eorum hæredes, totam prædict. terram cum pertin. præd. Agneti et filiis suis et filiabus, post decessum præd. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicto parsona genitis uni post alterum successive, et hæred. vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata et inconcussa permaneant in posterum, præsentem chartam sigilli mei impressione corroboravi; his testibus, Willielmo tunc parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorp, Richardo et Roberto filiis suis, Henrico filio Richardi clerici de Sceyle, Williel. filio suo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. clerico de eadem, et multis aliis. [Note, the wife and children of this parson of Lollington being known, might enjoy and inherit according to his deed.]

III. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Radulphi Wilsarde de Sceyle facta Agneti de Willing. et pueris suis de Will. parsona de Lollint. præcreatis de terris in Sceyle, in Com. Leicest.

Sciunt presentes et futuri, quod ego Radulphus Wilsarde, filius et hæres Joannis Wilsarde de Sceyle, dedi et concessi, et hæc mea præsentis charta confirmavi Agneti de Willington, quatuor acras et unam rodam terræ meæ arabilis in campo de majori Sceyle: Quarum una acra jacet super Wodde-Huilles, &c. [et paulo infra:] Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis vel assignatis et eorum hæredibus, prædictis Agneti de Willington et pueris suis de Williel. parsona de Lollinton præcreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio suo primogenito si supervixerit matri suæ, deinde Galfrido fratri ejus, postea Roberto fratri eorum juniori, deinde sororibus eorum si frater superstes non fuerit; ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram cum pertinentiis, licentia liter sine omni recognitione mihi et omnibus meis prædictis faciendâ, et quod hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum, liberè et quietè, bene, et in pace jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus vel assignatis et eorum hæredibus, unum obolum argenti ad pascha, aut unum paralarum chirothecarum de pretio unius oboli apud Sceyle, ad voluntatem solventis, pro omnibus servitiis et exactionibus, wardis, maritagis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, et omnimodis sectis comitatus, hundredorum, et curiæ meæ et hæredum meorum et aliorum, et servitiis forinsecis vel exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus et hæredes mei vel assignati et eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis, prædictæ Agneti et filiis ejus et filiabus, post decessum prædictæ. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicto parsona genitis, uni post alterum successive, et hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata et inconcussa permaneant in posterum presentem chartam sigilli mei impressione corroboravi: his testibus, Will. tunc parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorp, Rich. et Rob. filiis suis Henr. filio parsonæ de Sceyle, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, de eadem, Rob. Hasting, Wil. Gryn, et aliis.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

object any thing to the contrary; yet, to stop the mouths of all such wranglers and cavillers, who, being satisfied with no truth, will here,

IV. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Henrici de Apleby facta Henrico de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri, quod ego Henricus filius domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentī carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, illud messuagium quod Mattheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in parvo Apleby, in longitudine, juxta altam viam: tenendum et habendum de me et hæredibus meis sibi et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus, et cui vel quibus communibus horis quancouque dare vel assignare voluerint liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, &c. Et ego præd. Henricus et hæredes mei prædictum messuagium cum omnibus asiamentis et pertinentiis suis, præfatis Henrico, et Amiciæ uxori suæ, et eorum hæredibus et assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum, &c. Ut hæc omnia subscripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic præsentī scripto sigillum meum apposui his testibus, Joanne de Norton, Will. Huelin de Apleby, &c.

V. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Rogeri Pescher de Apleby facta Hen. de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri, quod ego Roger. Pescher de Apleby dedi, concessi, et hac præsentī carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, viginti buttes terræ arabilis cum pertinentiis suis in territorio de Apleby, quarum tres buttes jacent super Brodelein, &c. et paulo post. Habendum et tenendum prædictis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus et assignatis, cui vel quibus in sanitate, vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, benè, et hæreditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Pescher et Hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis suis ubicunque, memoratis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus et assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes in calumniis warrantizabimus, et in omnibus per omnia acquietabimus et defendemus in futurum, &c. Ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, et cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præsentī scripto sigillum meum pro me et hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediante; his testibus, Williel. de Meycam, Joanne filio Henr. de Norton, &c.

VI. *Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of Derby.*

Carta feoffamenti Will. filii & hæred. Will. Mahenmey de Banquel clerici facta. Nic. de Crumford de omnibus terris et tenementis quæ jure hæreditario per Williel. patrem suum habuit.

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri, quod ego Willielmus filius et hæres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel clerici, dedi, concessi, et omnino quietum clamavi de me et hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nich. de Crumford, pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam idem Nicolaus mihi præ manibus donavit, omnes terras et tenementa cum gardinis, curtillagiis, burgagiis, et edificiis, et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in omnibus rebus et locis, sine aliquo retinemento, quæ et quas habui jure hæreditario in feodo de Banquel, per Williel. de Banquel clericum quondam patrem meum: habend. et tenend. ipso Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assignatis in feodo et hæreditate de capitali domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et asiamentis in omnibus locis et singulis ad prædictas terras et tenementa pertinentibus intra villam de Banquel et extra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Williel. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine nostro, jus vel clamorem in prædictis terris et tenementis, gardinis, curtillagiis, burgagiis et edificiis, et omnibus pertinentiis suis de cætero, habere, exigere, vindicare, vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris et tenementis capitali Domino 7. solidos, 3. denarios et obolum argenti annui redditus ad terminos statutos Paschatis et Sancti Michaelis. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto præsentī sigillum meum apposui et munimenta inde eidem Nicolao tradidi; His testibus, Domino Joanne de Osemondiston perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Matthæo de Reynedo, Mattheo Drabill, Elio de Banquel clerico, Richardo de Yollegegrave, Roger. filio Yoke, et aliis. [Note, in this, a son of a priest did inherit his father's lands, and sold them, as by this deed appeareth.]

VII. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Alia charta dicti Wil. Mahenmey facta dicto Nic. de Crumford, de uno capitali messuag. et diversis terris in villa et territorio de Banquel in Com. Darb.

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri, quod ego Williel. filius et hæres quondam Williel. de Mahenmey de Banquel clerici, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentī carta mea confirmavi de me et hæredib. meis in perpetuum, Nicolao de Crumford pro quadam summa pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, unum capitale messuagium edificatum, et unam bovatum terræ, cum prato et omnibus partibus suis sine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bovatum terræ cum pertinentiis quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit et tenuit in villa et territorio de Banquel; et octo acras terræ arabilis et unam particulam prati divisim jacentes in campis de Banquel, &c. Habend. et tenend. ipsi Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel suis assignatis in feodo et hæreditate libere, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et asiamentis, in omnibus rebus et locis intra villam de Banquel et extra, ad prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis pertinentibus, de capitali domino de Banquel, &c. Et ego Williel. et hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis (ut prædictum est) dicto Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assign. suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentī scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus domino Joanne de Osemondiston perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Matth. de Reynedo, Matth. Drabill, Elio de Banquel, Richard. de Yollegegrave, Rogero filio Yoke de Banquel, et aliis.

VIII. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Thomæ de Bylleston clerici, et Leticie uxori ejus facta Gerardo et Cæcilie uxori suæ de certis terris in feodo de Banquel in Com. Darb.

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri, Quod nos Thom. de Billeston clericus, et Leticia uxor mea, dedimus, concessimus, et hac præsentī carta nostra confirmavimus, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wiston et Cæcilie uxori suæ, omnia illa burgagia, messuagia, gardina, curtillagia, terras, tenementa, prata et edificiis, seldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pasturis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis suis in feodo de Banquel, quæ habuimus ex dono et feoffamento dicti Gerdi: Habendum

peradventure, take some occasion upon this word 'clericus,' so oftentimes named in these evidences aforesaid, to object that this word

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

et tenendum dictis Gerardo et Cæcilie uxori suæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis et hæredibus nostris liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis; faciendo inde annuatim nobis et hæredibus nostris, prædict. Gerard. et Cæcilia ad totam eorum vitam, unum denarium argenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis, et faciendo etiam pro nobis et hæredibus nostris capital. Dominis feodi illius servitia inde annuatim debita et consueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas et Leticia et nostri hæredes omnia prædicta burgagia messuagia, gardia, curtillagia, terras, tenementa, prata, et ædificia, seldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pasturis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis suis prædictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimonium huic præsentati cartæ nostræ sigilla nostra apposimus; His testibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterrell, Willielm. de Cromford, Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Cromford in Banquel, Rad. Breario in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, et aliis.— [Note, in this evidence, to have and to hold of the priest, his wife, and their heirs during the lives of the feoffers, for a penny of yearly rent.]

IX. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Unversis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit Leticia, quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Bylleston, salutem in Domino. Noveritis me in pura viduitate mea concessisse et confirmasse, pro me et hæredibus meis, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyston, et Cæciliæ uxori suæ omnes terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in Banquel, quæ idem Gerardus et Cæcilia uxor ejus habent ex concessione Thomæ de Bylleston quondam viri mei: Habendum et tenendum eisdem Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me et hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; faciendo inde mihi et hæredibus meis unum denarium argenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis, et faciendo inde pro me et hæredibus meis capitalibus Dominis servitia inde annuatim debita et consueta. Et ego præfata Leticia et hæredes mei prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis prædictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Robert le Taylor, et aliis.

Datum apud Banquel, die Veneris proximo post festum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, An. regni regis Edwardi, filii regis, Edwardi, nono.

X. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Scriptum W. Pasket factum Joanni de Bradb. clerico, Aliciæ uxori suæ et hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus.

Sciant præsentés et futuri, Quod ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentati mea charta confirmavi Johanni de Bradburne clerico et Aliciæ uxori suæ, et hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, unam particulam curtillagi mei videlicet, centum pedes in longitudine et triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentiis et asiamentis, eidem placeæ pertinentibus: Habendum et tenendum eidem Joanni et Aliciæ et eorum hæredibus legitime procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace in perpetuum: reddendo in deanuatim mihi et hæredibus meis unum florem Rosæ ad festum Nativitat. S. Johannis Baptistæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Basket et hæredes mei prædictam placeam cum asiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et contra omnes gentes defendemus. Et si contingat (quod absit) quod prædictus Joannes et Alicia sine hæredibus de corporibus eorum legitime procreatis obierint, prædicta placea sine alicujus contradictione revertat. Et ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, et præsentis cartæ meæ confirmatio rata sit, et stabilis permaneat, huic præsentati cartæ sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Richardo de Longdon, Robert Brag, Roger Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Joanne Glankirion, et aliis. Datum apud Yelgrave in festo S. Joannis ante Portam Latinam. Anno Dom. 1314. [This was dated anno 1314, which was anno regni Edw. II. octavo.]

XI. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Sciant præsentés et futuri, Quod ego Rogers le Porter, hæres Aliciæ filie Williel. de Downedale de Parva Ridware, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentati carta mea confirmavi, magistro Richard. de Hampton clerico et Margaretæ uxori ejus, et hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. omnes terras et tenementa mea quæ habeo in diversis locis in feodo de Parva Ridware: Habend. et tenend. omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. et Margaretæ uxori ejus et hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius per servitia debita et de jure consueta, liberè, quietè, bene, et in pace in perpetuum. Et ego vero prædictus Rogers et hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich., et Margaretæ uxori ejus, et hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich., contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic præsentati cartæ sigillum meum apposui; His testibus Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Julian, Roberto Ka. Edmund. le Walsheman, Williel. le Flecher, et aliis. Datum apud Parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo post festum Sancti Gregor. papæ, anno regni regis Edwardi, tertii post Conquestum, 23.—[This was dated anno regni Ed. III. 28, which was anno 1353.]

The originals of these eleven pieces of evidences last recited, I received, in the writing of this story, of a right honest and worshipful gentleman, called Master John Ford, a student of the laws in the Inner Temple; in whose hands I trust (after the finishing of this story) they shall remain to be seen of them that shall desire the same.

I. *The Copies of Seven other Evidences touching the same, received of Master John Hunt.*

Carta feoff. Phil. Poupu de Parva Bradley, fact. Henrico Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Grenecroft, in villa de Parva Bradley in Com. Staff.

Sciant præsentés et futuri, quod ego Philippus Poup de Parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentati carta mea confirmavi, Henro de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro servitiis eorum et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentiis, sive habeatur plus sive minus, prout boundæ testantur, in campo vocato Grenecroft, in villa de Parva Bradley, jacentem inter terram meam ex parte una, et terram prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, uno capite abutante super cœmeterium de Parva Bradley, et alio capite abutante super terram prædict. Henrici: habend. et tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis dare, vendere, legare

Henry VIII.

A. D.

1539.

Objections concerning the word 'clericus' resolved.

may as well be taken for others as for priests; therefore, to prevent the cavilling objections of such, this shall be briefly to reply there-

vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, in perpetuum et hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi servitium inde debitum et cnsuetum, videlicet unum obolum ad nativitatem beati Joannis Baptistæ pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum sectis, et secularibus demandis Et ego prædict. Phil. hæred. et assignati mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentî scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Petro de Walepol. Richard. de Hanville, Williel. Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, et aliis. ['Gersuma,' in the third line, of the above, significth money paid beforehand, which we call a fine.]

II. Another Evidence touching the same.

Carta relaxationis Will. Bygod, tunc Domini de Parva Bradley, facta Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, eorum hæredibus.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Williel. de Bygod salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse, concessisse, remisisse, ac omnino, tam pro me quam pro hæredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clamasse Henr. de Denardiston clerico, et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. eorum, totum jus et clameum quod habui vel habere potui, aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagiis, wardis, releviis, eschaetis, libertatibus et omnibus pertin. suis, quæ in aliquo modo seu tempore facere debuerint vel consueverunt pro terris et tenementis quæ quondam fuerunt Richard. Poupu in villa de Parva Bradley, et in aliis terris et tenementis quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. et Alicia tenent. vel tenerunt de me seu de feodo meo die confectionis præsentium in prædicta villa de Parva Bradley: Ita quod nec ego Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine nostro in modo præmissis aliquod juris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vindicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsentî scripto sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Joh. Maveysin, Rich. Bercar, Henr. Maveysin, Joh. Bercar, Will. Wastell, Hug. Wastell, Will. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, et aliis.

III. Another Evidence touching the same.

Carta Reginaldi filii Jordani Wethresfield facta Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

Sciant præsentès et futuri, quod ego Reginaldus filius Jordani de Wethresfield dedi, concessi, et hæc præsentî carta mea confirmavi, Henr. de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro homagiis et servitiis eorum et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, unam peciam terræ mæ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, sive habeatur plus sive minus, in villa de Parva Bradley, in campo vocato Heldhey, jacentem inter terram Will. de Mampford quondam, et terram Joannis le Rede quondam, ex parte una in longitudine, et terram Richard. de Hanuyle ex altera, et abuttat ad unum caput super terram Joannis le Lumbard, et aliud caput super campum vocatum Crondon, cum sepibus et foveis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad dictam terram spectantibus: Habend. et tenend. de me hæredibus et assignatis meis, prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus et assignatis dict. Henrici, vel cuiunque vel quibuscunque dict. Henricus prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis prædict., dare, vendere, vel aliquo modo assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, et hæreditate: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi, hæredibus, et assignatis meis, unam rosam ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Joannis Baptistæ pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum sectis et secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, hæredes, et assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prædictam terram cum sepibus et foveis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus, et assignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsentî scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Joanne Maveysin, Petro de Walepol, Richardo de Hanuyle, Richardo Bercar, Henrico Maveysin, Joanne Bercar, Willielmo Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, et aliis.

IV. Another Evidence of the like effect.

Carta Rich. Hanuyle de Parva Bradley fact. Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, et eorum hæredibus de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

Sciant præsentès et futuri, Quod ego Richardus de Hanuyle de Parva Bradley dedi, concessi, et hæc præsentî carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus unam peciam terræ mæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent. in Parva Bradley in campo vocato Mortcroft, pro homagiis et servitiis eorum et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, jacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex utraque parte, et unum caput abuttat super campum vocat. Wodcroft: Habendum et tenendum de me, hæred. vel assignatis meis, ipsis, hæred. et assignat. eorum, vel cuiunque vel quibuscunque dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis dare, vendere, legare, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace et hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis unum denarium, et ad Pascha unum denarium pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiæ sectis, et secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Richard. hæred. et assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. eorum per prædictum servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentî scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Petro de Walepol, Williel. Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Rich. Bercar, Hen. Maveysin, Johanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, et aliis.

V. Another Evidence touching the same.

Scriptum Mat. de Raclisde fact. Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff. Dated an. reg. Edw. regis ii. 8. which was an. 1315.

Sciant presentes et futuri, Quod ego Mattheus de Raclisde dedi, concessi, et hæc præsentî carta mea confirmavi, Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. dict. Henrici, unam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinent. sive habeatur plus sive minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley, in campo vocato Crondonbrede inter terram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, et terram dict. Henr. de Denardiston ex alia parte, et unum caput abuttat super viam vocatam Libreddich, et aliud caput super terram Richard. de Hanuyle ante dict.: Habend. et tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. de capitali Donhno feodi,

unto: that in the common laws of this realm, in all gifts or feoffments made to any spiritual person (unless he be some graduate of divinity in the schools), the said spiritual person is named by no other term but by the word 'clericus;' as by divers places, as well in the printed books, as in old registers and writings of the lawyers, as well in the common law as statute law, remaineth of record very evident to be seen. Some special notes whereof, as well for the case of the reader in the search of the same, as also for the further satisfying of some who peradventure shall want the books, I thought good here to exhibit and specify in form and tenor as hereunder followeth.¹

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

et cuicumque vel quibuscunque prædictus Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditariè in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita et consueta. Et ego prædict. Mattheus et hæredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. (ut prædictum est) prædictis Henr. et Aliciæ hæred. et assignat. dict. Henr., contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentî cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Richardum de Hanuyle, Joanne de Stonham, Joanne Godfrey, Wil. Wastel, Clemente de Bures, et aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena Sancti Michaelis, an. regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi, octavo.

VI. Another Evidence touching the same.

Scriptum Rich. de Loverhal de Parva Bradley, factum Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley prædicta.

Sciunt præsentès et futuri, quod ego Richardus de Loverhal de Parva Bradley dedi, concessi, et hac præsentî carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, et hæred. dict. Henr. unam peciam terræ mæ arabilis, sive habeat plus sive minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Henr. Cosin ex una parte, et terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, uno capite abuttante supercroftam Williel. Attegrene, et alio capite super le Overhall mede: Habend. et tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi præd. Henr. et Aliciæ et hæred. dict. Henr. et cuicumque et quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditariè, in feodo et in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita et consueta. Et ego præd. Richard. et hæred. mei prædict. peciam terræ præd. Henr. et Aliciæ et hæredib. dict. Henr. et suis assignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentî cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Richard. de Hanuyle, Johan. de Stonham, Wil. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Wil. Aleyne, et aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Dominica proxima post festum Pasch. An. regis Edw. filii regis Edw. 10.— [This deed seemeth by the date, to be made an. r. Edw. R. II. 10. an. 1317, which was about 200 years after Anselm.]

VII. Another Evidence touching the like matter.

Scriptum Clementis de Clopton factum Joanni de Cowling clerico et Basiliæ uxori ejus, de terris in Cowling in Suff. Dated regni Ed. regis ii. 13, which was an. 1320.

Sciunt præsentès et futuri, Quod ego Clemens de Cloptone concessi, dedi, et hac præsentî carta mea confirmavi, Joan. de Bosco de Coulynge clerico, et Basiliæ uxori ejus et hæredibus præd. Joannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. in Coulynge, sive sit ibi majus sive minus, prout simul jacet inter terram domini Robert. de Aspal ex parte una, et terram quondam Joan. le Pogeyns ex alia, uno capite abuttante super viam communem, et alio super terram quondam prædict. Joan. Pogeyns: Habend. et tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. prædict. Joanni et Basiliæ et hæred. præd. Joannis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta. Et ego prædict. Clemens et hæredes mei prædicto Joanni et Basiliæ et hæred. præd. Joannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinentiis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsentî chartæ sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Thoma de Caldebek, Rich. Farewel, Joan. de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, et Williel. le Panmer. Datum apud Coulynge die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ. Anno regni regis Edwardi, filii regis Edwardi, tertio decimo.

All the originals of these seven several pieces of evidences, the true copies whereof are here before inserted, and last recited, at this present, to wit, this 23d of November, A. D. 1575, are in the custody, and do remain among the evidences and writings, of John Hunt of Essex, alias Ashen, in the county of Essex, esquire, and are pertaining and belonging to his manor of Overhall, alias Parva Bradley aforesaid, in the county of Suffolk. In whose hands they are easily at this present, and long time, I trust, after the writing of this history, shall remain to be seen of good record, if any man either be desirous of the sight thereof, or doubtful of the truth of the same.

(1) Certain Notes how this word 'Clericus' is taken in the Law Books.

Si clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad coronam pertineat, arrestatus fuerit, et postmodo per præceptum Domini Regis in ballium traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quod hi quibus traditus fuerit in ballium eum habeant coram justiciariis, non amercientur de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in ballium, nec alii plegii sui, si corpus suum habeant coram justiciariis, licet coram eis propter privilegium clericale respondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter ordinarios suos.—In Stat. de Marbridge, an. 52 H. iii. c. 27.

Another Note.

Rex et antecessores sui, à tempore cujus, contrarii memoria non existit, usi sunt, quod clerici suis immorantes obsequiis, dum obsequiis illis intenderint, ad residentiam in suis beneficiis faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præjudicium ecclesiasticæ libertatis quod pro rege et republica necessarium invenitur.—Artic. Cleri. 9 E. ii. in fine. c. 8.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

Clericus,
in the
law, ever
taken for
a priest.

But what need many arguments for the proof hereof? The statutes and law-books of this realm are very full of them in divers and many places, besides the precedents for the form of giving of benefices, whereof none are capable but such as are spiritual men, and of the clergy; wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or term in the Latin tongue, than 'clerici,' for the most part; not in the king's own grant, or the lord chancellor's, or any other subjects of his, as very well appeareth both by divers old written precedents which have been showed unto me, and also by the forms of presentations, collected and set forth for the instruction of such as are ignorant, or not very perfect in the order of them, in a printed book, called 'The Book of sundry Instruments.'

Thus I doubt not, loving reader, but by these so plain evidences above prefixed, thou hast sufficiently to understand, that this violent restraint of priests' lawful marriage, within this realm of England, is of no such long reach and antiquity, as hath been thought by many, and all by reason of ignorance of histories, and course of times. So that briefly, as in a summary table, to comprehend the whole effect hereof:

Priests'
marriage,
how and
when it
began to
be ex-
cluded.

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

Not long after that, about the time of pope Nicholas II., A. D. 1059, of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the see of Canterbury another monk, called Lanfranc, who also, being a promoter of this professed chastity, made the decree more general, that all prebendaries being married, in any churches, should be displaced; yet the priests

Another Note.

Clericus ad ecclesiam confugiens pro feloniam, pro immunitate ecclesiastica obtinenda, si asserit se esse clericum, regnum non compellatur abjurare, sed legi regni se reddens gaudebit ecclesiastica libertate, juxta laudabilem consuetudinem regni hactenus usitatam.—In eisdem Articulis in fine, c. 15.

Another Note.

Appellanti in forma debita, tanquam clerico per ordinarium petito libertatis ecclesiasticæ beneficium non negabitur.—In cap. 16.

In the statute entitled 'Articuli Cleri,' made only for the benefit of the clergy, anno regni Edwardi Reg. ii. nono, are divers notes to like effect.

(1) In this form, in the said book, the words in the king's grant be these:

'Rex reverendissimo in Christo, &c. Ad ecclesiam parochialem de N. vestre diocesis modo per mortem ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, et ad nostram donationem pleno jure spectantem, dilectum capellanum nostrum A. B. clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis presentamus, et mandamus uti dictum A. capellanum nostrum ad præfatam ecclesiam admittere, eumque rectorem ejusdem instituire, cum suis juribus,' &c.

But if the presentation be from a knight, an esquire, or a gentleman, then these words, 'capellanum nostrum,' are always left out, as in the said book appeareth in this sort:

'Reverendo in Christo Patri, &c. A. B. de N. ad ecclesiam de N. prædictam vestre diocesis modo per mortem T. D. ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, et ad meam presentationem pleno jure spectantem, dilectum mihi in Christo Jacobum P. clericum vestre paternitati presento, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum J. ad dictam ecclesiam admittere, ipsumque, in rectorem ejusdem ecclesie institui et induci facere velitis cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis,' &c. As in the said book is more at large to be seen or perused.

in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they would.

Last of all followed monkish Anselm, A.D. 1104; by whom was made this law at Winchester aforesaid,¹ that priests, arch-deacons, deacons and sub-deacons, who had wives and spiritual living, should be put from them both; and also that none after should be admitted to their orders, but should first profess single life, that is, to live without wives. And thus much concerning priests' marriage forbidden.

Let us add moreover to these evidences above rehearsed, for more confirmation of the ancient use and liberty of priests' marriage, another testimony or two out of like ancient records, with like plain words declaring unto us, how the matrimony of priests, before the time of Lanfranc aforesaid, was no strange example in the church. And first we will infer the words of an old martyrology pertaining to the records of Canterbury. The words of which martyrology be these:²

'Lanfrancus archiep. reddidit ecclesiæ sancti Andree, quia de jure ipsius ecclesiæ antiquitus fuerunt, in Sutherge, Murtillac; Londoniæ, monasterium sanctæ Mariæ cum terris et domibus, quas Livingus presbyter et uxor illius Londoniæ habuerunt.'

To this also may be adjoined another of like antiquity, out of an old written history belonging to the church of St. Asaph, after the time of Lanfranc, as followeth:

'De clerico uxorato receptante publicè forbonizatum³ scienter, ut possit contra ipsum probari, nobis videtur quod tenetur respondere in foro ecclesiastico. Si vero facit residentiam in terra principis, et contingat ipsum mulctari, tota mulcta sua principi debetur. Si vero residentiam in terra episcopi facit, mulcta dividatur inter episcopum et principem. Si vero uxor alicujus talis scienter vel volenter in ejus absentia receptaverit, mulier in foro ecclesiastico respondeat, et clericus ratione sui facti non puniatur, nec pro ea (nisi velit) respondere cogatur.⁴

Neither is the testimony of Mantuanus⁵ unworthy also hereunto to be added, writing in the Life of Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, as followeth.

'Integritas vitæ, legum prudentia, cultus
Cœlicolum, tutela inopum, diadema pedumque
Pictaviense tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum vivis tibi, sorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obstitit uxor
Legitimo conjuncta toro; non horruit illa
Tempestate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, et attrito vivit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quæ sunt connubia contra,
Esse malas quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non satis advertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuset;

(1) Not Winchester A.D. 1104, but London A.D. 1108. See notes on pp. 333, 338, 339.—ED.

(2) See a correction of this passage by Foxe, page 358.—ED.

(3) 'Forbonizatum' is a Saxon term, and signifieth as much as a man outlawed.

(4) Anno Domini 1261. Ex antiq. libro Asaph. manuscripto.

(5) Baptista Mantuanus, who flourished towards the end of the 15th century. His works were collected in 4 vols. Antwerp, 1576, and the poetical portion of them has supplied numerous testimonies to the Protestant controversial writers, as to the avarice and corruption of the papal church, both in its head and members. He died, having been General of the Carmelite order, in 1516: 'Poeta eximius, et theologus non incelebris.' Cave: Script. Eccles. Hist. Literaria, tom. ii. p. 235. (Sæc. Reform.) Freytag, Apparatus literarius (Lipsiæ: 1755) tom. ii. p. 955.—ED.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

Quid valeat natura pati. Cervicibus, aiunt,
 Hoc insuave jugum nostris imponere Christus
 Noluît; istud onus quod adhuc quam plurima monstra
 Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
 Tutius esse volunt, qua lex divina sinebat
 Isse via, veterumque sequi vestigia patrum;
 Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjuge, quam nunc
 Nostra sit exclusis thalamis et conjugis usu.'

THE SIXTH ARTICLE; TOUCHING AURICULAR CONFESSION.

Three
kinds of
confes-
sion.

Of confession, three kinds we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our confession privately or publicly made unto God alone; and this confession is necessary for all men at all times. Wherefore St. John speaketh, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive," &c.¹

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

Private
confes-
sion to
our
-brother.

The third kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damned our neighbour, whether he be rich or poor; whereof speaketh the gospel, "Go and reconcile thyself first unto thy neighbour,"² &c. Also St. James, "Confess yourselves one to another,"³ &c. Or else this confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our conscience, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind superstition: first, that we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, that we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, that we tie not ourselves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, who we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

Certain
points of
supersti-
tion to be
avoided
in private
confes-
sion.

But as there is nothing in the church so good and so ghostly, which, through peevish superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted, so this confession, also, hath not lacked its abuses. First, the secret confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient, so hath it been but lightly esteemed by many. The public confession to the congregation hath been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for assailing of his sins. In which auricular confession, first, of the free liberty of the penitent in uttering his griefs, they have made a mere necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, they require withal an enumeration and a full recital of all sins whatsoever, both great and small. Also besides the necessity of this ear-confession,

Four or
five
abuses in
auricular
confes-
sion.

(1) 1 John i. 9.

(2) Matt. v. 24.

(3) James v. 16.

they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year, for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making, moreover, of the same a sacrament. And lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man, to open his heart to what spiritual brother he thought best, for an easement of his grief, and for ghostly consolation, they bind him to a priest (unless some friar come by the way to be his ghostly father), to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done; and though he lack the key of knowledge, and, peradventure, of good discretion, yet none must have power to assoil him, but he, through the authority of his keys.

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

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

Item, In the time of Tertullian, Beatus Rhenanus testifieth,¹ that there was no mention made of this auricular confession: which may well be gathered hereof, for that Tertullian, writing upon repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Item, In the time of Chrysostome,² it appeareth there was no such assoiling at the priest's hands, by these words, where he saith, "I require thee not that thou shouldest confess thy sins to thy fellow-servant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them."

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

Item, In the time of Ambrose,³ the gloss of the pope's own decrees reporteth, that "this institution of penance was not then begun, which now, in our days, is in use."

Item, It is truly said, therefore, of the gloss in another place, where he testifieth⁴ that "this institution of penance began rather of some tradition of the universal church, than of any authority of the New Testament, or of the Old," &c.

The like also testifieth Erasmus,⁵ writing upon Jerome, in these words, "Apparet Hieronymi tempore nondum institutam fuisse," &c.; that is, "It appeareth that in the time of Jerome, this secret confession of sins was not yet ordained, which the church afterwards did institute wholesomely, if our priests and laymen would use it rightly. But herein, divines, not considering advisedly what the old doctors do say, are much deceived. That which they say of general and open confession, they wrest, by and by, to this privy and secret kind of confession, which is far diverse, and of another sort," &c.

The like testimony may also be taken of Gratian⁶ himself, who, speaking of confession used then in his time, leaveth the matter in

(1) Page 434, in his edition of Tertullian's works: folio, Basil. 1521.—ED.

(2) Chrys. on Ps. 30, Hom. 1. [This extract, which is not quite accurately translated, is placed amongst the 'Spuria' in Mountfaucon's edition, tom. v. p. 716, Paris, 1835.—ED.]

(3) De Pœn. dist. 1. 'Petrus,' in Glossa. [Decret. Gratiani, Par. 1612. col. 1811. See also the Appendix—ED.]

(4) De Pœn. dist. [5. Glossa], in principio.

(5) Eras. in Schol. in Epitaphium Fabiolæ. [Opera Omnia (fol. Ludg. 1703), tom. vi. p. 701.—ED.]

(6) Gratian de Pœnit, cist. 1. [cap. 89.] 'Quamvis.' [Decret. Gratiani, col. 1869.—ED.]

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1539.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

doubtful suspense, neither pronouncing on the one side nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the readers, which the Act of these Six Articles here enjoineeth as necessary, under pain of death.

First institution of auricular confession.

Briefly, in few words to search out and notify the very certain time when this article of ear-confession first crept into the church, and what antiquity it hath, in following the judgment of Johannes Scotus and of Antoninus, it may well be supposed that the institution thereof took its first origin by pope Innocent III., in his council of Lateran, A. D. 1215; for so we read in Johannes Scotus:¹ “Præcipua autem specificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo capite, Extrav. de penit. et remiss. ‘Omnis utriusque sexus,’” &c. And after, in the same article, it followeth, “Nam ex prima institutione ecclesiæ non videntur fuisse distincti proprii sacerdotes. Quando enim apostoli hinc et inde ibant prædicando verbum Dei,” &c. By which words it appeareth that there was no institution of any such confession specified before the constitution of pope Innocent III.

Constitution of Innocent III. touching auricular confession.

But more plainly the same may appear by the words of Antoninus.² “Pope Innocent III., in his general council aforesaid, touching the sacraments of confession and the communion, made this constitution, as followeth: ‘That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confess all their sins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary priest; and shall endeavour to fulfil, by their own strength, their penance to them enjoined; &c. or else, who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the church, being alive, nor, being dead, shall enjoy christian burial. Wherefore this wholesome constitution we will to be published often in the churches, lest any men through the blindness of ignorance, may make to themselves a cloak of excuse,’” &c. And thus much hitherto we have alleged, by occasion incident, of these six articles, for some part of confutation of the same, referring the reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of divines, who professedly write upon those matters.

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

The Copy of Philip Melancthon’s fruitful Epistle, sent to King Henry, against the cruel Act of the Six Articles.

Most famous and noble prince! there were certain emperors of Rome, as Adrian, Pius, and afterwards the two brethren, Verus and Marcus, who did receive gently the apologies and defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate princes, that they assuaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel decrees: even so, forasmuch as there is a decree set forth of late in your realm, against that doctrine which we

(1) Lib. iv. Scent. Dist. 17, artic. 3.

(2) Innocentius tertius in concilio generali præfato circa sacramenta confessionis et communionis sic statuit, &c.: ‘Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annum discretionis pervenerit, omnia peccata sua solus saltem semel in anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi penitentiam propriis pro viribus studeat adimplere, &c.: alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arcetur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ignorantia excitate velamen excusationis assumat,’ &c. Antoninus, Part iii. Dist. tit. 19. [fol. Ludg. 1586, tom. iii. p. 95.—Ed.]

profess as both godly and necessary for the church, I beseech your most honourable majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint; especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the church, directed this my writing unto you. For, seeing those heathen princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it beseeeming for a king of christian profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy histories, to hear the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the church? And so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my letters with a singular declaration of your¹ benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope, that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing do plainly declare, not yourself, but only the bishops to be the authors of those articles and decrees there set forth: albeit, through their wily and subtle sophistications, they have induced you (as it happened to many other worthy princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them; as the rulers persuaded Darius, being otherwise a wise and just prince, to cast Daniel unto the lions.²

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

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

The wise Athenians made a decree, when the city of Mitylene was recovered (which before had forsaken them), that all the citizens there should be slain, and the city utterly destroyed: whereupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commandment to the army. On the next morrow, the matter was brought again before the same judges, and, after better advice taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude should not be put to the sword, but a few of the chiefest authors of their rebellion should be punished, and the city saved. There was, therefore, another ship sent forth with a countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former ship, as also it happened: neither was that noble city, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the church especially, princes have many times altered and reformed their decrees, as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. There was a decree set forth in the name of Ahasuerus, concerning the killing of the Jews;³ that decree was afterwards called in again. So did Adrian and Antoninus, also, correct and reform their decrees.

Example of the Athenians revoking their decree. See *Appenziv.*

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

Mitigation of the six articles desired.

Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in doctrine and virtue, to be there detained in prison, as Latimer, Crome, Shaxton, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, than to give their lives in the confession of the manifest truth and verity; yet would I wish that you should not distain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such lanterns of light in your church to be extinguished; neither these spiteful and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish Antichrist, who laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his bishops, to recover again his former possession, which of late, by your virtues and godly means, he lost. He seeth your bishops, for the time, loyal unto you,

Latimer, Crome, Shaxton, and others imprisoned. The bishops pretend outward obedience to the king, but their hearts be with the pope.

(1) He meaneth here the king's liberal reward sent to him before in money, by Master J. Hales, which money he then distributed among the ministers and learned men of Wittenberg.

(2) Dan. vi. 16.

(3) Esther viii. 10, 11.

Henry
VIII.A D.
1539.

and obsequious to obey your will; but, in heart, he seeth them linked unto him, in a perpetual bond of fidelity and obedience. In all these feats and practices the Romish bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by bearing and suffering: they see that great things be brought to pass in time; neither do they forget the old verse of the poet:

‘*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Retulit in melius.*’

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

The
bishops
maintain
errors
against
their
know-
ledge.

But here your bishops will say again, no doubt, that they defend no errors, but the very truth of God's holy word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both against the true word of God, and the apostolic church, yet, like crafty sophisters, they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly show outwardly, to colour their errors and abuses.

Faise-
hood
often-
times
beareth
a fairer
show
than
truth.

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

Confes-
sion.

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

Private
masses.

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

(1) By application of masses is meant, when the passion and merits of Christ are applied to any by the virtue of the mass.

The like sophistication they use also, where they say that priests' marriage is against the law of God. They are not ignorant what St. Paul saith, 'A bishop ought to be the husband of one wife:' and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to priests by the law of God. But, because now they say, they have made a vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that priests for their vows' sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the article after this sort: that marriage of priests is utterly against the law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they show moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death, who will not put away their wives, and renounce their matrimony? whereas the vow of priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the ministry, if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the councils and canons.

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1539.

Priests' marriage.

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

Winchester's cunning in the art of juggling, called 'Deceptio visus.'

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

The word of God ought simply to be handled without all sophistry.

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

Cloaked Hypocrisy of false papists.

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

Man's traditions counted for God's service.

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

Filthy life of the clergy for lack of marriage. This restoring of the gospel is only of God.

(1) 1 Tim. iii. 2

(2) Isaiah x. 1—3

(3) Ibid. v. 20.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

By the
six arti-
cles, all
errors
and tradi-
tions are
main-
tained.

God will
not be
worship-
ped but
after his
word.

Against
private
masses
and the
canon of
the mass.
Christ but
once of-
fered.

True use
of the
Lord's
supper.

Sacra-
ments
ought not
to be re-
moved
out of
their
right use.

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

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

Thus have they craftily provided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience itself doth plainly teach us. Now what man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? for, as I said before, this matter concerneth not only these articles which be there enacted, but all other articles of sound doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such traditions of men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, 'For they worship me in vain with the precepts of men?'¹ or why doth St. Paul so oft detest men's traditions?

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his word, or to defend the same: such presumption God doth horribly detest, who will be known in his Word only. He will have none other religions invented by man's device; for else all sorts of religions, of all nations, might be approved and allowed. 'Lean not,' saith he, 'to thine own wisdom.'² But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politic heads, that apply religion to their own lucre and commodity.

Furthermore, private masses, vows, the single life of priests, numbering up of sins to the priest, with other things more, being but mere ordinances of men, are used for God's true service and worship. For although the supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private mass is a wicked profanation of the Lord's supper: for in the canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is said, that Christ is offered, and that the work itself is a sacrifice, which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ; yea manifold ways they are repugnant to the gospel. Christ willesh not himself to be offered up of priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a sacrifice. This is manifest idolatry, and overthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true use of the sacraments. By faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the priests. And the supper is ordained that the minister should distribute to others, to the intent that they, repenting for their sins, should be admonished firmly to believe the promises of the gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his blood. And this is the true use of that supper which is ordained in the gospel, and was observed in the primitive church three hundred years and more, from which we ought not to be removed: for it is plain impiety to transfer the Lord's institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second commandment. Wherefore these private masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right institution of Christ manifold ways, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other ways besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. 'Flee,' saith St. Paul, 'from all idolatry.'³ In these private masses much idolatry is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvel: for, in the latter times, the Scripture plainly showeth that great idolatry shall reign in the church of God; as Christ himself also signifieth, saying, 'When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand.'⁴ And Daniel saith,⁵ 'And he shall worship the God Mauzzim

(1) Mark vii. 7. (2) Prov. iii. 5. (3) 1 Cor. x. 14. (4) Matt. xxiv. 15. (5) Dan. xi. 38.

in his place, and shall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and precious stones.' Both these places do speak of the mass.

Henry VIII.

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

A. D. 1539.

What impiety is in the mass

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

No private masses used in the old time.

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

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

Application of the mass idolatrous.

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

The old institution of Christ is not to be altered by new inventions

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

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

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1539.

Against
vows of
priests'
single
life.

Common
error con-
cerning
vows.

Causes
why vows
ought to
be bro-
ken.

The six
articles
make the
vow of
priests as
straight
as the
vow of
monks;
contrary
to their
own law.
No law
of death
for priests'
marriage,
before
these
articles.

Why
priests'
vows
ought not
to stand.

Bishops
restrain
priests'
marriage,
against
all reason
and ex-
cuse.

As touching the other articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, feigned, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common persuasion of all men touching vows, that all these will-works devised by man are the true service and worship of God; and so think they, also, who speak most indifferently of them. Others add thereunto more gross errors, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, 'They worship me in vain with the precepts of men;'¹ and Paul saith,² that these observations be the doctrine of devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worshipping of God. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, 'Let no man deceive you by feigned humility,' &c. 'Why make you decrees,'³ &c.? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

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

Furthermore, this vow of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, 'All men do not receive this.'⁴ Such vows, therefore, which without sin cannot be performed, are to be undone: but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

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

'But they brake their vows,' will the bishops say: first, as I said, that vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them that forsake the ministry. Finally, if the bishops, here, would have a care and regard to men's consciences, they should then ordain priests without any such profession or vow-making; as appeareth by the old canons, how that many were admitted to the ministry without professing of any vow; and the same afterwards, when they had married their wives, remained in the ministry, as is testified in the Distinctions.⁵

Certainly, of what I may here complain, I cannot tell. First, in this article I cannot impute it to ignorance, which they do; for no man is ignorant of the commandment of God, which saith, 'Let every man have his wife, for avoiding of fornication.' Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried priests do live? The complaints of good men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too, too manifest. But, peradventure, your bishops, holding with the sect of epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts: which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtless a hard cause, where such must be judges.

I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of bishops, and colleges of priests, and to maintain their wealth and

(1) Mark vii. 7.
(4) Matt. xix. 12.

(2) 1 Tim. iv. 1.
(5) Cap. 'Diaconi,' Dist. 28.

(3) Colos. ii. 18-29.

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

Henry VIII.
A. D. 1539.

Unjust laws serving to the luere of men against the glory of God.

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

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

Subtlety of Satan in abusing the power of princes to maintain his kingdom.

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

Example of good princes.

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

Let the hearty desires of so many godly men through the whole world move you, so earnestly wishing that some good kings would extend their authority to the true reformation of the church of God, to the abolishing of all idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the gospel. Regard also, and consider, I beseech you, those godly persons¹ who are with you in bands for the gospel's sake, being the true members of Christ.

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

The devil's instruments by whom he worketh.

(1) He meaneth Shaxton, Latimer, Cron.e, and others.

*Henry VIII.*A. D. 1539.

church : and while letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such noble deserts shall never die or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that our churches are the churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnify, with due commendation, such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

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

Livingus,
priest,
and his
wife.

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

A Note out of an old Martyrology of Canterbury.

Obiit Gulielmus rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit ecclesie Christi omnes fere terras, &c. : that is, After the death of William king of England, the said Lanfranc restored again to Christ's church in Canterbury all the lands which from ancient memory unto these latter days have been taken away from the right of the said church. The names of which lands be these : in Kent, Reculver, Sandwich, Richborow, Wootton, the abbey of Lyming, with the lands and customs unto the same monastery belonging, Saltwood, &c. (Stoke and Denentum, because they belonged of old time to the church of St. Andrew, them he restored to the same church), in Surrey, Mortlake; the abbey of St. Mary in London, with the lands and houses which Livingus, priest, and his wife, had in London. All these Lanfranc restored again for the health of his own soul, freely, and without money, &c.¹

A Note, for the Legitimation of Priests' Children.

A deacon
taketh a
wife, hath
issue and
dieth :
the issue
adjudged
not a bas-
tard.

Frowick's
opinion
that the
issue of a
priest
shall in-
herit.

Note, that in the nineteenth year of this king, in an assize at Warwick, before sir Guy Fairfax, and sir John Vavasour, it was found, by verdict, that the father of the tenant had taken the order of deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue ; the tenant died, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter, as next heir collateral to the father of the tenant ; Upon whom he did re-enter, &c. ; and, for difficulty, the justices did adjourn the assize. And it was debated in the exchequer chamber : ' If the tenant shall be a bastard,' &c. And here, by advice, it was adjudged that he shall not be a bastard, &c. Frowick, chief justice, said to me, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh, in the Common Place, that he was of counsel in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before ; which Vavasour did grant. And Frowick said, that if a priest marry a wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherit ; for that the espousals be not void, but voidable. ' Vavasour : If a man take a nun to wife, this espousal is void.'²

(1) Ex Archivis Eccl. Cant.

(2) Ex Termino Michael. anno 21, Hen. VII. fol. 39, p. 2.

Note that in the latter impression of Henry the Seventh's "Years of the Law," this word "priest," in this case aforesaid, in some books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the reader to judge.¹

Henry VIII

A. D. 1539.

Concerning these six articles passed in this act aforesaid, in the 31st year of this king Henry VIII., sufficiently hitherto hath been declared; first, what these articles were: secondly, by whom, and from whom they chiefly proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true doctrine, christian religion, and the word of God, to nature also itself, all reason and honesty, and finally to the ancient laws, customs, and examples of our fore-elders during the days of a thousand years after Christ, they were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what unreasonable and extreme penalty was set upon the same, that a man may deem these laws to be written not with the ink of Stephen Gardiner, but with the blood of a dragon, or rather the claws of the devil; the breach whereof was made no less than treason and felony, and no less punishment assigned thereto than death.

The penalty of the six articles declared.

Draconis leges sanguine scripta.

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

Potestas tenebrarum.

AN ACT AGAINST FORNICATION OF PRIESTS.

Besides these six articles in this aforesaid act concluded, there was also another constitution annexed withal, not without the advice (as may seem) of the lord Cromwell, which was this: that priests and

An act against fornication of married priests.

(1) Another Note, for Legitimation of Priests' Children.

Ad curiam generalem D. Philippi et D. Mariæ Dei gratia, &c. xvi. die Julii, anno reg. dict. regis et reginæ, primo et tertio irrotulatur sic. Præsentatum est per totum homagium quod Simon Heynes^a clericus diu ante istam curiam, vid. per duos annos jam elapsos, fuit seiscitus secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii in Dominico suo ut de feodo, de et in 2. arabili terre parellis de xxxv. aeris et dimid. terræ, nuper in tenura Johannis Heynes. Ac de et in uno tenemento vocato Bernardes, nuper in tenura Johannis Cotton. Ac de et in lvii. aeris et ii. rodīs terræ et pasturæ, sive plus sive minus, prout jacent in campis de Myldenhal prædicta in diversis peciis, ut patet in curia hic tenta die Jovis proximo post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ, an. regni regis Henrici viii. xxxviii. Nec non de et in xii. aeris terræ nativæ jacentibus in Towne-field et Twamelfield in diversis peciis. Ac de et in quatuor aeris et dimidio terre jacent. in Myldenhal præd. Ac de et in quinque rodīs terræ jacent. in Halywelfield. Quapropter præmissa idem Simon nuper habuit ex sursum redditione Willielmi Heynes, prout patet in curia hic tenta die Martis proximo post dominicam in Albis an. reg. regis Ed. vi. primo. Et sic seiscitus idem Simon de omnibus supradict. præmissis, inde obiit solus seiscitus. Et quod Joseph Heynes est filius et hæres ejus propinquior, et modo ætatis quinque annorum et amplius.^b Qui quidem Joseph præsens hic in curia in propria persona sua petit se admitti ad omnia supradict. præmissa tanquam ad jus et hæred. suam. Et D. rex. et de regina ex gratia sua speciali, per Clementem Heigham militem Seneschallum suum, concesserunt ei inde seisinam tenend. sibi, hæred. et assignat. ejus, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. regis et D. reginæ secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii, per servitiam et redditus inde debita, &c. Salvo jure, &c. Et dat. Dom. regi et D. reginæ v. li. de fine pro ingressu suo habendo, et fidelitas inde respectuatur quousque, &c. Et ulterius consideratum est per curiam quod dict. Joseph est infra ætatem ut præfertur. Ideo determinatum est et concessum est per consensum curiæ quod Johanna Heynes nuper uxor præd. Simonis, ac mater præd. Joseph habeat custodiam ejusdem Joseph, quousque idem Joseph pervenerit ad suam legitimam ætatem.

(a) Note that this Simon Heynes, a doctor and priest, is not called otherwise here in form of law 'clericus,' as in the evidences before other priests are called.

(b) Note that the opinion of Frowick hath always been taken to be law, as may appear by this president that passed before sir Clement Heigham being learned in the law, and chief baron of the exchequer in the time of the late queen Mary.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1540.

ministers of the church, seeing now they would needs themselves be bound from all matrimony, should therefore, by law, be likewise bound to such honesty and continency of life, that carnally they should use and accustom no manner of woman, married or single, by way of advoutry, or fornication; the breach whereof for the first time, was to forfeit goods, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made felony, as the others were.

See Appendix.

In this constitution, if the lord Cromwell, and other good men of the parliament, might have had their will, there is no doubt but the first crime of these concubinary priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalty as the other six articles had, and should have been punished with death. But Stephen Gardiner, with his fellow bishops, who then ruled all the roast, so basted this extraordinary article with their accustomed shifts, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their not 'castè,' nor 'cautè,' at first time it was but forfeit of goods. Also, for the second conviction or attainder they so provided that, the next year following, that punishment and pain of death by act of parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? "Because," saith the statute,¹ "that punishment by pain of death is very sore, and much extreme; therefore it pleaseth the king, with the assent of the lords, that that clause above written, concerning felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainder of any priest or woman for any such offences aforesaid, shall be from henceforth void, and of none effect," &c. So that by this statute it was provided, for all such votaries as lived in whoredom and adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all his spiritual promotions, except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the king; for the third conviction, to sustain continual imprisonment.

The act qualified, and after what manner.

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

The manifest impiety of the pope's doctrine disclosed.

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

Dilemma against votaries that will not marry.

The second to be noted is, how these painted hypocrites do bewray their false dissembled dealings unawares, with whom a man might thus reason. Tell us, you priests and votaries! who so precisely flee the state of matrimony, intend you to live chaste, and are you able so to do without wives? Do you keep yourselves chaste and

honest without them, and without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those vows, which you cannot perform? or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking God's commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able, and so do intend, to continue an honest and a continent conversation without wives, then shall I ask of you according as Dr. Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge: "Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your laws beforehand, for a mischief to come, which you may avoid if you list? unless either ye listed not to stand, though you might; or else saw your own infirmity, that you could not, though ye would: and therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, you provide wisely for yourselves beforehand, that, where others shall suffer pains of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable adultery, and yet, by the law, have your lives pardoned."

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1540.

Turner hunting the Romish fox

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

The papists bewray their hypoerisy.

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that some keep their vow, though some viciously run to other men's wives and daughters: then herein again I ask you, seeing these vicious whore-hunters and adulterous persons among you do live viciously (as you cannot deny), and may do otherwise, if they list, as you confess: what punishment then are they worthy to have, who may live continent, and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which being so, then what iniquity is this in you, or, rather, impiety inexcusable against God and man, to procure a moderation of laws for such, and to show such compassion and clemency to these so heinous adulterers, whore-hunters, and beastly fornicators, that, if they adulterate other men's wives ever so oft, yet there is no death for them; and to show no compassion at all, nor to find out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill them as felons and heretics, who honestly do marry in the fear of God, or once say, that a priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you children of iniquity? What reason is in your doing, or what truth in your doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confusion, unless by time ye convert and repent? And thus, being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

The impiety of the papists inexcusable.

It was declared before, that what time these six articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being archbishop of

Read before. p. 261.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

Cranmer's reasons and allegations against the six articles written to the king.

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

Now, after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our story again, to declare those things which, after the setting out of these articles, ensued, *which¹ otherwise for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called the whip with six strings, set forth after the death of queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but specially of the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by king Henry. But therein, as in many other things, the crafty policy of Winchester appeared, who if he had not watched his time, and taken the king coming out where it was, it is thought he had not got the matter so easily to be subscribed.* We come now to the time and story of the lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of the famous and worthy Councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.

A. D.
1525
to
1540.

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

See Appendix.

First, as touching his birth, he was born at Putney or thereabouts, being a smith's son, whose mother married afterwards to a shearman.² In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers others before him, we may see and learn, that the excellency of noble virtues and heroical prowesses which advance to fame and honour, stand not only upon birth and blood, as privileges only entailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poor abject many times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with peers and princes.³

Commen-
dation of
Crom-
well.

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only, by way of story, it may suffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and so

(1) See Edition, 1563, p. 589, misprinted 593.—ED.

(2) 'Shearman,' Edit. 1570.—ED.

(3) Psalm cxiii. 7, 8.

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

Henry VIII.

A.D.
1525
to
1540.

Cromwell learned the New Testament in Latin without book.

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

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

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

The pope's merchandise dear ware.

His leases of pardons.

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

Cromwell goeth to Rome.

Henry VIII.

what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion.

A.D.
1525
to
1540.

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

Presents to the pope. A suitor for Boston pardons.

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

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

Boston pardons obtained at Rome.

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

THE EFFECT AND CONTENTS OF THE BOSTON PARDONS.

Their effect and contents.

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

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

Pardon for visiting Our Lady's chapel in Boston.

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

Price of Boston pardons.

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

And these premises, being before granted by pope Innocent and pope Julius II., this pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other let, could not resort personally to the said chapel, notwithstanding, he should be

dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other vows, irregularities, censures canonical whatsoever; only the vow of going the stations of Rome, and going to St. James of Compostella excepted, &c.

Henry VIII.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, 'a pœna et culpa,' once in their life, or in the hour of death.

A. D.
1525
to
1540.

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

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

The chapel of 'Scala Cœli' about Rome.

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

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

The pope selleth eggs, butter, and cheese.

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

Pardon for souls in purgatory.

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

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations, were given and granted by pope Nicholas V., pope Pius II., pope Sixtus IV., and pope Julius II., of which pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord 1510; which pardon again afterwards, through the request of king Henry, A.D. 1526, was confirmed by pope Clement VII. And thus much concerning the pardons of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell, of pope Julius II.²

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

Cromwell was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon besieging Rome.

See Appendix.

(1) Good stuff, 1 trow.

(2) Ex literis papæ Clementis VII. ad Guliel. Warramum, archiep.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1525

1540.

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

Cromwell, More, and Gardiner, companions in the cardinal's house. A comparison between them.

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

Small monasteries suppressed by the cardinal.

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

See Appendix.

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

Sir Christopher Hales, master of the rolls, a helper of Cromwell to the king.

There was at the same time one sir Christopher Hales, knight, master of the rolls, who, notwithstanding, was then a mighty papist; yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly been complained of and defamed, by certain of authority about the king, for his rude manner and homely dealing, in defacing the monks' houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king, hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers-by, who, with reviling words, ceased not to increase and inflame the

king's hatred against him: what their names were it shall not need here to recite. Among others, there present at the same hearing, was the lord Russell, earl of Bedford, whose life Cromwell before had preserved at Bologna, through politic conveyance, at what time the said earl, coming secretly in the king's affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of Cromwell escaped.

This lord Russell therefore, not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite what he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how, by his singular device and policy, he had done for him at Bologna, being there in the king's affairs in extreme peril. And forasmuch as now his majesty had to do with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, who could say or do more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell: and partly gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

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

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

The king, following the vein of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first, admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the convocation-house, among the bishops. Cromwell, coming with the king's signet boldly into the clergy-house, and there placing himself among the bishops (William Warham being then archbishop), began to make his oration, declaring unto them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws, necessarily

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1530
to
1540.

Lord Russell earl of Bedford, through the policy of Cromwell escaped at Bologna. Commendeth Cromwell to the king.

Cromwell brought to talk with the king

His words to the king concerning the præmunire

Sent by the king to the convocation.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1530
to
1540.

The clergy condemned in the præmunire.

See Appendix.

Cromwell made knight and master of the king's jewel-house.

Also master of the rolls, knight of the garter, and earl of Essex.

His acts and doings described.

provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, falling in the law of 'præmunire,' in that not only they had consented to the power legative of the cardinal; but also, in that they had all sworn to the pope,¹ contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The bishops, hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had showed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof so fell out, that to be quit of that præmunire by act of parliament, it cost them to the king, for both the provinces, Canterbury and York, no less than one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds; which was about the year of our Lord 1531, whereof before you may read more at large.

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

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

Now somewhat would be said, likewise, of the noble acts, the memorable examples, and the worthy virtues, not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authority and place, to work more abundantly in the commonwealth: among which his worthy acts and other manifold virtues, in this one chiefly, above all others, riseth his commendation, for his singular zeal and laborious travail bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of Antichrist—the abbeyes, I mean, and religious houses of friars and monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by means of the said lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till, at length, all the abbeyes in England, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. This act and enterprise of his, as it may give a precedent of singular zeal to all realms christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow:

(1) For the copy of the bishops' oath to the pope, see page 61 of this volume.—ED.

so, to this realm of England, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of others who can infer any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out these abbeyes and cells of strange religion, what other men see I know not; for my part, I never yet saw in this realm any such Cromwell since Cromwell's time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the money and bribes of abbots, than he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

*¹ Of how great laud and praise this man was worthy, and what courage and stoutness was in him, it may hereby evidently appear unto all men, that he alone, through the singular dexterity of his wit and counsel, brought to pass that, which even unto this day no prince or king, throughout all Europe, dare or can bring to pass. For whereas Brytanie alone, of all other nations, is and hath been, of their own proper nature, most superstitious; this Cromwell, being born of a common or base stock, through a divine method or policy of wit and reason received, suffered, deluded, brake off, and repressed, all the policies, trains, malice, and hatred of friars, monks, religious men, and priests, of which sort there was a great rabble in England. Their houses he subverted throughout all the realm. Afterwarde he brought the bishops and archbishops, and the bishop of Winchester himself, although he was the king's chief counsellor, to an order; frustrating and preventing all his enterprises and complaints by a marvellous providence, but, specially, in those things which did tend to the ruin and decay of good men and such as favoured the gospel; unto whom Cromwell was always as a shield against the pestiferous enterprises of Winchester.

Briefly, there was continual emulation between them two, and mortal dissension, such as Flaccus² writeth of, happened between the wolves and the lambs: for both of them being greatly in the king's favour, the one being much more feared, the other was much better beloved. Either of them excelling in dexterity of wit, howbeit the virtues in the one far exceeded the other. For whereas the bishop of Winchester seemed such a man, to be born for no other purpose but only for the destruction of the good, this man, contrariwise, the divine providence had appointed as a remedy to help and preserve many, and to withstand the fury of the bishops; even like as we do see the same ground which bringeth forth most pestiferous poison, the same again also doth bring forth most wholesome and healthful remedies.

It were too long and tedious a declaration here to declare, how many good men, through this man's help and defence, have been relieved and delivered out of danger; of whom a great number after his fall, being (as it were) deprived of their patron, did shortly after perish: there are many of them yet alive at this present day, which are witnesses of these things which we report, and greater things also than these. In this manner the Omnipotent God hath always accustomed, in all commonwealths, to moderate adversity with

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1536
to
1540.A profit-
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strument
in sup-
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abbeyes.

(1) For the next paragraphs extending to page 373, and distinguished with asterisks, see Edition 1563, pages 589—593.—Ed.

(2) Horace, Epod. iv. 1.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536
to
1540.

prosperity, and things hurtful with other more wholesome and healthful; whereby it happeneth, that as oftentimes good and fortunate planets being joined with the hurtful and noisome, they do either utterly dissipate their mad furies, or at the least somewhat keep them back; whereby, if they be not utterly prohibited, yet they do less hurt than otherwise they would. Which thing, if it were to be conferred with the histories of our old fathers, Jehu, the sharp punisher of superstitious idolatry in the sacred commonwealth, was not much unlike this man: likewise, in profane commonwealths, Camillus, and Cicero, who, through his singular prudence joined with eloquence, withstood and put off the wicked enterprises of Catiline. Albeit that the terror conceived upon the conspiracy of Catiline was not so noisome unto the commonwealth of Rome, as the bloody and insatiable cruelty and slaughter of these our bishoppes conspiracies do every where vex and trouble the christian commonwealth; for, albeit that Catiline, through his wicked enterprise, went about the death of all good men and the destruction of the commonwealth, yet did he rather put it in fear, than wound the commonwealth; but all the life and doings of these men, is nothing else but a conspiracy, according to the prophecy of Esaic; that they do seem twice worse than any Catiline: for whatsoever he went about by any privy pretence of his mind, that these men do perform openly: neither was it to be doubted but that he, albeit he were never so cruel or fierce of nature, yet if he had had the upper hand, he would once have made an end of murdering and killing. But these men, although they daily, in every place, kill Christ in his holy members, yet they never appoint or ordain any end or measure of their slaughter. The which kind of men (albeit there be nothing in a manner by nature more cruel), besides their natural cruelty, they are endued with crafts and subtlety, which is far worse, not being so hurtful by the one, as detestable for the other: for an open enemy, be he never so mighty or fierce, yet if he cannot be vanquished, he may be taken heed of. And it happeneth oftentimes that violence, which is foreseen, may easily, or with like violence, be repulsed; or at the least the wound that is received by another man's violence, is less grievous than that which cometh by fraud or deceit. But these men do not kill with armour and weapon, but, going a privier way to work, yet do the same: being so much the more to be blamed, forsomuch as they themselves, being the authors of the murder, do so put off the matter from themselves to other, as though they were free from all suspicion of cruelty. But here a man may the more perceive the inveterate subtleties of the old serpent, besides that, the more to provoke cruelty, there are added most plausible and honest titles, whereby the better all mercy and pity might be excluded; and also they, even in their most tyranny, when they have committed or done any thing most cruelly or horrible, yet they might deserve praise of the common people, as for a most holy work, done '*ex officio*,' as they call it. So, under the name of Christ, they deeply persecute Christ, and, under the pretence and cloak of peace, they kill more than any murderers. And, whiles that they do take upon them the name and title of the church, they do violently invade the church of Christ.

In foreign wars it happeneth oftentimes that truces are taken; and

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

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

But they cry out and say, "They are heretics!" "they are worthy to die!" Let them then bring forth one article out of the Apostles' Creed which these heretics do deny. "But, indeed, they deny the blessed body of Christ to be in the sacrament naturally." But again, they confess him to be in heaven, and there do reverence and worship him. Why have the apostles, then, left out that article of their Creed, if it be so necessary as they teach it to be! Albeit, they do not by and by take away Christ out of the sacrament, which confess the bread to be in the sacrament. And again, it is no contumely unto Christ, if a man do rather judge him to be worshipped in the heaven, than in the sacrament: for he which denieth the emperor to be at Brussels, doth not derogate any thing from the emperor's authority, as I think, but only contendeth upon the place. What grievous cause or quarrel is this, then, that should move and stir up the peaceable minds of this simple dove to such rage and fury, that, notwithstanding the great slaughter of Christians which hath been already made, they can yet find no beginning to show favour, nor make any end of their murder!

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1536
to
1540.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536
to
1540.

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

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

But now, to return to our christian Camillus, being such a one as

if the courts of princes had but a few such counsellors, the christian commonwealths would, at this day, be in a far better estate. This Cromwell (as I have said) was but of a base stock, but of such virtue as, not without sorrow, we may wish for, even in the most noble families now-a-days. He was first brought up in the cardinal's court, whereas he did bear several offices, wherein he showed such tokens and likelihood of excellent wit and fidelity, that, in short space, he seemed more meet for the king, than for the Cardinal.*

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

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

In the former part of this history,¹ declaration was made, first by whom, and at what time, these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of St. Benedict, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded: as by Augustine the monk, Furseus, Maidulph, Aldune, Ceadda, king Ulfer, Oswy, Elfrida king Oswy's daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botolph, Edeldrida, king Oswald, Edgar, Erkenwald bishop of London, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, Oskitell archbishop of York, Oswald bishop of Worcester, Leswine bishop of Dorchester, Dunstan, and divers others.

The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, "pro remissione et redemptione peccatorum; pro remedio et liberatione animæ; pro amore cœlestis patriæ; in elemosynam animæ; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnorum; pro salute et requie animarum patrum et matrum, fratrum, et sororum nostrarum, parentum, et omnium benefactorum; in honorem gloriosæ virginis," &c.; as may appear in ancient histories, in old charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So king Athelstan, for killing his brother Edwin, builded two

(1) See the close of the Second Book, vol. i. and vol. ii. pp. 52-54, 64.—ED.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536 to 1540.

The defence of the lord Cromwell for overthrowing the abbeyes.

The abominable life in monasteries, by their own confession. See Appendix.

Beginning of religious houses in the time of the Saxons.

The end and cause of their building.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536
to
1540.

Damnable doctrine and institution of religious sects.

God's continual plague against monasteries.

Abbeys burned and plagued with fire.

The doctrine of the monks worse than their lives.

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

First, the monastery of Canterbury, called the house of St. Gregory, was burned A.D. 1145, and afterwards again burned A.D. 1174.¹

The abbey of Crowland was also twice burnt.²

The abbey of Peterborough was twice set on fire, A.D. 1070.³

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

The abbey of Norwich burned.

The abbey of St. Edmund's Bury burned and destroyed.⁴

The abbey of Worcester.

The abbey of Gloucester was also burned.

The abbey of Chichester burned.

The abbey of Glastonbury burned.

The abbey of St. Mary in Southwark burned.

The church of the abbey of Beverley burned.

The steeple of the abbey of Evesham burned.⁵

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

Furthermore, the more these abbeys multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the name of monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet, notwithstanding, the monks of those days were not like the monks of our time, nor their houses then like to our abbeys now. So we read of the monks of Bangor before the coming of Augustine: but those monks got their living with toil and labour of their hands, and had no other lands or lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen, according as Jerome describeth the monks of his time, saying,⁶ "A monk's office is not to preach, but to mourn:" and again he saith,⁷ "The state

(1) Ex Hist. Gervasil.

(2) Ex Hist. Ingulph.

(3) Ex Chron. Peterb. [Also in the year 1116.—Ed.]

(4) Ex Chron. S. Edmund.

(5) Ex Walter. Wikes. Hoveden. Gualter. Coventr. Fabian. Malmesb.

(6) 'Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.' [Causa] xvi. quæst. [l. § 4.] 'Monachus.'

(7) 'Alia causa est monachi, alia clerici; Clerici oves pascunt; Ego pascor,' &c. [Causa] xvi. quæst. [l. § 6.]

of a monk is one thing, and the state of a priest is another ;” “ Priests feed the flock of Christ ;” “ I am fed,” &c.

Henry VIII.

Also in the story of Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, thus I find :¹ “ Being installed in the abbey of Crowland, A.D. 1076, I found there to the number of sixty-two monks : of which monks, four of them were lay-brethren, besides the monks of other monasteries who were also professed to our chapter,” &c.

A. D.
1536
to
1540.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, where it is provided : “ Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant,” &c. : and Leo, epist. 63. “ Vetat monachos et laicos, etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi.” Whereof read more before.²

Monks forbidden to intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters.

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

Monks diverse from other men in trade of life and apparel.

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

Monks, of laymen, made clergymen.

Pope John wrote to king Edgar, that none should be made bishops but monks.

So was also king Henry II. commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were removed out, and regular canons intruded. The same did bishop Oswald with the church of Worcester ; likewise in their sees did Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, Oskitell archbishop of York, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester

Secular priests put out, and monks put in.

(1) ‘In Croylandiam primum installatus, A.D. 1076, inveni tunc in isto monasterio monachos numero 62, quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum monasteriorum monachos nostri capituli confessores,’ &c. Ex Chron. Ingulphi, Abbat. Croylandensis. [Itinerarium Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam. Franc. 1601 p. 905.—ED.] (2) See vol ii. p. 55, and Appendix.—E.U.

Henry
III.

A. D.
1536
to
1540.

(who in stories is reported to be 'multorum fundator monasteriorum'), Leofwine also, bishop of Dorchester; with other bishops more, about the time and reign of king Edgar. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury before Dunstan, after his election, A. D. 941, refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the habit of a monk in the abbey of Fleury in France, "because," as the story telleth (if it be true),¹ "all the archbishops of Canterbury before him had been monks," &c. In like manner Baldwin also, A. D. 1184, after he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the Cistercian habit in Ford Abbey:² and so Reginald, his next successor after him, also took the habit of a monkish order, &c.

Monks
laymen,
then re-
gulars
and vo-
taries; at
length
made
church-
men.

Differ-
ence
between
monks
and
priests.

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

The
coming in
of the
friars.

All this while the friars were not yet come: neither the discipline of St. Dominic, nor the testament of St. Francis, nor the order of the Augustine brothers, nor of the Carmelites, was yet heard of; who, last of all, came in with their pageants, and played their part likewise, A. D. 1240, being much more full of hypocrisy, blindness, idolatry, and superstition, than were the monks. So that, what with monks on the one side, and with the friars on the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of St. Benedict, by the canons of the pope, by the doctrine of St. Dominic, and by the testament of St. Francis, Christ's testament was trodden under foot, the rule of God's word neglected, true christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christ's servants persecuted, and the people's souls uncomforted; yea, and the true church of Christ almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the root the houses of them, that, otherwise, would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

(1) 'Nullus ad id tempus nisi monachali schemate indutus archiepiscopus fuisse,' &c. Ex Guibel. Malmesh. in Vita Odonis.—Ex Nubrigens. lib. iv. cap. 33.

(2) Foote erroneously says 'of Merton Abbey.' See the Appendix.—Ed

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwell's doings, in suppressing these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider with himself, first, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men, which he shall find rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatory to Christ's glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well ad vise the horrible and execrable lives of these cloisterers, or at least search out the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in king Henry VIII.'s days, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of Rome,¹ "whose filthy stench," saith he, "did breathe up a most pestiferous fume, even unto the clouds of heaven," &c.

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

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

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1536
to
1540The life
of monks
and friars
considered.Cromwell
defended
in sup-
pressing
abbeyes.Dissipation
of
abbey
lands in
England
expedi-
ent.

(1) 'Cnjus factor usque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat.' Matt. Par.

Henry VIII.

A.D.

1536

to

1540.

The utter ruin of monasteries was God's work.

although they may seem, percase, to some, to be eruelly spoken by him; yet, contrariwise, do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without God's special providence and secret guiding. Or else we might, peradventure, have had such swarms of friars and monks possessed in their nests again before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells, afterwards, scarcely should have sufficed to have unhoused them. Wherefore, if the plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the roots,¹ let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries go.

* Furthermore,² as touching the godly use of the poor, schools, and stipends of preachers (for unto these three, diligent respect is to be had in every commonwealth), there are other means provided, which, as they are alike honest, so are they also much more sure, so that the ancient godliness do not slack in the nobility. And if the nobility, in times past, have been so liberal in bestowing so great costs and charges upon things wherein there is no godliness, how uncomely would it be, for the true gospellers to be more niggardly in preferring true godliness and the study of the gospel.*

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

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

It happened that after the abolishing of the pope, certain tumults began to rise about religion; whereupon it seemed good unto king Henry to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, who should soberly and modestly treat and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure, all the learned men, but especially the bishops, assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, and, by chance, meeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the Convocation-house, where all the bishops were assembled together.³ This was in the year 1536. The bishops and prelates

Cromwell the fort and defence of the church.

An assembly of learned men appointed by the king.

Cromwell with Alesius resort to the assembly.

(1) Matt. xv. 13.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 593.—Ed.

See Appendix.

(3) The whole of this account of what passed in the Convocation-house, is taken by Foxe verbatim, with the exception of the necessary change of pronouns, from a statement made by Alexander Alesius himself in a rare tract, an imperfect copy of which is in the library of St. Paul's cathedral. The title of the work (which is wanting in the copy alluded to) runs thus: 'Of the auctoritie of the Word of God agaynst the Bisshop of London, wherein are conteyned certain disputacions had in the Parlemtent Howse betwene the Bisshops, about the number of the Sacraments, and other things, very necessary to be known: made by Alexander Alane, a Scot, and sent to the Duke of Saxon.' 16mo. From the same work it appears that the author had been 'specially called into England (from Antwerp) by the right noble Lord Cromwel and the Archbisshop of Catterbery,' by whom he had not only been 'lovingly received,' but also by the King himself. He was subsequently sent to Cambridge, 'to reade a lecture of the scripture there,' but was stopped by the opposite party, on an alleged infringement of the Statutes. On this, for a while, he abandoned theology for physic, studying under 'Doctor Nicolas' of London. The meeting of Alesius with Cromwell, on this occasion, appears to have been entirely accidental. For a further account of Alesius, whose name is sometimes translated Hales, or Ales, and sometimes Alan: see M'Kenzie's Scots Writers, f.l. vol. ii. p. 183; also Herbert's Account of Printing, vol. iii. pp. 1547 and 1553.—Ed.

attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar-general, and he again saluted, every one in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and, after him, every bishop in his order, and doctors. First, over against him, sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell, in the name of the king (whose most dear and secret counsellor at that present he was, and lord privy seal, and vicar-general of the realm), spake these words in manner following:

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536
to
1540.

Cromwell's Oration to the Bishops assembled in the Convocation House.

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

The
king's
request
to the
bishops.

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

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

Stokesley
defend-
eth the
seven
sacra-
ments.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1536
to
1540.

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

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Oration to the Bishops.

Sophistication of words to be avoided.

Questions of religion to be discussed.

False worshiping. See Appendix.

Ceremonies.

All be not sacraments which have the name.

It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them that should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which please God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no word of God to confirm them; whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect christian man, or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremonies of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins), ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or no?

These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our christian religion: wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, 'Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.'¹ And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and admonisheth him especially, that he should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the faith: and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, 'Doing this thou shalt preserve both thyself, and also them which hear thee.'² Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in the holy Scripture; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose, and other authors, call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other things, sacraments; which I am sure you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments.

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

Alesius reasoneth with the bishop.

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

(1) Matt. v. 9.

(2) 1 Tim. iv. 16.

The Oration of Alexander Alesius to the Bishops.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1536.

Right honourable and noble lord, and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church! although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet, trusting in the aid of Christ, who promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be), or whether ye mean every ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will not stick to grant you that there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the first signification, where he saith, 'that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith.'¹ This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all sacraments generally: for the Jews had but one sacrament only, as all the scholastical writers do grant. And he describeth baptism after the same manner, in the Ephesians, where he saith, that Christ doth sanctify the church;² that is to say, all that be baptized, through the bath of water, in the word of life. For here, also, he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ, also, requireth faith where he saith, 'Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.'

The name a sacrament, how far it extendeth.

What is a sacrament.

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

God's word and promise going with a ceremony, maketh a sacrament. No man hath the power.

St. Augustine³ saith, that there be but two such sacraments; his words be these, 'First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: That our Lord Jesus Christ (as he himself saith in the gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easy yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of his new people with sacraments, very few in number, very easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptism, and the supper of the Lord, and such others, if there be any more commanded in the holy Scripture; those except, which were burdens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardness of their hearts,' &c. And again, in the third book of The Learning of a Christian Man, he saith: 'The Scripture hath taught us but few signs, as be the sacrament of baptism, and the solemn celebration and remembrance of the body and blood of the Lord,' &c.

Christ's church charged but with few and easy sacraments.

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

Stokesley replieth against Alesius.

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

But the bishop of Hereford (who was then lately returned out of

(1) Rom. iv. 11.

(2) Ephes. v. 26.

(3) August. ad Januarium, Epis. 118.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1536
to
1540.

Doctors
not to be
stuck to in mat-
ters of
faith.

Germany, where he had been ambassador for the king to the protestants), being moved with the bishop of London's frowardness, turning himself first to Alexander Alesius, willed him not to contend with the bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, forasmuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they steadfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. "Wherefore, if this disputation shall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scripture." This he spake unto Alesius. Then, turning himself unto the bishops, he likewise admonished them, with a grave and sharp oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

The Oration of Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, unto the Bishops.

The
gospel
shining
in all
places.
The
faithful
diligence
of the
Germans
in trans-
lating the
Bible.

Think ye not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain ever so much. The lay people do now know the holy Scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that have been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, that before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falsehood.¹

It is a
vain hope
to trust
upon the
pope's au-
thority.

Truth the
daughter
of time.

Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority: for the truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras: 'A king is strong; wine is stronger; yet women be more strong: but truth excelleth all.'²

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

The Argument in Form.

Ba- Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of God's good will.
ro- Without the Word there is no certainty of God's good will.
co. Ergo, Without the Word there be no sacraments.

(1) Truth will come out at last.

(2) 1 Esdras iii.

The first part of this reason is St. Paul's own saying, in the fourth to the Romans, where he saith, that circumcision 'is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith :'¹ *Ergo*, it requireth faith to certify man's heart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as St. Paul witnesseth, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God :'² for the mind must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul, by that saying, confuteth this opinion, that the sacraments should make men righteous and just before God for the very outward work, without faith of them that receive them.

And after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians:³ that Christ doth sanctify his church, through the bath of water, in the word of life. And forasmuch as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifestly teach that the word of God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation, which we receive through faith in the word and promise. St. Paul also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly add the words of Christ: 'He took bread,' saith he, 'and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body.' Item, 'Do ye this in my remembrance.' Besides this, he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and none but he, had power to institute a sacrament; and that neither have the apostles, nor hath the church, any authority to alter, or to add, any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith, 'For I received of the Lord, that which I delivered unto you,'⁴ &c. To what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministering the sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the apostles did alter the form of baptism.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1536
to
1540.

Sacraments only to be gathered out of the word of God.

See Appendix.

Christ's institution ought not to be altered.

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

The Answer of the Bishop of London against Alesius.

Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are ye far deceived if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every souter and cobbler do read in their mother tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the christian faith, but that only that is written in the Bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans: for St. John saith,⁵ that Jesus 'did many things which be not written;' and St. Paul commandeth the Thessalonians⁶ to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders.⁷ Finally, we have received many things of the doctors and councils by times, which, although they be not written in the Bible, yet forasmuch as the old doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture; and, finally, that they may worthily be called the word of God unwritten.

Unwritten verities and traditions of fathers in equal force with God's written word!

The unwritten word of God.

Now when the right noble lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop, to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the lord Cromwell bade him be content, for the time began to

Stokesley laughed to scorn.

(1) Rom. iv. 11.
(5) John xxi. 25.(2) Rom. x. 17.
(6) 2 Thess. ii. 15.(3) Ephes. v. 26.
(7) Acts xvi. 4.

(4) 1 Cor. xi. 23. 21.

Henry VIII. go away, and it was twelve o'clock; and thus he made an end with his protestation:

A. D.
1536
to
1540.

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

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

Public
care of
Cromwell
for the
common-
wealth

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

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

A STORY OF ONE FREBARN'S WIFE LONGING FOR A PIECE OF MEAT IN LENT.¹

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

See Appendix.

In the year of our Lord 1539, sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn, dwelling in Paternoster-row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch-lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, showed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too, which she went withal, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Frebarn her husband, spake to a butter-wife whom he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named goodwife Fisher, to help him to a pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig: unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised, that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Dr. Cox's, at that time being dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy-lane, who, at the time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, showed this pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof.² And after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests (being landlord unto Frebarn aforesaid, called Master Garter, and by his office, king at arms), sent his man unto the said Frebarn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house: unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, It was told his master, that somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent: unto whom Frebarn made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her, he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again.

A crafty part of a false Judas.

And, shortly after, his landlord sent for him. But before that he had sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of London's sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarn was come, he demanded of him if he had not a pig in his house; which he denied not. Then commanded Master Garter the said sumner called Holland, to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him, and the pig, unto Dr. Stokesley his master, being then bishop of London: and so he did. Then the bishop, being in his chamber with divers other of the clergy, called this Frebarn before him, and had him in examination for this pig; laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house, that Lent, powdered beef, and calves' heads: Unto whom Frebarn answered, "My lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house, hath done as your lordship saith, let me suffer death there-for." "You speak," said he, "against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, or holy water, nor

Frebarn examined before the bishop.

(1) The persecutors were Fisher's wife of Hornsey; Dr. Cox; Bishop Stokesley; Holland his sumner; Master Garter, king of arms.

(2) 'Let no man judge you in meat and drink, or in respect of an holy day,' &c. Colos. ii. 16.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.Pharisai-
cal judg-
ment.Frebarn
brought
to the
Compter.Brought
before the
mayor.

yet go on procession on Palm Sunday; thou art no christian man." "My lord," said Frebarn, "I trust I am a true christian man, and have done nothing either against God's law, or my prince's."

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

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

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

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

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

*See
Appendix.*Barnes
and Bar-
low sue
to Crom-
well for
Frebarn.

It happened that the same time came in Dr. Barnes and Master Barlow, who, understanding the matter by Loblely's wife, went up to the lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof; who, upon their request, sent for the mayor of the city of London: but what was said unto the lord mayor is unknown, saving that in the afternoon of the same day the wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the lord mayor, sung to get

her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but only her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the mayor answered, "What come ye to me? You are taken up by the king's council. I supposed, that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillory in Cheapside on Monday next, with the one half of the pig on his one shoulder, and the other half on the other." Also the mayor said unto her, that he could not deliver him, without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen: wherefore he bade her, the next day following, which was the Sabbath-day, to resort unto Paul's, to St. Dunstan's chapel, and when he had spoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could she not get at that time; wherefore she went unto Master Wilkinson, then being sheriff of London, desiring him to be good unto her, and that she might have her poor husband out of prison.

Unto whom Master Wilkinson answered, "O woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no:" saying, moreover, unto her, that if the lord mayor had sent him to his Compter, as he sent him to his brother's, he should not have tarried there an hour: and so commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this woman resorted again to Master Wilkinson's, according as he bade her, who also had bidden divers guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she saw the hot fish come in, she fell down in a swoon, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Paternoster-row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with (but after that she came somewhat again to herself), where she lay sick, and kept her bed the space of fifteen weeks after; being not able to help herself, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

The lord mayor's answer to the poor woman.

See Appendix.

The gentle words of Master Wilkinson, sheriff of London, to the poor woman.

What God ordaineth to be eaten, superstitious burieth.

Freharn delivered out of prison, and discharged from his house by his landlord.

Hard it were, and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them that felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembered the notable deliverance

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Gray, a smith, delivered by Cromwell.

of one Gray, a smith of Bishop-Stortford, who, being accused for denying the sacrament of the altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to London, and there should have been condemned to be burned, but that, by the means of the lord Cromwell, he was sent home again and delivered. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare: how he helped the secretary that then was to Dr. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, which secretary is yet alive, and can bear present record of the same.

HOW THE LORD CROMWELL HELPED CRANMER'S SECRETARY.

Cranmer disputeth three days in parliament against the six articles.

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

Whereupon, when this dinner was finished, the next day after, the archbishop, collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scripture, and doctors together, caused his secretary¹ to write a fair book thereof for the king, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alleged; then the doctors; thirdly, followed the arguments deduced from those authorities. This book was written in his secretary's chamber; where, in a by-chamber, lay the archbishop's almoner. When this book was fair written, and while the secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his master, who was (as it then chanced) ridden to Croydon, returning back to his chamber, he found the door shut, and the key carried away to London by the almoner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the city, by whose occasion it so fell out, that he must needs go to London. The book he could not lay in his chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being straitly charged, in any condition, by the archbishop his master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his father, and to keep the book about him. And so thrusting the book under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where he entered into a wherry that went to London, wherein were four of the guard, who meant to land at Paul's wharf, and to pass by the king's highness, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boats about him, then baiting of bears in the water, over against the bank.

These aforesaid yeomen of the guard, when they came against the

(1) The name of this secretary was Master Ralph Morice, being yet alive.

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

A bear-baiting upon the Thames before the king.

Tall yeomen but ill keepers.

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

Cranmer's book against the six articles lost in the Thames.

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

Cranmer's book delivered to a popish priest.

With that the secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the bearward, he learned that Blage, the grocer in Cheapside, might do much with the bearward, to whom the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the bearward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof; and besides that, rather than he would forego his book after this sort, the

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

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

So, on the next day, as the lord Cromwell went to the court, the secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. "Where is the fellow?" quoth the lord Cromwell. "I suppose," said the secretary, "that he is now in the court, attending to deliver the book unto some of the council." "Well," said the lord Cromwell, "it maketh no matter; go with me thither, and I shall get you your book again."

The bearward waiteth to give the book to the council.

Cromwell getteth the book from him.

When the lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the bearward, with the book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto sir Anthony Brown, or unto the bishop of Winchester, as it was reported. To whom the lord Cromwell said, "Come hither, fellow! what book hast thou there in thy hand?" and with that snatched the book out of his hand, and looking in the book, he said, "I know this hand well enough. This is your hand," said he to the secretary. "But where hadst thou this book?" quoth the lord Cromwell to the bearward. "This gentleman lost it two days ago in the Thames," said the bearward. "Dost thou know whose servant he is?" said the lord Cromwell. "He saith," quoth the bearward, "that he is my lord of Canterbury's servant." "Why then didst thou not deliver to him the book, when he required it?" said the lord Cromwell. "Who made thee so bold, as to detain and withhold any book or writing from a councillor's servant, especially being his secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy bears, than with such writing; and were it not for thy mistress' sake, I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert knaves to meddle with councillors' matters. Had not money been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a councillor's man from a cobbler's man!" And with those words the lord Cromwell went up into the king's chamber of presence, and the archbishop's secretary with him, where he found, in the chamber, the lord of Canterbury. To whom he said, "My lord! I have found here good stuff for you (showing to him the paper book that he had in his hand), ready to bring both you, and this good

The words of Cromwell to archbishop Cranmer.

fellow your man, to the halter; namely, if the knave bearward, now in the hall, might have well compassed it." At these words the archbishop smiled, and said, "He that lost the book is like to have the worst bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the book fair again:" and, at these words, the lord Cromwell cast the book unto the secretary, saying, "I pray thee, Morice! go in hand therewith, by-and-by, with all expedition, for it must serve a turn." "Surely, my lord, it somewhat rejoiceth me," quoth the lord Cromwell, "that the varlet might have had of your man twenty shillings for the book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaken him well up for his over-much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough," quoth he, "there is not a ranker papist within this realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princess." And so, after humble thanks given to the lord Cromwell, the said Morice departed with his book, which, when he again had fair written it, was delivered to the king's majesty by the said lord Cromwell, within four days after.

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1540.

THE LORD CROMWELL, NOT FORGETTING HIS OLD FRIENDS AND
BENEFACTORS.

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

Example
of a grate-
ful debtor.

The like courtesy the said lord Cromwell showed also to a certain Italian, who, in the city of Florence, had showed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear; which story, set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Lucca, by Busdrago, A. D. 1554.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1540.

I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

A Notable Story of the Lord Cromwell, and an Italian.¹

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

Cromwell
asking
his alms
of Fres-
cobald.

See
Appendix.

Cromwell
page to a
soldier.

The gen-
tleness of
Fresco-
bald to
Crom-
well.

It happened that Francis Frescobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poor young man, asking his alms for God's sake. Frescobald, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardness and virtue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity, demanded of what country he was, and where he was born. 'I am, sir,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poor man, and by his occupation a cloth-shearer.² I am strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy, with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Garigliano, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet.' Frescobald, partly considering the present state of this young man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whom he had received, in times past, sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such courtesy entertained his guest, that at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his country, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparel, and sixteen ducats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his country. Cromwell, rendering his hearty thanks, took leave of his host, and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage, and heroic spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a grave councillor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobald (as it many times happeneth to merchants) was, by many misfortunes and great losses, cast back, and become very poor. For, according to conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any others from himself; but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no means obtain: yet, calling further to remembrance that in England, by certain merchants, there was due to him the sum of fifteen thousand ducats,³ he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his trade of merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

The
words of
Cromwell
to the
Italian
mer-
chant.

All things prepared for his journey, he, setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what courtesy long before he had showed to Cromwell, which is the property always of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath showed to others, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of others. Frescobald, thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him, by the way, to meet with this noble man, as he was riding towards the court; whom, as soon as the said lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought with himself that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands, in times past, he had received so gentle entertainment: and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him), in his arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice, scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald the Florentine. 'Yea, sir,' he answered, 'and your humble servant.' 'My servant?' quoth Cromwell. 'No, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not

(1) See 'Le Nouvelle de Bandello,' Lucca, 1554. Part ii. p. 202. Bandello was bishop of Agen, in France, and died A. D. 1561.—Ed.

(2) Note that this cloth-shearer was his father-in-law. [Vide supra, p. 362.—Ed.]

(3) An Italian ducat cometh to as much as our English crown.

now account you otherwise than my great and especial friend; assuring you that I have just reason to be sorry, that you, knowing what I am (or, at least, what I should be), will not let me understand of your arriving in this land; which, known unto me, truly I should have payed part of that debt, which I confess to owe you: but, thanked be God! I have yet time. Well, sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome: but, having now weighty affairs in my prince's cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore, at this time I take my leave, desiring you, with the faithful mind of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner.' And then, remounting his horse, he passed to the court.

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

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

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

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

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb,

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1540.

Old friendship remembered.

Courtesy of Cromwell in entertaining his old host.

Example of a faithful debtor.

The lord Cromwell's usury.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1540.

Kindness
requited
with
kindness.

Modesty
in an
Italian.

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

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

Another
example
of the
lowly
mind of
Crom-
well.

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

Three
things in
Crom-
well:
zeal, wis-
dom, and
autho-
rity.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excellling wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of christian faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the injunetions, proclamations, and articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

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

Henry. VIII.

A. D. 1539.

His wisdom and policy.

Cromwell a continual nourisher of peace

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

His authority employed to the commodity of the realm.

A fray in Paternoster-row, stopped by Cromwell.

See Addenda.

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

A story between Cromwell and a ruffian.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1539.

The ruffian with the long hair.

like a woman; or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himself; that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

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

Friar Bartley casteth away his friar's cowl.

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

The monstrous slops of England lack a Cromwell.

If the same lord Cromwell, who could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangled fashions of attire, used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolical, barbarous breeches (which seem rather like barrels than breeches), would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excess of vesture this I have to marvel: First, how these servingmen, who commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years' wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their masters and lords (who shall yield to God account of their servants' doings) do not search and try out their servants' walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendiary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates, who have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, "that England once had a Cromwell."

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy councillor, by his prudent policy, his grave authority, and perfect

zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the public realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established, what wickedness and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions and superstitious illusions, he detected and abolished out of the church. What posterity will ever think the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the people's eyes with an old rotten stock, called the Rood of Grace, wherein a man should stand enclosed, with a hundred wires within the rood, to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws, according as the value was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then should his jaws go merrily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their souls seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgery, at last, by Cromwell's means, was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines, showed openly at Paul's Cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which, in like manner, by Cromwell was brought to Paul's Cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck. Who would have judged, but that the maid of Kent had been a holy woman, and a prophetess inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paul's Cross, to be a strong and lewd impostor. What should I speak of Darvel Gartheren, of the rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket, of our lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? all which stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, removed them out of the people's way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.¹

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

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

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

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1539.

Divers corruptions in the church detected and reformed by him.

The rood of grace goggling with his eyes.

See Appendix.

The blood of Hayles.

The holy maid of Kent read before.

Stocks and blocks removed out of the way.

Gardiner chief enemy to Cromwell.

(1) See also page 401. — ED.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1540.

his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also, incident by the way.

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

Talk between Cromwell and certain lords at Lambeth.
See Appendix.

There the said Cromwell, with the other noble lords, sitting with the archbishop at his table in talk, as every lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signify what good will both the king and they bare unto him; among the rest, one of the company, entering into a comparison between the said Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, declared that Cranmer, in his judgment, was much to be preferred for his mild and gentle nature, whereas the cardinal was a stubborn and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man. "And that," said he, "know you well enough, my lord Cromwell! for he was your master," &c. At these words the lord Cromwell, being somewhat touched to hear the cardinal's service so cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, that he could not deny but he was servant some time to cardinal Wolsey, neither did repent the same; for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities: but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen pope, as he understood that *he* would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and showing, moreover, what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome, in case he had been elected bishop of Rome. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them; which contention, although it was, through entreaty of the archbishop and other nobles, somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter root of grudge remained behind, which afterwards grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was A. D. 1539, in the month of July.¹

A parliament. Cromwell apprehended.

After this, the next year following, which was 1540, in the month of April, was holden a parliament, which, after divers prorogations, was continued till the month of July. On the tenth of June in the said year,² the lord Cromwell, being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London: whereat as many good men, who knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so more there were, on the contrary side, that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the church, and now, by his means, were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery, or of false religion creeping under hypocrisy; and less could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy, which, professing all humility, was

(1) Ex testimonio secretarii Cantuar.

(2) Journals, p. 143.—E. D.

so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortening his days, and of bringing him to his end; so that on the seventeenth day¹ of the month aforesaid, he was attainted by parliament.

In that attainder, divers and sundry crimes, surmises, objections, and accusations, were brought against him: but chiefly, and above all others, he was charged and accused of heresy, for that he was a supporter of them whom they reaccounted for heretics; as Barnes, Clark, and many others, whom, by his authority, and letters written to sheriffs and justices in divers shires, he had rescued, and discharged out of prison. Also that he did evulgate and disperse abroad among the king's subjects great numbers of books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much heresy, diffidence, and misbelief. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses (what they were, the attainder expresseth not), who most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with heinous words spoken against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign; which words if they be true, as the attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hasty speed, in all post haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleared himself thereof.

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

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

Such malicious makebates about princes and parliaments, never lacked in commonweals. By such king Athelstan was incensed to kill his brother Edwin. So was king Edward II. deposed. So likewise, when king Richard II. was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accusations were laid against him in the parliament! So was Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, by Henry Beaufort bishop of Winchester, and others, in the parliament

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1540.

Crimes and accusations brought against him. See Appendix.

Witnesses against him suspected.

What mischief malicious makebates make in a commonwealth.

(1) On the 29th of June the Bill of Attainder passed. See Journals, p. 146.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1540.

holden at Bury, arrested as a traitor, and falsely made away. What great treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, said merrily to his son, that if he lived, he would make him heir to the crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a traitor. In the time of king Henry VIII. how was that parliament incensed, wherein both queen Anne was falsely condemned, and queen Elizabeth her daughter as falsely disherited? To omit here the attainder of the duke of Buckingham, wrought by the cardinal of York; of the lord Cobham likewise, and sir Roger Acton: if the cause of the lord Henry late earl of Surrey were well tried out, peradventure no such heinous purpose of any treason should be found therein, as then was made. Who incensed the late duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such makes as these? and afterwards, when the said duke himself was attainted for a traitor, and condemned for a felon, a briber, and extortioner, how was the parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip received of cardinal Pole at Rome but a silly crown in way of alms, and there-for, by means of Stephen Gardiner, was attainted for a traitor. George Egles did but read sometimes in woods, and by the said Gardiner was also condemned, and suffered as a traitor. Not that I here speak or mean against the high courts of parliaments of this our realm, necessarily assembled for the commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due reverence and authority. But, as it happeneth sometimes in general councils, which, though they be ever so general, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of religion; so, likewise, they that say that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politic, do not therein derogate or impair the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsel they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such general councils, and into prince's courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making mountains of molchills, or else too much extenuating things that be of themselves great and weighty, according as it is truly said by the poet Juvenal, "Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas;" or, as our English proverb showeth, "As a man is friended, so is his matter ended;" and "Where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leaps;" or rather, to speak after the French phrase, "Qui son chien veut tuer, la rage lui met sur;" that is, "He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men believe that he is mad." And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I refer to the high parliament of that Mighty King, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

Autho-
rity of
parlia-
ments.A French
proverb.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner lacked not a head, nor yet privy assisters, who cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when the king, being disposed to marry another wife, which was the lady Katherine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the lord Cromwell, did repudiate lady

CONTENTS.

VOL. III.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT
OF SATAN.

A.D.		PAGE
1377.	RICHARD II.	3
	Articles collected out of Wickliff's Sermons	4
	Bull of Pope Gregory to the Chancellor and University of Oxford	5
	Epistle of Pope Gregory to Richard, King of England, to persecute John Wickliff	8
1378.	The Conclusions of John Wickliff exhibited at a Convocation of Bishops at Lambeth ¹	11
	The Protestation of John Wickliff	13
	An Exposition upon the Conclusions of John Wickliff	14
1382.	Process of Archbishop Courtney respecting Heresy	20
	Articles of John Wickliff, some condemned as heretical, others as erroneous	21
	Mandate of Archbishop Courtney to the Bishop of London against John Wickliff and his adherents	23
	Matters incident of Robert Rygge, Chancellor of Oxford, Hereford, Reppyngdon and others	24
	A Letter of Archbishop Courtney to the Chancellor of Oxford against Wickliff and his adherents	28
	The Monition of Archbishop Courtney to the Chancellor of Oxford	29
	The Examination of Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppyngdon, and John Ashton	31
	The Protestation of Hereford, Reppyngdon and Ashton	32
	Further Examinations and Proceedings against Hereford, Reppyngdon and Ashton	34
	Process of Archbishop Courtney against John Ashton	35
	The Sentence pronounced on John Ashton	36
	A Private Statute made by the Clergy without the consent of the Commons; with the Examination of it by the Author	37
	An Extract from the Petition of the Commons for repealing the aforesaid Statute	38

1382.	The King's Letters-patent to the Archbishop against the Favourers of Wickliff	39
	The Sentence of Excommunication passed upon Hereford and Reppynghdon, with the Citation against them	40
	The King's Letter to the Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford	42
	Another Letter of the King to the same of Oxford	43
	A Letter of Robert Rygge, Chancellor of Oxford, to the Archbishop	44
	Abjuration of Philip Reppynghdon	46
	A cruel Letter of the Archbishop against Hereford	47
	An Epistle of John Wickliff to Pope Urban VI.	49
1383.	Pope Urban's Bull to destroy Clement the Antipope	51
	Form of the Pope's Absolution pronounced by the Bishop	<i>ibid.</i>
1384.	The substance of John Wickliff's Answer to the King, touching the right and title of the King and the Pope	54
	The Public Testimony given by the University of Oxford, for John Wickliff	57
	The Testimony of John Huss touching John Wickliff	58
	The Sentence of the Council of Constance in condemnation of the Doctrine and Forty-five Articles of Wickliff	60
	Certain other Articles of Wickliff	61
	Articles against Wickliff attested by William Woodford	63
	The Public Defence of certain Articles of John Wickliff, before the whole University of Prague. On the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Articles; by John Huss	64
	The Second Disputation, in the University of Prague, upon the Seventeenth Article of John Wickliff; by John Huss	77
	Hildegard's Prophecy respecting Friars and Monks	87
	The Third Disputation, upon the Eighteenth Article of Wickliff; by John Huss	88
	The Substance of the Decree of the Council of Constance for the taking up of the Bones of John Wickliff	94
1389.	The Story of William Swinderby	107
	The Revocation of Swinderby	108
1391.	The Process of John Trefnant, Bishop of Hereford, against Swinderby, in the cause of Heretical Pravity	109
	Matters articulated against Swinderby	110
	The Protestation of Swinderby to the Bishop of Hereford, in the same old English wherein he wrote it	112
	The Citation of William Swinderby	120
	The Sentence against Swinderby	126
	His Appeal from the Sentence of the Bishop to the King	<i>ibid.</i>
	Swinderby's fruitful Letter sent to the Nobles and Burgesses of the Parliament	128
	The Story and Process against Walter Brute, a Briton	131
	Articles and Instruments denounced against him	132
	Certain Exhibits of Walter Brute in writing presented to the Bishop, for his Defence	136
	A more ample Tractation of the same matter	139
	The Judgment and Belief of Walter Brute, touching the Lord's Supper, the Order of Priests, &c.	173
	Walter Brute, on the Order and Office of Prayer	179
	Copy of a Letter from a Lollard to Master Nicholas Hereford	188
	The Device of a Letter, feigned under the name of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, written to the proud and persecuting Prelates of the Popish Clergy	190
	Bull of Pope Boniface to the Bishop of Hereford against the Lollards	193
	The Tenor of the Pope's Bull to King Richard	194
	The King's Commission	195
1392.	Letter of the King against Walter Brute	196

A. D.		PAGE
1394.	Letters of Archbishop Courtney respecting the Arrest of eight Lollards, and the Re-admission of Margaret Caily, a nun, into the Monastery of St. Radegond	199
	Letter of the Archbishop, enjoining Penance on certain good Persons of Leicester	200
1395.	The Book of Conclusions and Reformations, exhibited in the Parliament holden at London, and set up at Paul's door and other places, A. D. 1395	203
	Letter of Richard II. to Pope Boniface IX.	207
1398.	Notes of Parliaments, holden in the reign of King Richard II., making against the Pope	213
1399.	HENRY IV.	221
1401.	Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest, a Martyr	<i>ibid.</i>
	Sir William's First and Second Examination	222
	Process against him; his Recantation, &c.	225
	Sentence of Degradation pronounced upon him	227
	The cruel Decree against William Sautre	228
1405.	Articles against King Henry IV. set upon Church-doors	230
1410.	John Badby, artificer, a Martyr	235
	Sentence of the Bishop of Worcester against him, with the attestation of the Notaries	236
	The cruel Statute 'Ex Officio'	239
	The cruel Constitution of Archbishop Arundel, against the Gospellers, or followers of God's Truth	242
	Articles of divers who were constrained to abjure	248
	William Thorpe: that constant servant of God	249
	The Preface of William Thorpe followed by his Examination, penned with his own hand	250
	The Testament of William Thorpe	282
	The Story of John Purvey	285
	Articles which he recanted, with other Articles drawn out of his books by Richard Lavingham	286
	A Sermon no lesse godly than learned, preached at Paules Crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, anno 1388, by R. Wimbeldon	292
	Letter of King Henry IV. to Pope Gregory XII.	308
	Letter of King Henry IV. to the Cardinals	309
	A Mandate of Archbishop Arundel to the Bishop of London, to warn men to say certain Prayers to the Virgin Mary at the ringing of the Morning Bell, as at the ringing of Curfew	311
	A Commission from the same, to suspend certain Churches of London, because they rung not their bells at the presence of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with other Letters on the same subject	313
	An Injunction of Penance, from the Register of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury	315
	Notes of Parliament Matters in the days of King Henry IV.	316
1413.	HENRY V.	319
	The Trouble and Persecution of the most valiant and worthy Martyr of Christ, Sir John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham.	320
	The Christian Belief of Lord Cobham	324
	The Examinations of Lord Cobham, &c.	326
	The definitive Sentence of his Condemnation	336
	A Testimonial made by his Friends	338
	An Abjuration counterfeited by the Bishops	339
	Copy of an Epistle of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of London, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of the aforesaid history of the Lord Cobham	342
	The Catholic Faith and Confession of Lord Cobham	344
	The definitive Sentence of Lord Cobham's Condemnation	347

A. D.		PAGE
1413.	A Defence of Lord Cobham against Nicholas Harpsfield, set out under the name of Alanus Copus Anglus	348
	The Words and Contents of the Statute made in the second year of Henry V., chapter seventh; with Notes by the Author	353
	The Indictment of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and others, with Notes following upon the same	368
1414.	The Entry of the memorable History of the Bohemians, containing the History of Master John Huss, no less famous than lamentable: wherein is set out at large the whole order of his coming unto the Council of Constance, with the Acts and Process against him there; and, finally, his most cruel Death and Martyrdom, for the testimony of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ	405
	Articles drawn out by John Huss and his adherents	409
	Objections of John Huss and his party against the Decree of the Doctors	411
	Substance of the Answer of the Catholic Doctors to the foregoing objections	412
	Letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus	415
	The Council of Constance	416
	Recapitulation of matters done in each Session of the Council.	418
	The Safe-conduct given to Master John Huss; and his Letters.	424
	The Testimonial of the good Bishop of Nazareth	427
	An Instrument of Recognition or Protestation of the Lord Inquisitor of Heresies	<i>ibid.</i>
	An Instrument of Testimonial, how Master John Huss and his Proctor were denied entrance into the Public Procuracy, celebrated and holden in the Archbishop's Court	430
	The Copy of the Letters which John Huss set up in the common places of the Cities which he passed through, going to the Council	431
1415.	Articles presented unto Pope John XXIII., for the Condemnation of Master John Huss after he was newly imprisoned.	436
	The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Bohemia delivered up to the Council for the Deliverance of John Huss, the fourteenth day of May, A. D. 1415.	440
	Answer of the Bishop of Lythomysl, to the last part of the Supplication which the Nobles of Bohemia presented unto the Council	441
	Answer of the Nobles of Bohemia	442
	Copy of a Public Testimonial of the whole University of Prague for John Huss, offered up to the Council	444
	Another Supplication of the Nobles of Bohemia for John Huss.	446
	The Protestation of John Huss, and the Answer of the Council.	447
	Supplication of the Barons to the Emperor Sigismund for John Huss	449
	The Answer of John Huss to Twenty-six Articles concerning his Book of the Church	459
	The Copy and Tenor of the Appeal of John Huss	467
	Seven Articles said to be drawn out of the Treatise which John Huss wrote against Stephen Paletz	468
	Six Articles drawn out of the Treatise of John Huss, written against Stanislaus de Znoyma	471
	Other Nineteen Articles objected against John Huss, he being in Prison	473
	Second Series of Nineteen Articles formally contained in or picked, by the Parisians, out of the Treatise of John Huss of Prague, which he entitled "Of the Church," following in this part or behalf, the errors, as they term them, of John Wickliff	478
	Reasons and Determinations of the Masters of Paris	479

A.D.		PAGE
1416.	Oration of the Emperor Sigismund, addressed to the Council	481
	The Sermon of the Bishop of Lodi, before the Sentence was given upon John Huss	486
	The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of Constance against John Huss	489
	The Letter of the Emperor Sigismund to the Nobles of Bohemia	495
	A Letter of John Huss to his Friends in Bohemia	496
	A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the Safe-conduct of John Huss	<i>ibid.</i>
	Epistles and Letters of John Huss	497
	A Letter of a Scholar of Wickliff to John Huss and the Bohemians: dated from London	506
	Other Letters of John Huss	507
	The Consolation of Master Jerome to Master Huss	510
	The tragical and lamentable History of the famous learned man and godly martyr of Christ, Master Jerome of Prague: burned at Constance for like cause and quarrel as was Master John Huss	511
	The Intimation of Jerome of Prague, set up in divers places of the town of Constance	513
	The Citation of Jerome to the Council of Constance	<i>ibid.</i>
	The forced Abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague	517
	The Sentence read against Jerome	523
	The Letter of the Fifty-four Nobles of Moravia, written unto the Council of Constance in defence of Master John Huss and Master Jerome of Prague: with their names annexed	526
	he History of John Claydon, currier; and of Richard Turning, baker	531
	Articles contained in an English Book called "The Lanthorn of Light"	532
	Proclamation of Archbishop Chichesley against the Lollards	534
	The Trouble of John Barton and Robert Chapel, for Religion	535
	Articles obruded upon Chapel to confess	536
	Recantation of Thomas Granter	539
1417.	The Second Apprehension of the Lord Cobham	541
1418.	In D. Johan. Cobhami equitis aurati et martyris cineres, carmen J. F. in felicem memoriam	544
	Continuation of the memorable History of the Bohemians; wherein is plainly and truly set forth, what vexations and conflicts they had for the religion of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and of their Victories obtained and gotten, both against the Papists, and also against the Emperor Sigismund: and, finally, the Death of their valiant Captain Zisca	545
	Articles decreed in the Council of Constance, against the Bohemians	<i>ibid.</i>
119.	The Story of Zisca	548
122.	A Notable Oration of Zisca to his Soldiers	555
	The Epitaph of John Zisca, the valiant Captain of the Bohemians	556
	The Bull of Pope Martin directed forth against the Followers of John Wickliff in England, of John Huss of Bohemia, and of Jerome of Prague	557
	The Articles of John Huss to be inquired upon	561
	A fruitful and christian Exhortation of the Bohemians, to Kings and Princes, to stir them up to the Zeal of the Gospel	567
	The Oration of Cardinal Julian	577
	The Table of the Archbishops of Canterbury	579

BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOSING OUT OF
SATAN.

A.D.		PAGE
1422.	A Preface to the Reader	580
	HENRY VI.	581
	William Tailor, Priest	<i>ibid.</i>
1424.	John Florence, a Turner	584
	Richard Belward, and others	585
1428.	Copy of the King's Letters directed to John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, for the appre- hending of Sir William White, Priest, and other Lollards, as they called them	586
	William White, Priest	591
	Copy of the Letter of the Bishop of Norwich respecting Thomas Pie and John Mendham	592
	John Beverly, alias Battild, a Labourer; John Skillely of Flinton, Miller, and others	593
	The Story of Margery Bagster and others	594
1430.	Richard Hoveden, Martyr	598
1431.	Nicholas Canon, of Eye	599
	Thomas Bagley, Priest; Paul Craw, a Bohemian, Martyr	600
	The Story of Thomas of Rennes, a Frenchman and Carmelite Friar, burnt in Italy for the Profession of Christ	601
1431 to 1439.	The Order and Manner of the Council of Basil: with a brief Recapitulation of the principal Matters decreed and con- cluded therein	605
	The Conclusions of the Disputation, and the Argument of Panormitane for the Pope	608
	The Answer of John Segovius	609
	The Conclusions of the Disputation, summed up by Æneas Sylvius	611
	The Oration of Panormitane	627
	The Oration of Ludovicus the Prothonotary	629
	The Oration of Cardinal Arelatensis, or, of Arles	631
	The Oration of Amedeus, Archbishop of Lyons	640
	The Oration of Segovius	641
	The Second Book of the Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius, upon the Acts of the Council of Basil	658
	The Preface of John Segovius and his associates	664
	The Oration in favour of Amedeus to the Popedom	670
	A further Continuation of the memorable History of the Bo- hemians; being a brief Epitome, showing how they were called and brought unto the Council of Basil; briefly col- lected and gathered out of the Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius	675
	A Declaration of the Council of Basil touching the three last Articles of the Bohemians already alleged	682
	A Declaration of the Council touching the first Article of the Communion	683
	Certain Petitions which the Bohemians put up, last of all, in the sacred Council of Basil	688
	An Epistle of Martin Meyre to Æneas Sylvius	692
	The Copy of an Epistle of Julian, Cardinal of St. Angelo, unto Pope Eugene, for that he went about to dissolve the Council of Basil	693
	An Epistle of Æneas Sylvius to the Rector of the University of Cologne, in defence of the Council	699
1440.	Richard Wiche, Priest, Martyr	702

A.D.		PAGE
1440.	The King's writ prohibiting Pilgrimages to the Tomb of Richard Wiche	703
	A brief Answer to the Cavillations of Alanus Copus concerning Lady Eleanor Cobham	704
	The Contention between the rich Cardinal of Winchester, and Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester, with certain Articles objected against the Cardinal	709
1447.	The Story and Death of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester	711
1450.	The Invention and Benefit of Printing	718
1453.	The lamentable Losing of Constantinople	722
1457.	The History of Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Clichester; afflicted and tormented by the false Bishops for his Godliness, and Profession of the Gospel	724
	Copy of the Citation sent by Thomas Bowcher, alias Burschere, Archbishop of Canterbury	732
	The Form and Manner of the Retractation of Reynold Peacock.	733
	Sentences or Proverbs attributed unto Pope Pius II., &c.	736
	The Title of the House of York to the Crown of England	740
1461.	EDWARD IV.	742
1473.	Albert and Frederic III., Emperors of Germany	762
	The Large Dominions of Ladislaus	767
1477.	John the Neatherd, of Franconia, a martyr; and Doctor Johannes de Wesalia	775
1483.	EDWARD V.	782
	Richard III., the Usurper	785
APPENDIX TO VOL. III.		791

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOL. III.

EXHUMATION OF WICKLIFF	page 96
BURNING OF BABBY	238
INJUNCTION OF PENANCE	314
BURNING OF LORD COBHAM	542

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