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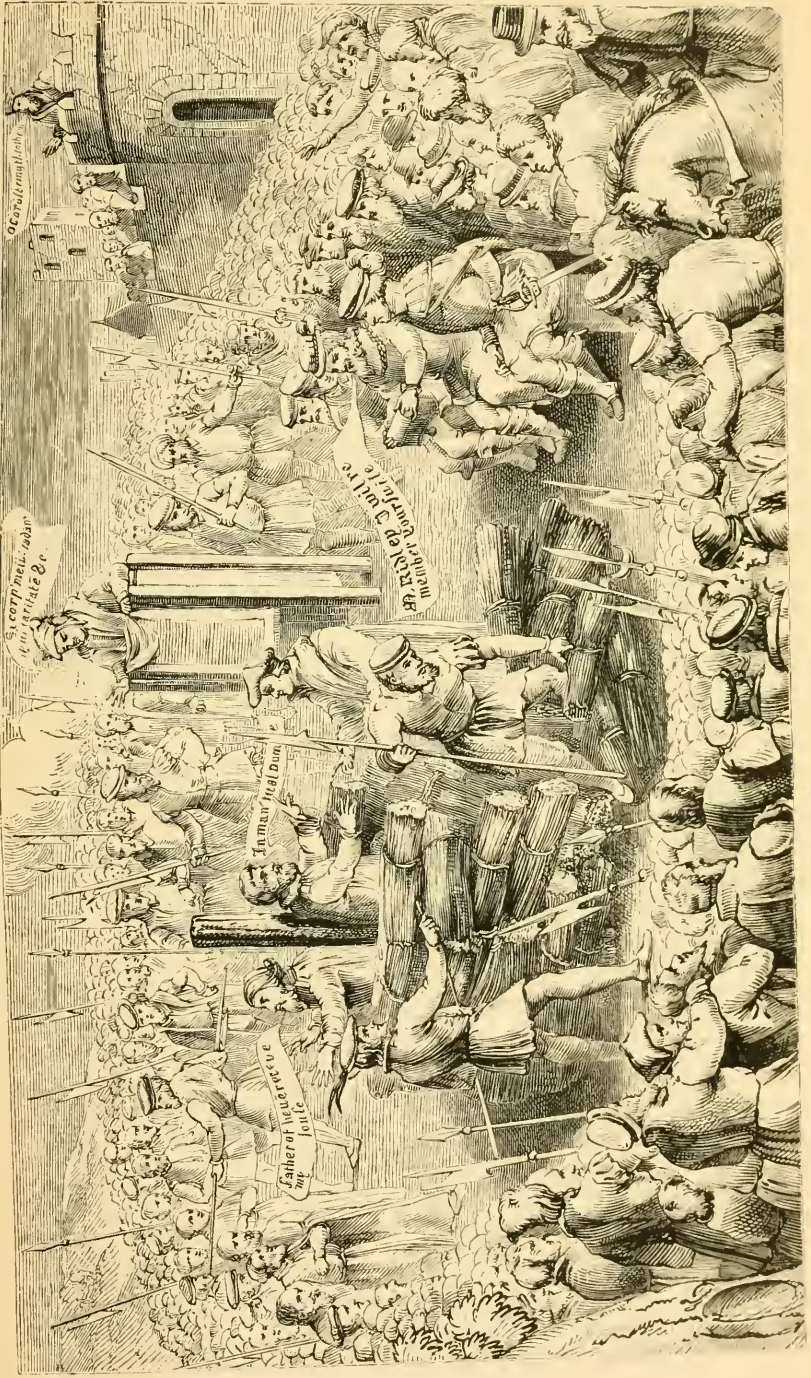
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VOL. VII.—PART II.

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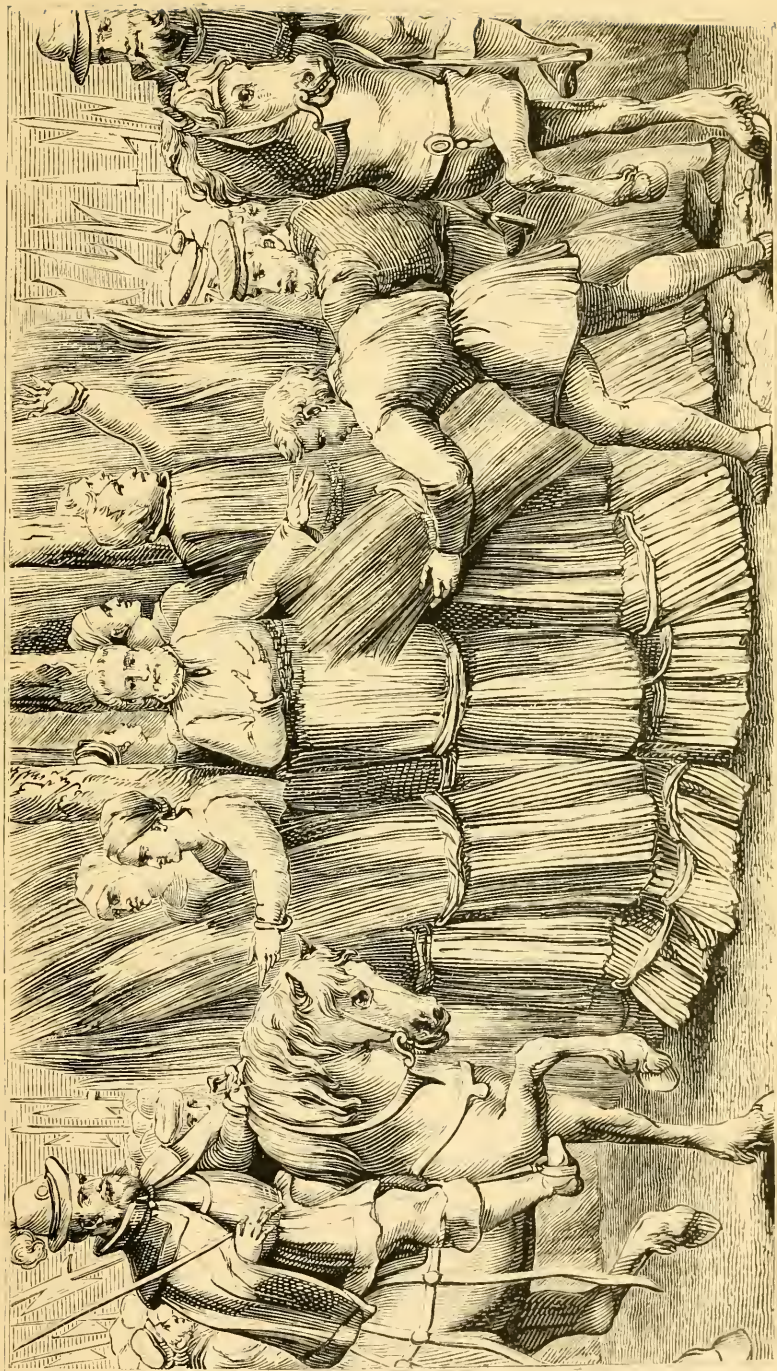
M DCCCLXI.



THE BURNING OF BISHOP RIDLEY AND FATHER LATIMER; WITH DOCTOR SMITH PREACHING.



THE MARTYRDOM OF MASTER JOHN PHILPOT, WITH THE MANNER OF HIS KNEELING AND PRAYING AT THE STAKE.



SEVEN GODLY MARTYRS SUFFERING AT ONE FIRE IN SMITHFIELD.

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the earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the savour of him. "Well," quoth Dr. Dracot, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed), and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them; and then will I come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried." This was recorded by the parson of the town, who told the same to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Findern in Derbyshire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William the third brother; whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body unto the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church (and yet is, as I hear say, to this day), to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop named Radulph Banes, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary example of good Tobit, for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth religion in not burying the dead: so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid Bernard the curate with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here follow.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Glover
after his
death,
judged
to be
damned.Manner of
handling
the body
of Glover
after his
death.Bernard a
popish
curate of
Wem.Thorlyne
against
the bury-
ing of
W. Glo-
ver.

A Copy of the Bishop's Letter, written to the Parish of Wem.

Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that he should not be buried in Christian-man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak, to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem, in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and letting, and procuring, that he be not buried either in the church, or within the wainables of the church-yard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril.

At Eccleshall, this 6th of September, Anno 1558.

By your ordinary, Radulph Coventry and Lichfield.

By the virtue of this foresaid letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the corpse thither, were fain at their own charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that scarcely any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there was he buried.

The dead
corpse of
W. Glover
dragged
into the
fields.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Burton
not
suffered
to
be
buried
in
christian
burial,
the
day
when
queen
Elizabeth
was
crowned.*See
Appendix.*

The witnesses of the godly end of the said William Glover, dying in the true faith and confession of Christ, were master Nowell dean of Lichfield, George Wilestone and his wife, Thomas Constantine, Roger Wydhouse, John Prynne, George Torpelley, etc.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholic churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one master Edward Burton, esq., who, in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church (which was St. Chad's in Shrewsbury), so that no mass-monger should be present thereat; which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named sir John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate, being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, that God would judge him in the last day, etc. Then the priest: "Judge God," saith he, "or devil; the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Oliver
Richardine,
martyr.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the parish of Whitechurch, was burned in Haverfordwest, sir John Ygone being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of king Henry the Eighth: whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

The Martyrdom of William Wolsey, and Robert Pygot Painter.

Everard
extreme
against
Wolsey.Wolsey
com-
manded
to the
jail.

After the suffering of master Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton his suffragan, Robert Steward, dean of Ely, John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9th, A.D. 1555; the names of which martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach, which William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the town of Wells, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who extremely handled the same William Wolsey, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions holden within the isle of Ely: and so the said Wolsey, being dispatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling place, coming to dwell in the town of Wisbeach. Then being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the jail at the assizes holden at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him,

Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a layman as he was to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise: "Good master doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 'Wo be unto you scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in.'" Mary.
A. D.
1555.
Fuller, Christopherson, and Young confer with him. He putteth a question to them.

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, master doctor," saith Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be."

"Away, master doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man." "Yet," saith Dr. Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read,¹ I promise thee, of a learned man's doing;" that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing, who was then bishop of Lincoln. See Appendix.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison-house to confer with the said Wolsey, did ask him how he did like the said book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same): who answered him and said, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home. Fuller again resorteth to Wolsey.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by the said Wolsey. The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, "Oh! this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes holden at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolsey, and speaketh unto him on this manner: "Thou dost much trouble my conscience; wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee; and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it." The chancellor giveth him leave to depart.

"Master doctor," quoth Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law; and by a law I will be delivered."

Then, being brought to the sessions before named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, thinking to him and all his friends, that he should have suffered there at that present time; but it proved nothing so. Wolsey laid in the castle of Wisbeach.

Then Robert Pygot the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil-disposed persons (sworn men, as they called them), for not coming to the church. Pygot presented for not coming to church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before sir Clement Higham being judge, who said unto him; "Ah! are you the holy father the painter?" Sir Clement Higham.

(1) Dr. Watson's Book of Sermons or Homilies.

Mary. How chance ye came not to the church?" "Sir," quoth the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

A. D. 1555. "No, sir," said the judge: "this is no church; this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

Pygot brought to the jail.

"Ah, sirrah!" said the judge, "you are too high learned for me to talk withal; wherefore, I will send you to them that be better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the jail where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broken up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

The bishop's chaplain, a Frenchman, confirmeth the prisoners in the truth.

In the mean time certain of their neighbours of Wisbeach aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came thither also a chaplain of bishop Goodrike's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said unto the said Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith; but I both require and desire in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word; and I beseech the Almighty God, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks, contrary to all the hope they had in him; God be praised therefore.

Pygot and Wolsey called to judgment in the consistory.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the 9th day of October, before Dr. Fuller then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in communion, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereupon they would stand. Then said the doctors, that they were out of the catholic faith.

The words of Shaxton to the martyrs. Wolsey's answer.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, "Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man."

"Ah," said Wolsey, "are you become a new man? Wo be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee."

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, "This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent (as far as I perceive), and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evil opinion I find in him."

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following: "I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread

and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the selfsame that was born of the Virgin Mary ;” and reading it to the painter he said thus, “ Dost thou believe all this according as it written ?”

“ No, sir,” said the painter, “ that is your faith, and not mine.”

Christopherson :—“ Lo, master Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go ; he is as much a heretic as the other.” And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die : which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day, one Peacock, bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter v., of one that had lived inordinately, by abusing his father’s wife ; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation ; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

Mary.

A. J.

1555.

Pygot refused to subscribe to it.

Peacock appointed to preach at the burning of Wolsey and Pygot.

So, his sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolsey being brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain, thither cometh one sir Richard Collinson a priest, at that time destitute of any bidding-place or stay of benefice, who said unto Wolsey, “ Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the holy Scripture : wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault.”

Wolsey :—“ I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no part or point of God’s book, the holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians, to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them there-for.” With that cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. “ Oh,” said Wolsey, “ give me one of them ;” and Pygot desired another ; both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying Psalm cvi., desiring all the people to say amen ; and so received the fire most thankfully. The witnesses and informers hereof, were, Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Best, etc.

Wolsey sound in all points of Scripture belonging to his salvation.

Books burned with Wolsey and Pygot.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover, from the University of Cambridge, by a credible person and my faithful friend, William Fulke, this relation which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the reader, in order and form as followeth.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF WOLSEY AND PYGOT.

There were burned at Ely two godly martyrs, the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appeared divers opinions of one spirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scripture. The other (Wolsey) was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having *πληροφορίαν* of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty

Wolsey and Pygot described

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Wolsey,
desirous
of mar-
tyrdom.

Denton
converter
of Wol-
sey.

Wolsey
exhorteth
him to
persist in
the truth

Denton,
afraid of
burning,
is burned
in his
own
house.
He would
not burn
for Christ.

and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world; and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the prison with the toothache, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hodilo, beer-brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed, as he appointed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, smith, dwelling at Wellney in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him [Wolsey] the book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth; desiring him to make haste after, as fast as he could.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one master Laurence, preacher in Essex (who then resorted often to his house), to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to Richard Denton with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this: "I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn." This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterward burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday being the 18th of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life, with two others that were in the same house.

Witnessed by Thomas Hodilo and William Fulke.

Not much unlike to this, was also the example of master West, chaplain to bishop Ridley, who, refusing to die in Christ's cause with his master, said mass against his conscience, and soon after died.

Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer,

BOTH BISHOPS, PREACHERS, AND MARTYRS OF CHRIST; WITH
THEIR DOINGS, CONFERENCES, AND SUFFERINGS DESCRIBED.

The same year, month, and day, which the foresaid two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was A. D. 1555, October 16, followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, master Ridley, bishop of London, and master Hugh Latimer, bishop sometime of Worcester, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can witness sufficiently; so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly, in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serveth to the due instruction of the reader, and maketh to the use of this present history, in declaring first their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last their trouble and travail in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of master Ridley, whose story here ensueth

Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred, for the true gospel of Christ in queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee (gentle reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who, being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke-hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who, at his return, was made chaplain to king Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in king Edward's days.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Ridley
born in
North-
umber-
land.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business, to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from all evil desires and concupiscences), that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

The fruit-
ful dili-
gence of
Ridley in
preaching
God's
word.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Ridley of
great me-
mory and
reading.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in king Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now will I speak something further, particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He

Comely of
propor-
tion.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Tender to
his kin-
dred.

took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they, doing evil, should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him; and they to be his brother and sister, which used honesty, and a godly trade of life.

A great
mortifier
of him-
self.

He, using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there, upon his knees, prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

His order
after
supper.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving, to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii., reading also unto his household oftentimes Psalm ci., being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

His care-
ful dili-
gence of
instruct-
ing his
family.Beha-
viour of
Ridley to
Bonner's
mother.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my mother Bonner;" who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, as divers times they were, "By

your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shipside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, bishop Bonner, being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother bishop Ridley, but also curiously, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shipside, saying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the bishop of Worcester.¹

Hereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two natures; whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despitiful disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf: who now, by the grace of God being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of king Edward), and so long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of the gospel. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of that stay, and call from us king Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies' hand: so this bishop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, eftsoon, and with the first, was laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed: first in the Tower, then after, translated from thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and master Latimer to Oxford, was with them enclosed in the common gaol and prison of Boardo, while at length, being dissevered

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

His courtesy and the curri-
shness of
Bonner
described.

Bonner
unkind
and chur-
lish to
Ridley's
sister, and
seeketh
the death
of his bro-
ther-in-
law.

Ridley
first con-
verted by
Bertram's
book.

Ridley
one of
the first
in trouble
after the
death of
king Ed-
ward.

Ridley in
the
Tower; is
removed
to Boar-
do in Ox-
ford.

(1) Teste Georgio Shipsidio.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till the year 1555, and 16th day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his travails in persuading and instructing the lady Mary before she was queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough hath been said already. Beside this, other conferences he had in prison both with Dr. Cranmer, and master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

A Conference¹ had betwixt Master Ridley, and Master Latimer in Prison, upon the Objections of Antonian; meaning, by that name, some popish persecutor—as Winchester; alluding thereby to the History of Victor, lib. iii., De persecutionibus Africanis.

Ridley.—“In writing again ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day; for I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach; for surely, except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.—Sir, now I daily look when Diotrepes with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrepes', or Antonius' soldiers.”

First objection.

Antonian.—“All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea of the queen herself.”

Answer.

Ridley.—“Because no man that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God,² and also for the selfsame cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised,³ which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt. And again, ‘If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser.’ This is also another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-stock unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea.”⁴

Latimer.—“Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is: ‘for without me,’ saith he, ‘ye can do nothing;’ much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, ‘If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.’⁵ What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travailling thus with me: you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.”

Second objection.

Antonian.—“What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? and from whence cometh

(1) “A conference,” etc. There were two conferences, of which Foxe gives only the second. They were published by John Olde, and entitled “Certain godly, learned, and comfortable conferences between N. Rydeley bishoppe of London, and Hughe Latymer;” 16mo. 1556. This work of Victor, bishop of Utica, is printed in “Autores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ,” p. 616, Basilee, 1535.—Ed.

(2) Luke ix.

(3) Gal. i.

(4) Matt. xviii. Mark ix.

(5) John xv.

this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?" Mary.

Ridley:—"I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago,¹ both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance.² But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear, what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they be these: the strange tongue; the want of the showing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins: to be short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same."

A. D.
1555.

Answer.

Latimer:—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die.'³ 'Be ye stedfast and unmoveable,' saith St. Paul:⁴ and again, 'Persistito,' 'Stand fast':⁵ and how oft is this repeated, 'If ye abide,' 'if ye abide,'⁶ etc. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

Antoniaz:—"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatian, and of the heretics called Catharists, that they would not communicate with the church."

Third objection.

Ridley:—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft-frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but, turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they always reproved something for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."⁷ Answer.

Latimer:—"I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary;⁸ 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's?' I would you had that little book; there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth strait withal, 'according to Jesus Christ'⁹—no further. Diotrefes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, sir,' quoth I, 'but in verity, not in popery. Better is diversity, than a unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

See Appendix.

(1) He meant his own confession openly in preaching. Matt. xxvi. (2) 1 Tim. i.

(3) John xix. (4) 1 Cor. xv. (5) 2 Tim. iii. John xv. Col. ii. (6) John xv.

(7) 1 Cor. xi.

(8) Hilarius contra Auxent [§ 1. Compare this with a kindred paragraph in the second sermon of Latimer's on the Beatiudes, vol. ii. p. 154. Edit. Lond. 1824. The Interim was a rule of faith, extremely favourable to the church of Rome, drawn up at the command of Charles V., who judged it necessary, for the maintenance of religious peace, during the interval between the dissolution of the Council of Trent in 1547, and its expected reassembling and consequent decisions. See Mosheim, cent. 16, book iv. chap. 4, § 3; and Mendham's Memoirs of the Council of Trent, pp. 134, 5.—Ed.]

(9) "Secundum Jesum Christum," Rom. xv.

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objection.
Answer.

Antonian:—"But admit there be in the mass, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault: if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?"¹

Ridley:—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same), yet, for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

Latimer:—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal: so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For, if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For, if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass: from thence groweth the grief."

Fifth ob-
jection.

Antonian:—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity: without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough, 'He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother.' Moreover, 'Without the church,' saith St. Augustine, 'be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.'"²

Answer.

Ridley:—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed; this church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord.³ But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, 'Peace be upon them, and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God.'⁴ The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that the church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church.⁵ Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. 'In times past,' saith Chrysostome, 'there were many ways to know the church of Christ; that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the Scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.'⁶ And in the end concluded, 'Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church.' To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread.⁷ But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed;

(1) Cypr. lib. i. ep. 2.; Aug. ep. 152. [nunc 141. § 5.]

(2) Aug. lib. iv. de Symb. § 13.; In Ep. post. col. contra Donat.

(3) 1 Tim. iii. Rev. xxi. Eph. i.

(4) Gal. vi. Phil. ii.

(5) Rev. xxi. John iii. Gal. iv.

(6) In Op. Imperf., Hom. 49. in Matt.

(7) 1 Cor. x.

for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, etc. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented."

Latimer :—" Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. 'Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord.' It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary² mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queen's proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. 'Separate thyself from them that are such,' saith St. Paul.³ From whom? The text hath before, 'If any man follow other doctrine, etc., he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing,' etc. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: but wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses:

'Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis:'

that is, 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified,⁴ etc. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing; for they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

Antonian :—"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, 'Dic ecclesiæ,' i. e. 'Tell it unto the church.' For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which it is."

Ridley :—"The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see it, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet, in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness: 'Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.'"

Antonian :—"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; 't is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes: this church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, etc. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, etc."

Ridley :—"I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But, as St. Paul saith of the Jew, "Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly," etc., neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only of living stoncs, and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But, forasmuch as this church (which is the second taking of the

(1) 2 Cor. vi. (2) "Clanculary," secret or privy.—ED. (3) 1 Tim. vi. (4) 1 Cor. ii.

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church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within that great house, and hath with the same, outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church (which St. Augustine¹ calleth the mingled church), which cannot truly be understood, but only of that purer part of the church: so that the rule of Tichonius² concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of the which, although there be seldom mention in the Scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called *synecdoche*, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such time as the people would have stoned him); of Elias, of Jeremy;³ in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles; in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius.⁴ It is worthy to be noted, that Lyra⁵ writeth upon Matthew; 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God.' Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. 'Evil men' (as it is in a gloss of the Decrees⁶) 'are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine, *contra Cresconium Grammaticum*,⁷ saith, 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it: which church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness.' All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know with Paul, Christ and him crucified.⁸ The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, etc., make me ever to forget that. Amen, amen."

*See
Appendix.*

Latimer:—"I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine,⁹ 'I

(1) August. de Doct. Christianâ, lib. iii. c. 32.—Ed.

(2) Tichonius was a Donatist, "qui libro peculiari septem communes regulas tradiderat, quarum ope existimabat omnia, quæ in sacris literis involuta videntur, explicari posse. Cum has regulas commendaret, tantum eis tribuit, quasi omnia quæ in lege, id est, in divinis libris obscure posita invenerimus, his bene cognitis atque adhibitis intelligere valeamus. His non tantum quidem tribuit Augustinus, vocat tamen *elaboratum opus*, et regulas in illo opere laudat, non quibus singula quæque pateficerent, quod præsumserat Tichonius, sed clausa multa." Rivet. *Isagoge ad Scripturam Sac.* cap. 18. § 11.—Ed.

(3) Exod. xvii. 1 Kings xix. Jerem. vi.

(4) Theo. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 15, 16.

(5) Nicolaus de Lyra was a Norman, born at Lyre in the diocese of Evreux. He entered the Franciscan order about the year 1291, and obtained considerable reputation as an opponent of Judaism, and an interpreter of the Scriptures. He wrote what were called "Postillæ breves" upon the whole Bible, the editions of which have been very numerous. They were first published in five folio volumes at Rome in 1471; in six volumes at Basil in 1498, and 1501; and at Douay in 1617. There is a long list of his other writings, both printed and MS., in Fabricii Biblioth. *Scriptorum med. et infr. Lat.* vol. v. p. 116. edit. 1754.—Ed.

(6) De Pœnit. dist. i. cap. [70] Eccles.

(7) Lib. i. cap. 33. tom. 9. Edit. Benedict.—Ed.

(8) 1 Cor. ii.

(9) August. *contra Epist. Manichæi*, cap. 5, tom. viii. Edit. Bened. Upon fewer passages of christian antiquity, perhaps, has more ink been expended. See Whitaker, *De Sac. Scriptura*, Controv. i. quæst. iii. cap. 8; and the same writer, against Stapleton, *De Auct. Sac. Script.* lib. ii. cap. 8.—Ed.

would not believe the gospel,' etc., was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon;¹ but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect; 'The church is not a judge, but a witness.' There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency; in the which after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before². For in the first, Christ ruleth; in the latter the devil beareth the swinge—and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our Six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men, or no? St. Paul saith, 'The Lord knoweth them that are his.' What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we know as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text: 'The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.' Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England which depart from iniquity? how many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy? how many of the rich men, or merchants? how many of the queen's councillors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded (as they say), when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

Antonian :—"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: 'Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' If Christ will be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, etc. But in general councils, mass hath been approved and used: therefore, etc."

Ridley :—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then, undoubtedly, councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial;³ so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his (that is, in Spirit and truth), can never agree together. But ye will say, Where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ.⁴ I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices), what can the less number of voices part overcometh the better."

Latimer :—"As touching general councils, at this present I have no more

(1) Mel. de [auctoritate] Ecclesiae. [Viteberg. 1639.—Ed.]

(2) A mass of the Holy Ghost was sung at the opening of a council. An author of that period calls it "an unholly mass of the Holy Ghost, rolled up with descent, prick-song, and organs, whereby men's hearts are ravished wholly from God, and from the cogitations of all such things as they ought to pray for:" Complaint of Roderick Mors unto the Parliament House, Signat. A 5 b. cited in Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 36.—Ed.

(3) 2 Cor. vi.

(4) John iv.

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A ques-
tion.

Answer.

Eighth
objection.

Answer.

A pro-
verb.

Mary. to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the six articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterwards the more part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! another great but worse part hath restored. Oh, what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

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The in-
constancy
of the
English
parlia-
ments
and con-
vocations.
Death is
the best
physician
to the
faithful.
Ninth ob-
jection.

Antonian.—"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices), then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined: but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

Answer.

Ridley.—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espouse the church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself,¹ did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments; and further, not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the Prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the Gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.² So that now we have no need to say, 'Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done?'³ Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life.⁴ 'Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living?' saith Isaiah.⁵ Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, etc. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, 'Search the Scriptures.'⁶ I remember a like thing well spoken of Jerome: 'Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors.'⁷ And in another place, as I remember in the same author: 'The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life.' But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. 'Whatsoever things are written,' saith Paul, 'are written for our learning.'⁸ And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, etc.⁹ But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God."

Latimer.—"There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the

(1) Eph. v. [Compare on this subject, Art. vi. and xx. of the Church of England—'Of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for Salvation,' and 'Of the authority of the Church.'—ED.]

(2) Luke xiii. Isaiah viii.

(3) Rom. x

(4) Luke xi.

(5) Isaiah viii.

(6) Johu v.

(7) Hier. Hom. 23, in Matt.

(8) Rom. xii.

(9) Eph. iv.

Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood.¹ And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer: neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But, in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths: 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And 'it is the property of a wise man,' saith one, 'to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speeches mean, 'I speak after the manner of men;' 'Ye walk after the manner of men;' 'All men are liars.'² and that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'

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Antonian.—"If ye say, that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for the councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church." Tenth objection.

Ridley.—"From 'may be,' to 'be indeed,' is no good argument; but from 'being,' to 'may be,' no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometime erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council; and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought), 'Homonians.'³ Were not Athanasius, Chrysostome, Cyril, Eustathius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished⁴ and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much mislike! But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known.'⁵ Thus much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the Bishop's Book,⁶ made in the time of king Henry the Eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. But me thinketh I hear another man

Answer.

Objection.

Answer.

The
bishop's
book.

(1) 2 Tim. iii.

(2) Gal. v. 1 Cor. iii. Rom. iii. Psalm cxlii.

(3) Soc. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii.

(4) Soc. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 24, 32. Theo. lib. v. cap. 34.

(5) Lib. ii. de Baptis. cont. Don. cap. 3.

(6) This is probably a different work from what is ordinarily called The Bishop's Book, viz. "The Institution of a Christian man," from which Foxe has collected testimonies in vol. v. p. 87. The book to which Bishop Ridley alludes in this place may be that intitled "De vera differentia regie potestatis et ecclesiasticæ;" and which was so well thought of in king Edward's reign, and esteemed so reasonable, that it was then reprinted, having been translated into English by Henry Lord Stafford, and recommended by him. See Strype's Memorials under Henry VIII. chap. xx. p. 237: see also chap. xxiv. p. 271, Edit. Lond. 1816: see also Ridley's Remains (Parker Soc. Edit.) p. 511.—Ed.

Mary. despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, 'These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics.' I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? 'Because,' saith he, 'they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of christian religion.' The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But, if it be so that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word,¹ which is according to godliness, forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God; forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils, as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

The
bishop of
of Rome's
authority.

England
abjured
the pope's
supre-
macy.

"Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, 'with-
out which neither can the councils,' saith he, 'be lawfully gathered, neither,
being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion.' But this objection
is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish
tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen
long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expulsed and abjured.
And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, 'De utraque potestate'
(that is, of both the powers) doth clearly show. I grant that the Romish ambi-
tion hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of
old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457,² did
openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevis, in the which St. Augus-
tine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond
the sea."

Eleventh
objection.

Antonian :—"St. Augustine saith, 'the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good.' Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil."³

Answer.

Ridley :—"I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife, shall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake: there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressly in other places; that is,—if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."⁴

Twelfth
objection.

Antonian :—" 'It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is contrary!' But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is clean contrary: therefore, etc. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people was miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it.⁵ Yea further, no man can show, that either the prophets, or Christ and his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law."

Answer.

Ridley :—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved: for ye ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of

(1) 1 Tim. vi.

(2) Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 22. [The sixth council at Carthage, anno 419, would suit Ridley's argument better, and seems to be the one intended: see Labbé, tom. ii. col. 1589; and for the council at Milevis, see the same volume, col. 1542.—Ed.]

(3) Aug. Ep. 48, now 93, § 15.—Ed.

(4) Aug. lib. iii. cont. literas Parm. cap. 23.

(5) Luke xxi. Heb. i. Acts xiii.

God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can nowhere be showed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the epistle ad Januarium) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal.¹ But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit.² Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy³ which plagues king Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars?⁴ For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? for what was so much as that was, wherefore the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God? Therefore they beat them, they banished them, etc.⁵ How else, I pray you, can you understand that St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them (saith the Lord), and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.'⁶ Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked.⁷ All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. 'If we do praise,' saith St. Augustine, 'the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the laws of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,' etc.⁸ But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

Latimer :—"Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God.⁹ I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be a helper unto me in time of need."

Antonian :—"Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes (I cannot tell what), therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ, I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism, also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me, how were

Mary
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Thirteenth objection.

See Appendix.

(1) Epist. 119. [now 55, cap. 19, § 35.—Ed.]

(2) Tob. i.

(3) 1 Chron. xiii.

(4) 2 Chron. xiii.

(5) Jerem. xx. Heb. xi.

(6) 2 Cor. vi.

Lev. xxvi. Isa. lii.

(7) Judith xii.

(8) Cont. Epist. Gaudentii, lib. i. cap. 22.

(9) Psalm ix.

Mary. you baptized; or whether will ye (as the Anabaptists do), that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?"

A. D. 1555. *Ridley* :—" Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be, given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministrations of the Lord's supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before."

Answer.

Latimer :—" Where you say, ' I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue."

Fourteenth objection.

Antonian :—" Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which, in like cases, was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

Answer.

Ridley :—" O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

" Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he, which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, ' He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law.' But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true goodness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear superstitions and the overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God.

" To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken: for a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Other-

wise, whosoever love their country in truth (that is to say, in God), they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be then contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man.¹ And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, etc.

“But this is the readiest way,’ ye say ‘to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth: therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws.’ Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher Powers: for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, ‘Art thou he that troubleth Israel?’ The false prophets, also, complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? did they not, at the last, cry, ‘If you let this man go, ye are not Cæsar’s friend?’ The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? ‘We have found this man,’ saith he, ‘a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world,’ etc.² But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reproved before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation do well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince; but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and a helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince what is the prince’s, and to God what is God’s. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: ‘Set him,’ saith he, ‘in the bishop’s seat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.’ Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, etc., he answered with a mild spirit, ‘We are taught,’ saith he, ‘to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God: but such honour as is not contrary to God’s religion.’³

“Hitherunto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit.⁴ I learn also hereby to be in ure with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tynedale where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hand (you call them northern gads), especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickerings some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so died,

Marty.

A. D.
1555.

Satan and his ministers do always charge the godly with sedition.

(1) Acts iv. (2) 1 Kings xviii. Jer. xxvi. Luke xxiii. John xviii. Acts xiv.
 (3) Theod. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 6. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 15. Niceph. lib. iii. c. 35.
 (4) Eph. vi.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers' sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith, and christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our adversary, which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour,¹ shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. 'Let us awake therefore: for if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up.'² Let us awake therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. 'Resist the devil,' saith St. James,³ 'and he will fly from you.' Let us therefore resist him manfully; and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys.⁴ Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever; Amen, Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, me thinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetic countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words: 'Trust not, my son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured, and beloved of you): trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power.'⁵ And remember always the words of the Lord, Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak: for it shall be given you even in that same hour what ye shall speak; For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.'⁶ I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils.⁷ For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, 'I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, etc.: but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.'⁸ I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, through his gracious aid, being not overcome, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.⁹

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him or now: blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave."

Latimer:—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well-buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, etc. Many things make confusion in memory; and if I were as well learned as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when

(1) 1 Pet. v. (2) Matt. xxiv. (3) James iv. (4) 1 Tim. vi. (5) 1 Cor. iv.
(6) Matt. x. Mark xi (7) Eph. vi. (8) Ps. xlvii. (9) Rev. ii.

and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their shoot-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy (namely now, when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roost), but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, good my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, etc.¹ Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal: neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them; when the hour appointed is come.² To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies: you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, 'Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech.'³ Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries.⁴ Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well ware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton (as many men thought), after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willfulness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled:⁵ if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians,⁶ to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, etc. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency, is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, 'Peace, all things are safe,' when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss.⁷ But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. 'Comfort yourselves one another with these words.'⁸

"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me; pray for me, I say; pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their racking, writhing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's holy Scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law: but I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be you steadfast and unmovable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellously well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, 'Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel;'⁹ and again, 'Harden thyself to suffer afflictions.'¹⁰ 'Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life,' saith the Lord."¹¹

(1) 1 Cor. x.

(2) 1 Pet. iii. Luke xxiii.

(3) Colos. ii.

(4) 2 Tim. ii.

(5) Rev. vi.

(6) Phil. i.

(7) 1 Thess. v.

(8) 1 Thess. iv.

(9) 1 Cor. xiii.

(10) 2 Tim. i.

(11) Rev. ii.

*Marg.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*

*Mary.*THE LETTERS OF THE REVEREND BISHOP AND MARTYR,
NICHOLAS RIDLEY.A. D.
1555.

A Letter sent from Bishop Ridley and his Prison-fellows, unto Master Bradford and his Prison-fellows, in the King's Bench in Southwark, Anno 1554.

Well-beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all, with one heart, wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly-beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren, and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us all to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, etc., I ensure you, it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity.

False reports spread by the policy of the papists. See Appendix.

As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, with God's grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's grace, continue, etc. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners, hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you, and all the rest of our foresaid companions, well in Christ.

It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of master Hooper's matter; but of the rest never a deal. We long to hear of father Crome, Dr. Sands, master Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers,¹ etc. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as master bailiffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we should have broken the prison with such violence, as that, if master bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made a scape.² We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields; but now both they and we are restrained of both.

Ridley and his fellow-prisoner in Bocardo, restrained of their liberty.

My lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor's commandment, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore, they might, that would, see us upon the wall; but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, etc. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God; all our cure and care is and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any scholar, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of "Quondams."³ For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good, and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, with God's

The ingratitude of the scholars in not visiting the bishops in Bocardo.

(1) This letter seemeth to be written a little before, about the time of the burning of master Rogers.

(2) Whatsoever fault is done, the cause is laid upon the poor Christians.

(3) Bocardo, a college of Quondams!

grace, one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come; for, before that day come, I fear me the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown, and trodden under foot; righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that loveth truly the truth.

We all pray you, as ye can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and mistress Warcup have not forgotten us, but, ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, who ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us); but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

Yours in Christ,

Nich. Ridley.

A Letter of Ridley, sent to a Cousin of his.

God's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever; Amen.—When I call to remembrance, beloved cousin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and are assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pitiful (without speedy repentance), that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but only lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instruction. But alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scripture. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts; Amen. Commend me, etc.

Yours,

Nicholas Ridley.

A worthy Letter of Ridley to Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner, and his cross, against our ghostly enemy the devil, the old serpent Satan, methink I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which Satan hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts and mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are they, in my judgment: the one, his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two, Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by these two he driveth down mightily (alas I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven.¹ These two poisonous rotten posts he had so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John saith, not without great cause, 'If any know not Satan's subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him none other burden to be laden withal.'²

Sir, because these be his principal and main posts, whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little, God knoweth, that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The goodness of mistress Wilkinson and Anne Warcup.

Ridley lamenteth the state of them who, for fear of trouble, do wind with the world, and go contrary to their conscience.

Two main pillars holding up the synagogue of Satan

Satan's poison painted over with false pretences of religion.

Ridley's purpose.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have almost (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford! let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's gospel's cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother; and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.—From Bocardo.

Yours in Christ,

Nich. Ridley.

Another Letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford, and other his
Prison-fellows, Anno 1555.

Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.

According to your mind, I have run over all your papers,¹ and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves, and I ween somewhere I have altered some words, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall be best done with these things, now ye must consider; for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father, and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it; for as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, and for Christ's sake, whom I heard say, he did so stoutly in time of peril confess, and yet also for our country's sake, and for all our mother's sake; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in your company, such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come; Amen.

Commen-
dation of
Dr. Tay-
lor.

As yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our master Christ, to suffer them, they shall not stir one hair of your heads.

My brother Punt (the bearer hereof, and master Hooper's letters) would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind;² that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are, as ye know, separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us: and yet, as we hear, the scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do; for I look for none other, but, if ye answer afore the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or

(1) This was a treatise of the Lord's Supper with other things which master Bradford sent to him to peruse, and to judge thereof.

(2) This matter was concerning the deliberation of the prisoners in London; what to do, if they were called to open disputation.

Paul. And yet further I think, that occasion afterwards may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise.

Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and master Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow, good father Crome, I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our master Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy, and all manner of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to you, Let this be common among your brethren? among whom (I dare say) it is with you, as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although, I said, the bailiffs and our hostess straitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all: Amen, Amen.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Communion of saints in Ridley, Hooper, Taylor, and others. God's provision for his saints.

The christian charity of certain persons.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and shirts, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

And yet I pray you do so much as to show them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do; for I know they be of master Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford.¹

O dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling: "Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord."²

O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom. Where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives, oh! what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine. If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and which shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

(1) This letter of bishop Ridley was written to master Bradford soon after his condemnation, when it was thought that he should be had to Lancashire.

(2) "Eugè serve bone, et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituit, et intrabis in gaudium Domini." Matt. xxv.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.The re-
joicing of
Ridley at
the constancy
of
Rogers

We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Roger's departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) so rejoiced of it, that since that time, (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother! blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, Nicholas Ridley.—Brother, farewell.

To the Brethren remaining in Captivity of the Flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry Prisons; but knit together, in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.¹

Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren; namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet still unmovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and showeth and offereth to others the pleasant baits of the world, namely riches, wealth, and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil,² that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication;³ yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatterings and allurements, of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so steadfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of Antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

He exhorteth
the brethren
to stand
fast.

In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more.⁴ For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived:⁵ such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that, for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened.⁶ In the mean season abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: "Endure," I say, "and reserve yourselves unto better times," as one of the heathen poets said;⁷ cease not to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailling faith of the gospel.⁸

Patience
necessary
for all
Christians.

Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promises, "for yet a very little while, and he that shall come, will come,

(1) This letter of Ridley to the persecuted flock of Christ was written in Latin, and translated into English. [This translation is the same as is contained in Coverdale's "Letters of the Martyrs;" where it is also given in Latin. See also the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, page 1381; and in the Appendix to this volume.—Ed.]

(2) Rev. xii.

(3) Rev. xvii.

(4) Gal. v.

(5) Matt. xxiv.

(6) 1 Johu iv.

(7) Virg. Æncid. i.

(8) Phil. i.

and will not tarry:" and "the just shall live by faith; but if any withdraw himself my soul shall have no pleasure in him," saith the Lord. "But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul." Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terrors or threatenings of the world. "Fear not them which kill the body;"² the rest ye know: for I write not unto you as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth; and to this end only, that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to condemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth.³ For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, either can we, receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory and lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that are called gods,⁴ whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. "This is life eternal," saith St. John, "that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ."⁵ If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord.⁶ And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be ye not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your captain Christ; trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out.⁷ For we have (high praise be given to God there-for) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

Let us be hearty, and of good courage there-for, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God:⁸ for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed there-for: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.⁹

On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified: for what can they else do unto you, by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that while, for Christ's cause, they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing.¹⁰ Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us, confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The quarrel of the martyrs is just and true. Martyrs put to death, because they will acknowledge no more Christs but one.

The profundities of Satan.

The martyrs have all the prophets, apostles, and ancient writers on their side.

He exhorteth us not to wish evil to our persecutors.

(1) Heb. x.
(6) Rev. ii.(2) John x.
(7) 1 Pet. v.(3) Heb. i. Coloss. i.
(8) Phil. i.(4) 1 Cor. viii.
(9) 1 Pet. iv.(5) John xii.
(10) 1 Pet. iiii.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

in Spirit and verity: Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ: Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the Brethren in Captivity; translated out of the Latin.

To the brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him and for his sake.

Grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you: Amen.

Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send to you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to establish and confirm that thing, which, when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine; that is to say, holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation,¹ and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

Communion and unity of saints.

Reasons proving the religion in queen Mary's time not to be of God.

Scriptures in king Edward's time known; in queen Mary's, unknown.

In king Edward's time the people knew what they prayed. In queen Mary's, they neither knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness, of the godly and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another; whereby also, being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us; whereby moreover, either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies: those, I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language, so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people, redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together: but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange

tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast?

Finally, I hear say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. O devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth; now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the gospel: "Woe unto you which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them; you yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter to come in."¹

And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit? Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.²

Ye therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is to wit, are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world, and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.³ Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all, who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how "shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who then shall condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"⁴ The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore: Amen.

Yours in the Lord, N. Ridley.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain Letter of one Master West, sometime his Chaplain.

I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded, that this world is but transitory, and, as St. John saith, "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof."⁵ I am persuaded Christ's words to be true, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven:"⁶ and I believe that no earthly creature shall be

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The catechism set forth in king Edward's time for children, in queen Mary's time forbidden. The Catholic Phari-sees.

The pit of locusts opened.

Exhortation to stand constant in Christ and his truth.

(1) Matt. xiii.

(2) Rev. ix.

(3) Rev. vii. 1 John v.

(4) Rom. viii.

(5) 1 John ii.

(6) Matt. x.

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No creature can be saved, whom Christ denieth before his Father. What it is for a man well to remember himself. Fear God.

saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed sir, now it is time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of body and soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

Confession to the minister in the way of asking counsel, not disliked. Ridley ever a reverend handler of the sacrament.

You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I assure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margin you write "warily," and in this world "wisely;" and yet me thought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

The part of a true bishop, only to seek the glory of Christ his Master.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me: for this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me that I shall appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my shoot-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house; which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power (but alas, now, when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away): this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

Ridley repenteth that he was not more earnest in establishing the consciences of his family and cure.

Dr. Harvey charged.

This conscience doth move me also now to require both you, and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure

setting-forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both, in God's name, "Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him."¹ And the saying of St. John is true, "All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever."² If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore.³ For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth one for evermore:⁴ and of Christ it is truly said, "Christ yesterday and to-day; the same is also for ever."⁵

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the Common Prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you I never found man (so far as I do remember) neither old nor young, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? for what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an example; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse: for he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, so long as I live! And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God), that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either for fear or gain of the world shrink and play the apostata,⁶ indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this may be the last time peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford the 8th day of April, 1555.

Yours in Christ, N. Ridley.

Master Grindal, now archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the city of Frankfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then prisoner, a certain epistle,⁷ wherein first, he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant: secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Good mo-
nitions of
Ridley to
his old
chap-
lains.

What is
truth.

Common
prayer in
the com-
mon
tongue.

What it
is to con-
fess
Christ.

He that
denieth
an open
truth
against
God's
word for
worldly
danger,
will be as
ready to
deny God
himself.

Death
common
to good
and bad.
Dama-
nable agree-
ment.

The sum
of Grin-
dal's let-
ter to
Ridley.

(1) Psalm ii. (2) 1 John ii. (3) John xvii. (4) Eccles. xxvii. (5) Heb. xv.

(6) Apostata was he who fled from his captain to the enemy. He was also so called, that departed from the Christians to the Jews or Gentiles.

(7) "A certain Epistle;" see "Letters of the Martyrs." London, 1837. page 34.—Ed

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providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them : thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certain other treatises and his disputations ; whereunto bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth :

An Answer of Bishop Ridley to Master Grindal's Letter sent from Frankfort.

Blessed be God our heavenly Father which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands ; and over all this I bless him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly-beloved brother Grindal, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend fathers and conceptives (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*), lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth cease to multiply his mercies, to strengthen us ; and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Zurich, Frankfort, and otherwhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here, that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I ensure you, it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory, and Cox, etc. Oh ! that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers ; but, I trust in God, they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now, therefore, care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us : for whensoever God shall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, come), you, blessed be God ! are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies, ye say, ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English, "*Contra Transubstantiationem*," vix possum adduci ut credam operæ-pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit, nullo modo vclim ut quidquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus, constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constituerit ; and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose you know a good part of our state here (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, etc.), you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and after that, had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year ; and then because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in close prison again.

The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, master Latimer, master Bradford, and I, were put all together in one prison, where we remained till almost to the next Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, master Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following, were our disputations at Oxford, after the which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, etc. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three, at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched ; for

Experience of God's strength towards his saints in their imprisonment.

See Appendix.

Ridley, prisoner in the Tower half a year and more. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, prisoners together in the Tower ; afterwards sent to Oxford.

we were all three on one day, within a day or two of our disputations, of Dr. Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as, I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord! Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered to the secular power, and writs, as we have heard say, given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea not for the fear or pains of death. The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: Ferrar the bishop of St. David's, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers (tuus olim comprehendarius), Dr. Taylor of Hadley, master Saunders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now, this last day, master Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas, hath relented, as I have heard; but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon after he died, and is gone.¹ Grimbold was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he escaped not without some becking or bowing, alas, of his knee unto Baal.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.²

Of all us three captives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, vel quia viro, in cuius ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis)—mulier vetula, morosa, et superstitiosissima, quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori verò plusquam obsequentiss. Licet uxorem (utî nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hâc quotidianâ consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum malâ muliere in conjugio colligari. Rectè ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum: idque illi, si quando de meâ nimîâ servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge (as I hear say) omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum Præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt; et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam idem passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in few words, papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, alas we did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much, alas, with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Weston
condemner of Cran-
mer, Rid-
ley, and
Latimer.Writs for
burning of Brad-
ford
called in
again.Names of
martyrs.All the
statutes
of reform-
ation in
Cam-
bridge
broken.How
God's
wrath
was pro-
voked.

(1) This West, when he had relented and said mass against his conscience, shortly after pined away and died for sorrow. [Coverdale's note.]

(2) Note how Bonner here required the kindness of Ridley showed to his mother. (page 408.)

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his sacred majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The prayer of Ridley for the churches abroad, which openly profess the gospel of Jesus Christ.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know), and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting-forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same; that there arise no root of bitterness among you that may infect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake; and so, both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

Ridley prayeth for queen Mary.

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, cancellarius Winton. comes Arundellus, et dominus Pachetus, jam legatione funguntur, unâ cum cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, et Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus, et jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloriâ dignetur bene illi fortunare; nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrum precibus me humillimè ex toto corde commendo; in primis, tuis, O charissime in Christo frater et dilectissime Grindalle, et charissimorum fratrum et unice mihi in Domino dilectorum Checî, Coxî, Turnerî, Leverî, Sampsonîs, Chamberî, et omnium fratrum nostrorum et conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, et diligunt Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendissimos patres et conceptivos meos in Domino Thomam Cranmerum jam verè magni pastoris et Archipræsulis nomine dignissimum et veteranum illum Christi et nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condone mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem, non enim posthac credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis.

N. R.

To Augustine Bernher.

A letter of Ridley to one Augustine Bernher. Commemoration of saints.

Brother Austine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt but of his good gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forebrunt now of battle against his adversaries, and hath endured them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the stour, and to be content in his cause and for his gospel sake to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father, for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord, I perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among this adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey; that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the highway, "et sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium." The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt; and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr,¹ Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher in Paul's of London. And now, because Grindal is gone

(1) Proto-martyr is the first martyr, whom he so called, because he was the first that suffered here in those bloody days.

(the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him), I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church to suffer for Christ, whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. As for the books ye write of, ye shall have space to use them as ye think best: only I desire that my brother Shiphead may have knowledge of them, whatsoever God shall do with me; and I pray you at last to talk with him in such things. Thus fare ye now well. I had no paper,¹ and therefore I was constrained thus to write.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Besides these letters of bishop Ridley, divers other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely, among certain others, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable sermons of Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, etc.

^{*2} *The Life, Acts, and Doings of Master Hugh Latimer, the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Christ and his Gospel.*

Now after the life of the reverend father in God Dr. Nicolas Ridley, with other his letters written in prison, followeth likewise the life and doings of this worthy and old practised soldier of Christ, master Hugh Latimer; who was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurkesson in the county of Leicester, a husbandman, of a good and wealthy estimation; where also he was born [and] brought up until he was of the age of four years, or thereabout: at which time his parents (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters), seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years, he was sent to the University of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Latimer
first sent
to school.Sent to
Cam-
bridge.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous (as himself confesseth), that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he had thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. Whereupon in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as his oration made, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity in the said University of Cambridge, against Philip Melancthon and his works, did plainly declare. But especially his popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good master Stafford, reader of the divinity lecture in Cambridge; most spitefully railing against him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

A long
time was
a zealous
and super-
stitious
papist.Declaim-
ed in
Cam-
bridge
against
Melanct-
thon.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that where he thought by that his oration to have utterly defaced the professors of the gospel and true church of Christ, he was himself by a member of the same prettily (yet godlye) caught in the blessed net of God's word. For master Thomas Bilney (of whom mention is

Convert-
ed by
Bilney.

(1) Bishop Ridley's expression, "I had no paper," is at once accounted for on inspecting the autograph of his letter in the Emmanuel College Library, as it is written on the reverse of that addressed to him by Bernher. See Letter 24 in PS. Ridley, and Letter 78 in PS. Bradford.—ED.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 1297; and the Appendix.—ED.

Mary. made before), being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of Antichrist's kingdom, and seeing master
 A. D. Latimer to have a zeal in his ways (although without knowledge), was
 1555. stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought [by] what means he might best win this zealous (yet ignorant) brother to the true knowledge of Christ. And therefore, after a short time, he came to master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted; with the hearing whereof he was (by the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school-doctors and other such fooleries, and became a true scholar of the true divinity, as he himself confesseth, as well in his conference with master Ridley as also in his first sermon made upon the Paternoster.¹ So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now an earnest seeker after him, changing his old manner of calumniating into a diligent kind of conferring, both with master Bilney and others, with whom he was often and greatly conversant.

Latimer a papist, turned to a zealous Christian.

He became a preacher in Cambridge.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore he became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor, to the rest of his brethren within the University, by the space of three years,² spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his children to molest and trouble him.

Enemies stured in Cambridge against Latimer. Latimer's preaching of the cards in Cambridge.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that master Latimer made about Christenmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the University of Cambridge, to envy against him, for that master Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief (as their triumphing card) he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary beautifying of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English,³ that the common people might thereby learn their duties, as well to God as to their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of Latimer, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in him that preached, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

For on the Sunday before Christenmas day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, [he] entereth into the pulpit. Upon the text of the gospel read that day in the church, "Tu quis es?" etc., in delivering his cards (as is above said), he made

(1) Read Latimer's own confession in his first sermon upon the Paternoster.

(2) "2 yeres," Edition 1563, p. 1297. See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) The Sermon in which this topic is handled, has not come down to us.—Ed.

the heart to be triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies : adding, moreover, to the praise of that triumph, that though it were never so small, yet it would make up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, etc. : meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of the heart and verity, wherein consisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistering show of man's traditions, of pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of superelevation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremaey, etc. ; so that all these either be needless, where the other is present, or else be of small estimation, in comparison.

The Copy and effect of these his Sermons, although they were neither fully extracted, neither did they all come to our hands, yet so many as came to our hands I thought here to set abroad, for that I would wish nothing of that man which may be gotten to be suppressed.*

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

The difference between true and false.

The Tenor and Effect of certain Sermons made by Hugh Latimer in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1529.

"Tu quis es?" which words are as much to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not; wherefore they said unto him, "Who art thou?" Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, "He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo." By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, "Who art thou?" shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, "Who art thou?" This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, "What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?" Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise; I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell,

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell; except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following:

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and, for because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will but be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alone by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace, hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he, being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds of possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly: the said captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So, likewise, it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alone unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, i. e. the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for, likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again, we lost the same.

The heirs of the captain of Calais, could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds of possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be

excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! for he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the most uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, inso-much that this evil nature is so fused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, "Who art thou?"

And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelies, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, "Who art thou?" than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name: for then thou art a christian man, a christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, "Who art thou?"

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a christian man, a christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in daunger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned; which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be christian men, christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a christian man, or of a christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas; I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the trump, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; inso-much that

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*

Mary.

there is no man that is willing to play at this trump with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

A.D.
1555.

Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the trump; you must mark also that the trump must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be showed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, "Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law," saith Christ, "that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Raca,' that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Fool,' shall be in danger of hell-fire." This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms how they be spoken, and to what purpose: let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, "Thou shalt not kill." Yet nevertheless, the last three parts do show unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet, for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the Jews understood Christ well enough, when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue. Wherefore, seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we, in like manner, may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin first, with the first part of this card, and then, after, with the other three parts: you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge, not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon; and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

Now, as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour; to call your neighbour "brainless," or any such word of disdain; or to call your neighbour "fool." Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly, one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother, ire or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will not peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now, to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour "brainless," or some other like word of displeasure—as a man might say in a fury, "I shall handle thee well enough," which words and countenances doth more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word ne showed no countenance to declare his ire. Wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbour's soul in

moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is in danger of council. *Mary.*

Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour "fool," doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that called his neighbour "but brainless," or any such words moving ire: for to call a man "fool," that word representeth more envy in a man, than "brainless" doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other. *A. D. 1555.*

Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man "brainless," and to call his neighbour "fool;" truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names; which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire: these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences: judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance: council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour "brainless," or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell, than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour "fool," by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it; that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees; for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great the pain shall be according: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell. No doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient, enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with another. Yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms, of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Whereas you might say, What was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them: these terms were natural and well-known amongst the Jews and the Pharisees. Wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine: and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of enquirence, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution-day. Sessions of enquirence is like unto judgment; for when sessions of enquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance, is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon: execution-day is to be compared unto hell-fire, for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named "hell-fire;" and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Hearts
trump.

These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card. Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, "Who art thou?" The answer is, "I am a christian man." Then further we must say to ourselves, "What requireth Christ of a christian man?" Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before), and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a christian man, not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks,¹ the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

Two
manner of
killings.

The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that christian men doth so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murder and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example as thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposed to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of the father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants and apprentices do enjoy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of christian lineage murdered and spoiled.

The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of christian men slain; which is on this fashion: Although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well-disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or prentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the other, of his faculty, doth admit him; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

Wherefore I exhort all true christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teaching according to it, rebuking and punishing vice; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness: if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many one that breaketh this card, "Thou shalt not kill," and playeth therewith oftentime, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those, now-a-days, that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many hath these two

(1) See Foxe's Turkish History, in the Acts and Monuments, vol. iv. p. 53.—Ed.

ways slain their own children unto their damnation ; unless the great mercy of God were ready to help them when they repent there-for.

Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalen ; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin ; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven ; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven ; as appeareth by this example following :

Christ when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon ; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named Mary Magdalen. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, " If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him." Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, " Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee." " Say what you please," quod the Pharisee. Then said Christ, " I pray thee tell me this : If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing perceiveth these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both : which of these two debtors ought to love this man most ?" The Pharisee said, " That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him." " Likewise," said Christ, " it is by this woman : she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her ; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins : therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven." So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance. And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have : for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin, and in offending : but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it ; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, " Who art thou ?" to the which we might answer, that we be true christian men and women : and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this card, " Thou shalt not kill," without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks ; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory : Amen.

Another Sermon¹ of Hugh Latimer.

How to play with certain cards.

Now you have heard what is meant by this first card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpose again to deal unto you another card, almost of the same suit ; for they be of so nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the

(1) This sermon on the same subject is thus placed in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 1304. In more recent Editions it is usually inserted in Foxe's Appendix, but the Editor has, in this instance, adopted the original arrangement.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

other. The first card declared, that you should not kill, which might be done divers ways, as being angry with your neighbour, in mind, in countenance, in word, or deed. It declared also, how you should subdue the passions of ire, and so clear evermore yourselves from them: and whereas this first card doth kill in you these stubborn Turks of ire; this second card will not alone they should be mortified in you, but that you yourselves shall cause them to be likewise mortified in your neighbour, if that your said neighbour hath been, through your occasion, moved unto ire, either in countenance, word, or deed. Now let us hear therefore the tenor of this card.

“When thou makest thine oblation at mine altar, and there dost remember that thy neighbour hath any thing against thee, lay down there thy oblation, and go first and reconcile thy neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation. This card was spoken by Christ, as testifieth St. Mark¹ in his fifth chapter, against all such as do presume to come unto the church to make oblation unto God either by prayer, or any other deed of charity, not having their neighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to say, as to restore thy neighbour unto charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved against thee: then, if so be it that thou hast spoken to or by thy neighbour, whereby he is moved to ire or wrath, thou must lay down thy oblation. Oblations be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of charity: these be all called oblations to God. Lay down therefore thine oblation; begin to do none of these foresaid works before thou goest unto thy neighbour, and confess thy fault unto him, declaring thy mind, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as far forth as thy words and substance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worst. Thou art sorry in thy mind, that thou shouldst be occasion of his offending.

“What manner of card is this?” will some say: “Why, what have I to do with my neighbour’s or brother’s malice? As Cain said, Have I the keeping of my brother? or shall I answer for him and for his faults? This were no reason. As for myself, I thank God I owe no man malice nor displeasure: if others owe me any, at their own peril be it. Let every man answer for himself!” Nay sir, not so, as you may understand by this card; for it saith, “If thy neighbour hath any thing, any malice against thee, through thine occasion, lay even down (saith Christ) thine oblation: pray not to me, do no good deeds for me, but go first unto thy neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forsaken the same through thy naughty words, mocks, scorns, or disdainous countenance, and so forth; and then come and offer thine oblation, then do thy devotion, then do thy alms-deeds, then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee.”

“O good Lord, this is a hard reckoning, that I must go and seek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is a hundred miles from me, beyond the seas, or else I cannot tell where: if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him.” This is a lawful excuse before God on this fashion, that thou wouldest in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy neighbour, if he were present, and that thou thinkest in thy heart, whensoever thou shalt meet with him, to go unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee, and so never intend to come from him, unto the time that you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ.

Yet, peradventure, there be some in the world that be so devilish and so hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto charity. For all that, do what lieth in thee, by all charitable means to bring him to unity. If he will not in no wayes apply thereunto, thou mayest be sorrowful in thy heart, that by thine occasion that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state. This notwithstanding, if thou do the best that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to some doctors’ mind, thou art discharged towards God. Nevertheless St. Augustine doubteth in this case, whether thy oblations, prayers, or good deeds, shall avail thee before God, or no, until thy neighbour come again to good state, whom thou hast brought out of the way. Doth this noble doctor doubt therein? what aileth us to be so bold, and count it but a small fault, or none, to bring our neighbour out of patience for every trifle that standeth not with our mind? You may see what a grievous thing this is, to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have: for surely, after the opinion of great wise men, friendship

once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you shall hear what Christ saith unto such persons. Saith Christ, "I came down into this world, and so took on me bitter passion for man's sake, by the merits whereof. I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man brother unto me, and so to expel the dominion of Satan the devil, which worketh nothing else but dissension: and yet now there be a great number of you, that have professed my name, and say, you be christian men, which do rebel against my purpose and mind. I go about to make my flock: you go about to break the same, and kill my flock." "How darest thou," saith Christ, "presume to come unto my altar, unto my church, or into my presence, to make oblation unto me, that takest on thee to spoil my lambs? I go about like a good shepherd to gather them together: and thou dost the contrary, evermore ready to divide and lose them. Who made thee so bold to meddle with my silly beasts, which I bought so dearly with my precious blood? I warn thee out of my sight, come not in my presence: I refuse thee and all thy works, except thou go and bring home again my lambs which thou hast lost. Wherefore, if thou thyself intend to be one of mine, lay even down by-and-by thine oblation, and come no further toward mine altar, but go and seek them without any questions, as it becometh a true and faithful servant."

A true and faithful servant, whensoever his master commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no stops ne questions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he, continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and stops whatsoever betides him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his master's will and pleasure. On the contrary, a slothful servant, when his master commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask questions, where, when, which way, and so forth; and so he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and slothful behaviour, his master's commandment is either undone quite, or else so done that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions, and put no doubts. Be not ashamed to do thy Master's and Lord's will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is afore said) whom thou hast lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee: require of him charitably to remit, and cease not till you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ.

Do not, like the slothful servant, thy Master's message with cautels and doubts; come not to thy neighbour whom thou hast offended, and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will show thee like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty years old, in thy neighbour's bosom. When he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But now, I tell thee, it is worse than it was, for by such cloaked charity, where thou dost offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein: for now, thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if he would take it of thee. Thou thinkest to blind thy master Christ's commandment. Beware, do not so, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatsoever thou be; and so, as I said, it should be better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. "What?" some will say, "I am sure he loveth me well enough: he speaketh fair to my face." Yet for all that, thou mayest be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man, to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his body; for all these parts of a man's body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes, that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and business. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving some alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his body, that will labour with his body, or put his body in danger to do good for thee, or to

Mary.

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Mary. deliver thee from adversity; and so forth, with the other members of his body.
 A. D. And if thy neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayest think
 1555. that he loveth thee well, and thou, in like wise, oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be engendered amongst you.

It may fortune thou wilt say, "I am content to do the best for my neighbour that I can, saving myself harmless." I promise thee Christ will not hear this excuse; for he himself suffered harm for our sakes, and for our salvation was put to extreme death. I wis, if it had pleased him, he might have saved us and never felt pain; but in suffering pains and death, he did give us example, and teach us how we should do one for another, as he did for us all; for, as he saith himself, "he that will be mine, let him deny himself, and follow me, in bearing my cross and suffering my pains." Wherefore we must needs suffer pain with Christ to do our neighbour good, as well with the body and all his members, as with heart and mind.

Now I trust you wot what your card meaneth, let us see how that we can play with the same. Whensoever it shall happen you to go and make your oblation unto God, ask of yourselves this question, "Who art thou?" the answer as you know is, "I am a christian man." Then you must again ask unto yourself, What Christ requireth of a christian man? By and by cast down your trump, your heart, and look first of one card, then of another. The first card telleth thee thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt look if there be any moe cards to take up, and, if thou look well, thou shalt see another card of the same suit, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bound to reconcile thy neighbour. Then cast thy trump upon them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the virtue of thy cards, and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turks, and discomfort and thrust them down. Thou shalt again fetch home Christ's sheep that thou hast lost, whereby thou mayest go both patiently and with a quiet mind, unto the church, and make thy oblation unto God; and then, without doubt, he will hear thee.

But yet Christ will not accept our oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our neighbour), if that our oblation be made of another man's substance, but it must be our own. See therefore that thou hast gotten thy goods according to the laws of God and of thy prince. For if thou gettest thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawful ways, then, if thou offer a thousand pound of it, it will stand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors do offend, for when they be made rich by other men's goods, then they will take upon them to build churches, to give ornaments to God and his altar, to gild saints, and to do many good works therewith: but it shall be all in their own name, and for their own glory. Wherefore, saith Christ, they have in this world their reward, and so their oblations be not their own, nor be not acceptable before God.

Another ways God will refuse thy voluntary oblation, as thus: If so be it, that thou hast gotten never so truly thy goods, according both to the laws of God and man, and hast with the same goods not relieved thy poor neighbour, when thou hast seen him hungry, thirsty, and naked, he will not take thy oblation when thou shalt offer the same, because he will say unto thee, "When I was hungry, thou gavest me no meat; when I was thirsty, thou gavest me no drink; and when I was naked thou didst not clothe me." Wherefore I will not take thy oblation, because it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy poor neighbours, and thou hast not therein done according unto this my commandment;¹ I had rather have mercy done, than sacrifice or oblation. Wherefore until thou dost the one more than the other, I will not accept thine oblation."

Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the church, except your four offering days, and your tithes: as setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, making of highways, and such other, be called voluntary works;

*See
Appendix.*

(1) "Misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium."

which works be of themselves marvellous good, and convenient to be done. Necessary works, and works of mercy, are called the commandments, the four offering days, your tithes, and such other that belong to the commandments; and works of mercy consist in relieving and visiting thy poor neighbours. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the necessary works undone, which they are bound to do, they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you build a hundred churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of saints, and honouring of the church, and if thou go as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as oaks; if thou leave the works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good and ought to be done; but yet they must be so done, that by their occasion the necessary works and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten. If you will build a glorious church unto God, see first yourselves to be in charity with your neighbours, and suffer not them to be offended by your works. Then, when ye come into your parish church, you bring with you the holy temple of God; as St. Paul saith, you yourselves be the very holy temples of God: and Christ saith by his prophet; In you will I rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding-place. Again, if you list to gild and paint Christ in your churches, and honour him in vestments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true temple of God, and honour him in rich vestures that will never be worn, and so forth use yourselves according unto the commandments: and then finally set up your candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts; for it is not fitting to see a dead man light candles. Then, I say, go your pilgrimages, build your material churches, do all your voluntary works, and they will then represent you unto God, and testify with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your hearts. But beware, I say again, that you do not run so far in your voluntary works, that ye do quite forget your necessary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep: you must have ever a good respect unto the best and worthiest works toward God, to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondarily. Thus if you do with the others that I have spoken of before, ye may come according to the tenor of your cards, and offer your oblations and prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ, who will both hear and accept them to your everlasting joy and glory: to the which he bring us, and all those whom he suffered death for; Amen.

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It¹ would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of master Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men at arms.

First came out the prior of the Black Friars,² called Buckenham, otherwise surnamed "Domine labia," who thinking to make a great hand against master Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when master Latimer brought forth his *Christen* cards, (to deface belike the doings of the other) brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quatre*; meaning by the *cinque* five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the *quatre*; by which his *cinque quatre* he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort through the occasion thereof might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example, the ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God," might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a

Dr. Dew-
face play-
eth at
dice with
Latimer.

Note
these rea-
sons of
the catho-
lics why
the Scrip-
tures
should
not come
in Eng-
lish.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) "Of our Ladye fryars:" Edition 1563, p. 1307: see Appendix.—ED.

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little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with others more this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Master Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr. Buckenham, cometh again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, the foresaid friar, prior of the Black Friars, with his black-friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Answer
of Lati-
mer to
Dr. Buck-
enham's
sermon.

Then master Latimer, first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckenham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the friar; so answered to his objections; so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that neither the ploughman durst look back, nor the baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which phrases, he said, were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonly used and known: "and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech," saith he, "bath its metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls, and in houses."

See
Appendix.

As for example (saith he, looking toward the friar that sat over against him), when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, friar Buckenham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against master Latimer.

Another
barking
friar
against
Latimer.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a Grey Friar and a doctor, an outlandishman called Dr. Venetus, who likewise, in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him, etc. To whom master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, "Thou shalt not kill,"¹ etc. "But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca (or any other like words of rebuking, as 'brainless'), shall be

in danger of council: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." *Mary.*

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour: with heart, when we be angry with him: with word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious and unseemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (said he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of council: words of spite, or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell fire, etc.

Thus master Latimer, in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words and the explaining of the same he had sufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wisdom; out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of God's word, which count them here as madmen, fools, brainless, and drunken: "so did they," said he, "in the Scripture call them which most purely preached and set forth the glory of God's word. But," said he, "what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? 'We mad men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves,'¹ etc. And that will be their end, except they repent." And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the university.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries,² when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching likewise and barking against him? amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been afore; Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall; Dr. Philo, master of Michael's-house; Dr. Metecalf, master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe of the King's-hall; Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe of Clement's hostel, Dr. Donnes of Jesus College, Dr. Palms, master of St. Nicholas's hostel; and Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelor of divinity, all three of St. John's College: also Brikenden, bachelor of divinity of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugners did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West,³ bishop of Ely, who preaching against master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him, within the churches of that university, to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord

*See
Appendix.*

*Latimer
forbidden
to preach.*

(1) "Nos insensati, nos insensati," etc.

(2) The vice-chancellor at the time, Dr. Buckmaster, endeavoured to restrain these contentions, who, summoning Latimer, and others mentioned in this paragraph, before him, gave them some excellent advice: see his account given to the Senate in Dr. Lamb's "Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents, from the MSS. of Corp. Christ. Coll. Camb.;" (Lond. 1838.) p. 15.—Ed.

(3) There are some very characteristic particulars about this Discourse, and Latimer's subsequent examination, quoted by Dr. Watkins, in the Life of Latimer, prefixed to his Sermons; (Lond. 1824; pp. 10—12), from Strype's Memorials under Mary, chap. xxviii.—Ed.

Mary. provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license
 A. D. master Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he
 1555. himself preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which
 See was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being
 Appendix. upon Christmas Even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles
 were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him
 by master Tyrell, fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

Bilney
 and Latimer
 joined
 compa-
 nions.

This master Latimer, as you have heard, being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding the maugre and malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of three years together with such favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself, coming in and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same. So master Latimer, with master Bilney, after this, continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with the said Bilney used much to confer and company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics'-hill. The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of master Bilney.

The story
 of a cer-
 tain wo-
 man con-
 demned,
 who was
 saved by
 Latimer.

Latimer
 obtaineth
 pardon of
 the king
 for a wo-
 man
 wrong-
 fully con-
 demned.

In a place of his sermons,¹ master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two and a certain woman then prisoner in the Castle or Tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The history is this : it so chanced, that after master Latimer had been acquainted with the foresaid master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus : a child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption ; which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial : but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and master Latimer, by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guilty. Then, immediately after, was he called to preach before king Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the king's majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time master Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened his whole matter to the king,

(1) See his first Sermon on the Lord's Prayer, 4to. page 125. Ed. 1607.—Ed.

and begged her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was master Latimer, and mistress Cheke godmother. But all that while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Purification
of women.

Then master Bilney, being with master Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, etc. So thus they travailed with this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade; and then at length showed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many others at this time happened in Cambridge by master Latimer and master Bilney. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern master Bilney, mention whereof is above expressed. But, as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with master Latimer; whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kindle against him. Concerning these adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the reign of king Edward; a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor scholars were in the university, which fared not better by his purse. This Dr. Redman being of no little authority in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of master Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by persuasion to revoke the said Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom master Latimer maketh answer again in few words. The sum and effect of both their letters, translated out of Latin, here followeth to be seen:

Dr. Redman
against
Latimer.
*See
Appendix.*

The Sum of the Epistle written by Dr. Redman to Master Latimer.

Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus.—I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charity's sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men; and that more is, before the whole catholic church, especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentical writer. Nay, nay; I beseech you rather consider

Mary. that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which doth sometimes transform itself into an angel of light.

A. D. Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the ear.
1555. Wete you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for our own salvation. Lay down your stomach, I pray you, and humble your spirit, and suffer not the church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christ's coat-without-seam (as much as lieth in you) should be torn asunder. Consider what the saying of the wise man is, and be obedient thereunto: trust not your own wisdom.—The Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

The Sum of Master Latimer's Answer to Dr. Redman.

Reverend master Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

Latimer called up to the cardinal.
See Appendix.

After master Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge about the space of three¹ years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of certain of the said university, where he was content to subscribe and grant to such articles as then they propounded unto him, etc.

Dr. Buts, a worthy favourer of God's word.

After that he returned to the university again, where, shortly after by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said Dr. Buts' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king at the suit of the lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to be rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree; and so, having a grant of the benefice, * he was glad thereof, and *, contrary to the mind of Dr. Buts, he would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

Latimer beneficed in Wiltshire.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum, the name of which town was called West-Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there, in like sort, he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretellet us, "Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution." It so chanced, that whereas he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother (whom we call our Lady), had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed unto him:

Troubled for preaching.

Christ only to be our Saviour, and not our Lady.

Matter devised against Latimer by popish priests.

First, That he should preach against our Lady, for that he reprov'd in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, which so held together upon that blessed virgin, as though she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole world.

Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

Item, That "Ave Maria" was a salutation only, and no prayer.

Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lord's assistance), when we come to his letters.

The chief impugnors and molesters of him,¹ besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson sometime of Cambridge, master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood; of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him, insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley bishop of London, Jan. 29, A.D. 1531, the copy of which citation here followeth :

Troublers
of Lati-
mer.

The Copy of a Citation sent to Master Latimer by the Chancellor of Sarum, at the intercession of the Bishop of London.

Richardus Hilley decretorum doctor, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Laurentii Dei gratiâ Sarum episcopi, in remotis extra regnum Angliæ agentis, vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, universis et singulis rectoribus, vicariis, capellanis, curatis, clerisque per dioces. Sarum ubilibet constitutis, salutem in Authore salutis. Vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis, vel citari faciatis, preemtorie magistrum Hugonem Latimerum, vicarium de West-Kington in archidiaconatu Wiltes. Sarum dioces. quòd compareat coram reverendo in Christo patre et domino, domino Johanne, Dei gratiâ London episcopo, aut ejus vicario in spiritualibus generali sive commissario, in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Pauli London, in loco consistorali ibidem, die lunæ, videlicet 29 die mensis Januarii jam instantis, inter horam 9 et 11 ante meridiem ejusdem diei, certis articulis sive interrogatoriis, crimina seu excessus graves infra jurisdictionem London per ipsum commissos concernentibus, personaliter responsurus, ulteriusque facturus et recepturus quod justitia in ea parte suadebit: et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos citra 22 diem ejusdem mensis Januarii, vel in eo, apud Sarum debite certificari curetis, ut nos certificarium hujusmodi supradicto reverendo patri, domino London. episcopo, erga dictum 22 diem transmittere valeamus, prout idem reverendus pater nos in juris subsidium ac mutux vicissitudinis obtentu rogavit, et etiam requisivit. Datum Sarum, sub sigillo antedicti reverendissimi patris ad causas, 10 die mensis Januarii, anno 1531.

Against this citation although master Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warham the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he, being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he, not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the foresaid archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty-doing, and

Latimer
appealeth
to his own
ordinary.

(1) The complaints of one of these, Richard Brown, against a sermon of Latimer's preached at Bristol, are recorded by Strype, Memorials under Henry VIII. chap. 22, p. 255.—Ed.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against; which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed; the copy of which epistle in Latin is this:

The Copy of the Epistle written by Master Latimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Non licet, reverendissime præsul, per supervenientem aegrotationem ad tuum palatium venire, non novam quidem illam, sed inveteratam, etsi novis occasionibus nuper exasperatam. Certe quantum videre videor, et quantum conjecturis ducor, hodie non licebit, citra meum (inquam) magnum malum non licebit. Et ne meum expectaret adventum diutius tua dominatio frustra, en hanc qualemcumque schedulam mea manu oblitam ad tuam amplitudinem mitto, velut excusationis nostræ certissimum indicem. In qua utinam vel per temporis importunitatem, vel per capitis gravedinem, justam aliquam expostulationem liceret tecum facere, qui me, curam animarum habentem, ab earundem curatione debita tam diu detines invitum, et hac quidem tempestate detines, qua pastores cum gregibus adesse oportet vel maxime. Quidni enim expostulem, si modo tam vili mancipio cum tanto patre expostulare sit licitum? Nam si Petrus arbitratur justum esse ratione officii sui, quamdiu in hoc foret tabernaculo, ut populum admonere et docere neutiquam cessaret, et quo propius morti hoc instantius, ergo non potest non videri injustum, si qui hodie neque docent ipsi (ut jam nihil mirer si non ante docuerunt) neque cupientes docere permittunt, nisi quos habuerunt votis per omnia et in omnibus obsecundantes. Primum liberum erat meipsum amplitudini vestræ præsentare et offerre; sed inde meipsum eripere et extricare, parum nunc quidem videtur mihi liberum esse. Et dum aliud in principio prætenditur, aliud in progressu tam longo temporis tractu agitur, nostri negotii quis aut qualis sit futurus exitus non immerito dubitatur; sed veritas tandem liberabit uti spero. Dominus qui custodit veritatem in seculum liberabit, super quo quid scribit Hieronymus utinam nunquam è memoria excideret; 'Non poterat me molestare quicquid essem pro veritate passurus; sæd vivit Deus, et ipsi cura est de nobis.' Tum modo ad Lond. missus sum, cæterum coram Cant. interdum multis formidandis patribus stipato geruntur omnia. Res velut cancellos quosdam et limites habet, ab eo qui me misit præstitutos; verum sic tractatur causa et ambagibus ducitur, quasi in infinitum abitura, nullo tandem claudenda termino, dum sine modo et fine alia post alia, ad me sive pertinentia sive impertinentia, nunc ab hoc nunc ab illo interrogantur, si non egomet modo, etsi fortè incivilliter, at non imprudenter tamen (ni fallor), modum imponerem, veritus ne inter multa, dum multis respondet unus, unum aliquod (ut fit) ex inconsulto erumperet, quod causam læderet (alioqui justissimam) et me malum ostendat oportet, nemini volentem male moliri, si quid in conscientia est erroris: et meminisse omnino illud oportet, nempe 'ad gehennam ædificare, contra conscientiam facere.' His sat fuerit sua profiteri, sua asserere, sua defensare: mihi vero assertiones alienæ obtruduntur, nescio quo jure asserendæ. Sine exemplo, opinor, hoc fit mihi, qui tamen intractabilis fere videor, dum nihil aliud quam iniquis efflagitationibus (quod ego judico) acquiescere detrecto. Adversus prædicationes meas si quis quid intentare conabitur, tanquam vel obscuriores, vel parum caute pronunciatas, paratus sum prædicationibus prædicationibus illustrare, qui nihil adversus veritatem, nihil adversus decreta patrum, nil non catholice (quod sciam) prædicari unquam. Id quod per adversariorum et obloquentium testimonia commonstrare poteram esse verum. Optavi et opto judicium vulgi reparari. Optavi et opto discrimen rerum deprehendi, et sua dignitate, suo loco, et tempore, suo gradu et ordine, unamquamque rem pollere, gaudere; ut ingenue sciant omnes, permultum interesse inter ea quæ præparavit Deus, ut in eis ambularem, quisque vocationis opera sedulo facturi, postquam quæ omnibus sunt communia pari sedulitate sunt facta, et inter ea quæ spontanea sunt, ut in quibus non nisi nostropote marte obambulamus. Imaginibus uti licet, peregrinari licet, sanctos invocare licet, animarum in purgatorio residentium memores esse licet: sed sic temperanda sunt quæ voluntaria sunt, ut præcepta Dei factu necessaria (quæ

Indigna
episcoporum
actio
contra
Latimerum.

Quid in
religione
corrigendum.
Discrimen
inter
mandata Dei
et præcepta
hominum.

facientibus vitam æternam, non facientibus æternam mortem, afferunt) justa æstimatione non preventur, ne, præpostere diligentes Deum, stulte devoti, Deum contra experiamur non redamantem nos, sed odio potius prosequentem; cum hoc est Deum vere diligere, nimirum præcepta Dei diligenter servare, juxta illud Christi; 'qui habet præcepta mea et facit ea, hic est qui diligit me.' Ne quis tam vilia reputet præcepta Dei vocationem concernentia, in suis potius ad- inventionibus aberraturus, cum in fine ante tribunal Christi secundum illa, non secundum has, omnes ad unum judicabimur, juxta illud Christi, 'sermo quem locutus sum, ipse judicabit in novissimo die.' Et quis potest unum præceptum Dei ullis additiis inventis, quamlibet aut multis aut speciosis, compensare? O si essemus ad ea quæ Dei sunt peragenda tam propensi, quam sumus ad nostra excogitantia excedenda seduli et devoti! Multa sunt quæ simpliciter fide facta non improbat Deus, sed probat utcumque saltem quorundam infirmitati indulgens, quæ tamen, antequam fierent interrogatus, nec præciperet nec consuleret fieri, utpote quæ justius toleranda sunt, dum sic fiant, quàm prædicanda ut fiant; ne occasione prædicationis (ut fit) omittantur, quæ periculo damnationis fieri debeant. Et quid magis indecorum, quàm ad id prædicationem convertere, quod Deus ipse nec præciperet nec consuleret fieri, saltem quàm- diu negligenter fiunt quæ præcipiuntur facienda. Proinde ego ex parte mandatorum Dei sto hactenus immobilis (sic non meum sed Christi lucrum, non meam sed Dei gloriam quaeritans); et, donec respirare licebit, stare non desinam; sic Germanos verbi præcones, quotquot hactenus fuere, imitaturus.

Intolerabiles sane sunt, et diu fuere, quarundam rerum abusus; ut nemo Christianæ gloriæ studiosus potest, nisi abusus multo etiam magis improbat, res ipsas et suggestu probare: quæ si rarius fierent (ut ne dicam nunquam), modo hac occasione, quæ mandantur a Deo fieri, fierent officiosius, quid quæso pateretur jacturæ religio christiana? nisi forte sic cæcutimus miseri, ut illa turpi quæstu nostro, non cultu Dei vero, putentur consistere. Jam non potest (opinor) fieri, ut damnabilis ejusmodi rerum abusus juste reprobetur, nisi protinus infrequentior earundem usus sequatur. Quamquam præstiterit quædam nunquam fieri, quàm tam fiducialiter fieri, ut minus curentur quæ oportuit fieri; cum alia oportet facere, alia oportet non omittere, alia nec oportet facere, et omittere licet. Et quis manifestum multarum rerum abusum non videt? quis videt, et non vehementer dolet? quis dolet denique, et non laborat amovere? et quando amovebitur, si usus prædicatione celebrabitur, tacebitur abusus? Imo non potest non regnare et dominari abusus. Aliud est, res quæ possunt in loco fieri tolerare, aliud easdem pro rebus quæ debent fieri aut passim prædicare, aut legibus prædicandas constituere. 'Euntes docete (inquit) omnia.' Quænam omnia? 'omnia quæ ego præcepi vobis' (inquit), non dicit omnia quæ vobis ipsis videntur prædicanda. Agite igitur per immortalem Deum. Sic nervos intendamus nostros, ut quæ Dei sunt prædicemus ad unum omnes, ne adulteri et caupones prædicationis verius, quàm veri prædicatores evadamus; maxime, dum homines ad divina sunt pigerrimi, ad sua velocissimi, ut nihil sit opus calcaribus; injusta rerum æstimatione et innata superstitione (certe ab ineunte ætate a majoribus contracta) miserabiliter decepti: quibus rebus mederi vix ullis prædicationibus, quamlibet frequentibus, quamlibet vehementibus, quamlibet sinceris et puris, quimus. Quare prohibeat Deus, ne in hac dierum malitia qui debent ipsi potius prædicare (præcepit enim nobis, inquit Petrus, prædicare), vel volentes et potentes prædicare præpediant (contra illud, 'noli prohibere eum benefacere qui potest'), vel cauponantes prædicare compellant; sic miseram plebeculam in superstitione et fallaci fiducia damnabiliter detinentes. Quin Deus potius misereatur nostrum, ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, ne videamur in quos illud quadret digne, 'non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ, dicit Dominus.' Hinc ego nudis sententiis subscribere non audeo, domine cum primis observande, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo, ne mei ipsius damnationis simul sim author. Quod si dignus essem qui tibi consilium darem, colendissime pater,—sed cohibeo me; quàm sit pravum et intolerabile hominis cor detur vel conjectare. Neque sane quisquam novit quæ sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo. Non me superbia detinet ulla ab illâ subscriptione, toties a tuâ dominatione cum maximâ mei animi molestiâ rogatâ. Non potest non esse imperium patribus et proceribus ecclesiæ non obtemperare; sed videndum interim illis, et quid et quibus imperent; cum, in loco, Deo quàm hominibus obedire

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Multa tolerat Deus, quæ tamen non erat præcepturus ut fierent.

Abusus in rebus religionis amovendi.

Multa tolerari possunt quum fiunt, quæ tamen ut fierent, necessitatem nullam habent.

Mary. oportet magis. Sic dolet mihi caput, et reliquum corpus languet, ut nec venire, nec hæc rescribere licet, et emendare. Sed tua dominatio, si non iudicium meum, certe studium (spero) probabit. Valeat dominatio tua.

A. D.
1555.

In this foresaid epistle, as ye hear, he maketh mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copy and effect of those articles, or nude propositions (as he calleth them), be these:—

Articles devised by the Bishops, for Master Latimer to subscribe unto.

I believe that there is a purgatory, to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living.

That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

That the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they lived wickedly; and are by no means nor at any time committed to laymen.

That men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians (except necessity otherwise require), are to be observed and kept.

That God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the saints.

Whether
Latimer
subscrib-
ed or not
is uncer-
tain.

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain.

It appeareth by this epistle above written to the bishop, that he durst not consent unto them; where he writeth in these words, "*Hinc ego nudis sentiis subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo,*" etc. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By the words, and the title in Tonstal's Register prefixed before the articles, it may seem that he did subscribe. The words of the Register be these:—

"Hugo Latimerus, in sacra Theologia Bacc. in Universitate Cantabrig. coram Cant. Archiepisc. Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaue concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus est et recognovit fidem suam sic sentiendo ut sequitur in his artic. 21 die Martii, anno 1531."¹

If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of

(1) See Appendix.

the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed, preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this, by the way, is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time, to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he showeth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, Oct. 9, A. D. 1550, his words be these:—

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The crafty handling of the bishops in examining Latimer.

“I was once,” saith he, “in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed: for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now, at this time, the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end.

“There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end. Then, amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, ‘I pray you, master Latimer,’ said one, ‘speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.’ I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it.”

The question to him there and then objected was this: “Whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresy.” This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger; but God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express.

A subtle and captious question put to Latimer by the bishops.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the University, but especially at his benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

*An Inhibition² made to Master Hugh Latimer, that he should not preach within the Diocese of London.

John, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men whatso-

(1) Ex verbis Latimeri. [In his sermons, vol. i. p. 270. Lond. 1824.—Ed.]

(2) This inhibition and the observations following, are extracted from the Edition of 1563, p. 507.—ED.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

ever they be, throughout our city and diocese of London, health, grace, and benediction, etc. Whereas we, by authority granted us by the law and provincial constitutions in this behalf, of late did inhibit and forbid one Hugh Latimer, a priest, for certain just and lawful causes specially moving us in this behalf, and specially for the pernicious errors already determined by the church in the decrees, and decretals, and provincial constitutions, by the which, through his crafty flattering, and, as it is said, fraudulent and pestiferous kind of preaching, he goeth about to corrupt and infect the people, and to seduce them from the approved and received doctrine of the church, that he should not preach within our city and diocese of London, in places exempt or not exempt, except he were licensed thereunto by our special license, under pain of the law. Nevertheless, as we have heard reported, the said Hugh Latimer, despising and contemning our inhibition, hath rashly presumed to preach the third day of this present month of October, without any license, within our diocese of London; that is to say, within the precincts of the friars Augustines, to the violating and contempt of the law and our inhibition. Therefore we command you jointly and severally, firmly enjoining and charging you that for the causes before said, again the second time by our authority, you do inhibit and forbid, or cause the said Hugh Latimer peremptorily to be inhibited and forbidden; unto whom, also, by the tenor of these presents we do inhibit and forbid, that he do not presume to take upon him the office of preaching, and to preach within our city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, in places exempt or not exempt, until such time as, according to our just judgment, he have purged himself of his default, and be lawfully restored unto the office of preaching, and have obtained his letters testimonial according to the tenor and form of the canonical sanctions or provincial constitutions, in this behalf lawfully ordained; and that he really exhibit and show the same in what place soever he will hereafter preach, under the pain expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions. Also we command you and every of you, jointly and severally, that you do intimate and signify this inhibition aforesaid to be made and executed by our authority aforesaid, unto all and singular abbots and priors of religious houses, as well exempt as not exempt, to their presidents or vicegerents, whatsoever they be; and also to all and singular parsons, vicars, priests, the clergy and people wheresoever they be within our diocese, albeit in places exempt: and specially to the famous man friar George Brown, professor of divinity, and prior of the house or convent of the friars Augustines of the city and diocese of London. For the same causes and by the said authority inhibiting all the aforesaid, that they, nor any of them, do not admit the said Hugh Latimer to preach within any of their churches, or within the precinct of any of their houses, or with any of them, under the pain and penalty expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions, until such time as he have purged himself as is before said; and that he do really exhibit unto them his sufficient letters testimonial upon his restitution, as is aforesaid.

Given under our seal the 4th day of October, A. D. 1533, and in the third year of our searation.

This inhibition was executed against the said Hugh Latimer upon a Sunday, the 5th day of October in the year aforesaid, within the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the city of London, by Robert Hains, a learned man, etc.¹

Thus have we discoursed, and run over hitherto, the laborious travails, the painful adventures and dangerous hazards, and manifold plunges, which this true-hearted and holy servant of God suffered among the pope's friends and God's enemies, for the gospel's sake: * in which so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the bishops, hard had it been for him and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he

(1) Foxe, by some oversight, adds here the following sentence: "The which inhibition notwithstanding, the said Hugh Latimer preached the 3rd day of October at afternoon, within the precinct of the friars Augustines of the city of London." See Appendix.—Ed.

stirred him up, so have preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell (whose story ye heard before) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester, who so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, in this thing, and in divers others, it did appear, that when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.
Latimer
rescued
by the
king.
Advanced
to the
bishopric
of Wor-
cester.
See
Appendix.

The time
unstable
for bishop
Latimer
to work
in.

Words spoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

Remember your promise in baptism;
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding:
By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

What to say in giving Holy Bread.

Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for your sins was broken.
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was, in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But, as before, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tost and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also, he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble:

The troubles
of
Latimer
in his
bishopric

Mary. as, among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that
A. D. no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons.
1555. The story, because he himself showeth in a sermon of his, before king Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these :¹

Latimer accused to king Henry for his preaching.

In the king's days that dead is, a many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth me down and accuseth me of sedition, that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as, if I should name him, ye would not think it. The king turned to me, and said, "What say you to that, sir?"

Latimer answereth his accuser.

Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him : "Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, to preach before a king? Would you have me for to preach nothing as concerning a king in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to none of them all : he had nothing to say.

The words of Latimer to the king.

Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued, to be a preacher before your grace ; but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters : for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to your audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace."

The king's heart relenteth toward him.

And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy), that my sayings were well accepted of the king ; for like a gracious Lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, "The Lord directeth the king's heart."² Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night.

Latimer taketh the poor man's part against his oppressor.

See Appendix

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time, not far from the diocese of Worcester, a certain justice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice, in purchasing of certain land for his brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damnify a poor man, who made his complaint to master Latimer. He first hearing, then tendering, his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withal (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault), sendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatening words, etc. Master Latimer, hearing this, answered again by writing to a certain gentleman ; the copy whereof among his letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long process to story out all the doings, travails, and writings of this christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands ; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a

(1) Ex verbis Latimeri, pro concione. [ix. vol. i. p. 134, edit. Parker Soc.]

(2) "Cor regis in manu Domini."

bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then, being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost slain, but sore bruised, with the fall of a tree. Then, coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger; and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed king Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he, beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print), as also at London in the convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

In this his painful travail he occupied himself all king Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he, being a sore bruised man by the fall of a tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty-seven years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good.

Now to speak here of his indefatigable travail and diligence in his own private studies, who notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he continually admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpassed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore, which afterward ensued; that, if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Latimer
at the
coming in
of the Six
Articles,
resigneth
his bi-
shopric.*See
Appendix*The
whole life
of Lati-
mer full
of tribu-
lation.Almost
slain by
the fall of
a tree.
Cast into
the
Tower.Restored
by king
Edward
to liberty
of preach-
ing.The dili-
gent tra-
vailing of
Latimer
in king
Edward's
time.The early
waking of
Latimer
to his
book.Latimer
prophesi-
eth what
plagues
are to
come in
queen
Mary's
time.

Mary. one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed king Edward, not long after queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down (by the means no doubt of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless (whose story hereafter followeth), yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him,—

Latimer called up to London by Winchester. Being premonished he yet refuseth to escape.

Latimer's words to the queen's pursuivant.

“ My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally,” etc.

Latimer cometh up to London not compelled.

At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him ; by whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Cheerful in imprisonment.

Thus master Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, through Smithfield (where merrily he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him), was brought before the council, where he, patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was cast again into the Tower, where he, being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall ; yet he showed himself not only patient, but also cheerful in and above all that which they could or would work against him. Yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies ; as it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he answered to the lieutenant, being then in the Tower: for when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, merrily bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

Merry message to the lieutenant.

The lieutenant, hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner, and so coming to him, bethought to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before, how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, etc. “ Yea, master lieutenant, so I said,” quoth he, “ for you look, I think, that I should

The answer of Latimer to the lieutenant.

burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold."

Mary.

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

A. D.
1555.

Thus master Latimer, passing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, and master Ridley bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner bishop of Winchester, as is before touched, the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer, with his other fellow-prisoners, was condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, and there they continued from the month of April above mentioned, to this present month of October; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Latimer with Cranmer and Ridley, removed from the Tower to Oxford.

Albeit master Latimer, by reason of the febleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and, amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

His three requests.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

"Once again, once again."

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accustomably to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof following after did declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

His prayer for queen Elizabeth.

First, concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly bishop master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength."² And so afterward by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most

All three requests of Latimer granted of the Lord.

(1) October 16.

(2) "Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus."

Mary. graciously granted his request, which was, that he might shed his heart blood in the defence of the gospel.

A. D.
1555.

The un-
thankful-
ness of
England.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us; Amen.

God's gra-
cious help
in time of
need upon
the realm
of Eng-
land.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things;¹ at the change whereof queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, master Latimer.

Queen
Elizabeth
granted of
God to
England.

God for
Christ's
sake to
grant.

The same God, which, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and christian princess, and her subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travails of master Latimer.

* Articles² untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to me, Hugh Latimer, by Dr. Powell of Salisbury.

*First, that "our Lady was a sinner."*³—Occasioned of some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed-men, which gave so much to our Lady of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved, I reasoned after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or

(1) Acts ii.

(2) See Edition 1563, page 1309.—*En.*

(3) The extravagancies which have been propounded upon the subject of the Virgin, would be surprising, if we did not recollect the narrow limits within which the tolerated expression of Romish opinion is confined. Upon the subject of the Virgin Mary, however, and for her presumed honour, it has been permitted Romish laymen and theologians to do battle most freely; kings have mingled in the fray, and a folio volume, by Luke Wadding, is preserved in the British Museum, "Legationes Philippi iii. et Phil. iv. ad Paulum v., de definienda contro. immac. conceptionis Virginis;" Lovanii 1624:—a question which in Spain, it was feared, might have brought on a civil war: so much interest were the combatants permitted to exhibit upon the occasion! See Protestant Guardian, Lond. 1828, vol. i. p. 334; and Rivet's *Apologia pro Virgine Mariâ*, Lug. Bat. 1639, cap. 5—8, where the contents of Wadding's volume are given in an abridged form.—*En.*

no sinner: there is no mean. If she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: if she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain authors (said I) as Chrysostome, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain Scriptures stand something to the same, unless they be the more warily understood and taken (as in Rom. iii. 10, 19): "All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God." And after in the same chapter, "All have sinned, and need the glory of God." And in the fifth, "And so death passed through into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned." But to these scriptures I said it might be answered that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or minish the verity of a universal exposition in Scriptures.

And as to the doctors, I said, that others more say otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same, "and so will I," quoth I, "nor any man that wise is, will the contrary. But to my purpose, it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was," etc.

And to that, "What need you to speak of this?" I answered, "great need: when men cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a Saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in her degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved." Good authors have written that she was not a sinner; but good authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: it was of the goodness of God that she never sinned: it had come of her own illness if she had sinned: there was difference betwixt her and Christ: and I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong), rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our Lady sought his glory here upon earth; she would not defraud him now in heaven: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so irreligiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment, to our Lady's displeasure.

Our Lady
not dis-
pleased to
have God
honoured.

No doubt our Lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts and graces from above, which, through the help of God, she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty; so giving us ensample to do likewise: so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God the author of all goodness; the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plentifully, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man, to save both man and woman, did choose her to his mother, which love he showed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodness, by the which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It should not availed her to salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father. By him she was his mother: by him she did the will of his Father: she the handmaiden, he the Lord. The handmaiden did magnify her Lord, the handmaiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory, Amen, etc.

To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our Lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin; he was then subject to Joseph, his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

To say that Peter and Paul, David and Mary Magdalen, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved all that he could have preserved. For remembrance of that fall and uprising, keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both is of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of heaven, as that; and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our Lady was a sinner; but it was never said, without sin, that our Lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will belie me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our Lady no sinner, to prove that which no man denieth: so hot provers, and so cold probations saw you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our Lady, as though there was no other honouring of our Lady, but to sin to have our Lady no sinner, or to say she was no sinner. I would be as loth to dishonour our Lady as they: I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured; for verily she is worthy to be honoured. To make a pernicious and a damnable lie, to have our Lady no sinner, is neither honour nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady. They should both please and honour our Lady much better, to leave their sinful living, and keep themselves from sinfulness, as our Lady did, than so sinfully to lie, to make our Lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall go to the devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no sinner never so surely.

The "Ave Maria" a greeting and not a prayer.

And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely; I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in holy Scripture of St. Luke: but yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and show the good will of God towards her: and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer; and is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria, so that we may salute our Lady with Ave Maria, as the angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the angel was. So though we may so do, yet we have no plain bidding of God so to do, as the angel had: so that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid, than we be; forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we. But as I deny not but as we may say the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria together (that to God, this to our Lady), so we may say them sunderly, the Pater noster by itself, and the Ave by itself; and the Pater noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; so that it is but a superstition to think that a Pater noster cannot be well said without an Ave Maria at its heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a Pater noster to God, he taught them not to say neither Pater noster, neither Ave Maria to our Lady, nor yet Pater noster to St. Peter, as master Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to say twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, is not to speak "the word of God as the word of God."¹ And one Ave Maria well said, and devoutly, with affection, sense, and understanding, is better than twenty-five said superstitiously. And it is not unlike, but our Lady said many times the Pater noster, forasmuch as her Son Christ, whom she loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be said. Whether she made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, I will leave that to great clerks, as Hubberdin and Powell, to discuss and determine. She was not saved by often saying of the Ave Maria, but by consenting to the will of him, that sent the angel to salute her with Ave Maria. Wherefore, if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea, though they say the Pater noster, I doubt not but the salutation of the same be unpleasant to our Lady in her sight; for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her: for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our Lady. And so we think to make her our friend and patroness, and then we care not for God: for, having our Lady of our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure. For we fantasy as though the very work and labour of flumming the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be

On the superstitious numbering of "Ave Marias."

(1) "Sermones Dei, ut sermones Dei."

said, if the Pater noster which Christ both made, and bade us say it, may be said to Christ's displeasure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Christ nor our Lady bade to be said, may be said to our Lady's displeasure, and better never once said, than often so said. So that I would have a difference betwixt well saying, and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bid us say, and that that he bid not say. And whether Ave Maria be said in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powell? And if it be said alway there without a Pater noster, why may not Pater noster be said here without Ave Maria? and whether doth our Lady say it in heaven or no? which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it; so that by occasion of false faith and trust that ye have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greeting will neither serve nor stand in strength. It is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed, and valued as it is.

We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, "All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world:" and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? Whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Greeting
the holy
cross

The angel spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our Lady, "Be not afraid Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called John, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great, and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother," etc.¹

What and a man should say these words every day, betwixt the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria, in the worship of St. Zachary, which I think is a saint in heaven, and was or ever our Lady came there, and therefore to be honoured: I think he might please and honour St. Zachary as well some other way, and better too, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an angel, and written in holy Scripture of the evangelist Luke.

And yet and it were once begun and accustomed, I ween some men would make it more than sacrilege to leave it off, though the devil should sow never so much superstition by process of time unto it.

Christ made the Pater noster for a prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this world, saying unto us, "So, or after such manner, shall ye pray, Pater noster,"² etc. God sent his Son amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the angel said to the people, "This shall ye pray, Ave Maria. When the apostles said to Christ, "Teach us to pray;"³ Christ said, "When you pray, say Pater noster:"⁴ he said not, "When you pray, say Ave Maria. I ween Christ could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powell and master Hubberdin. I say that the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster: Dr. Powell saith, it shall endure after the Pater noster. I can prove my saying by Scripture; so cannot he his. Yet as it is no good argument, the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster, ergo it is properly a prayer: so it is no good argument, the Ave Maria shall last after the Pater noster; ergo, it is properly a prayer, without the antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a fantastical brain.

Who was ever so mad as to think that words of holy Scripture could not be well said? And yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of holy Scripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to superstition and idolatry. God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curiosity, but according to his ordinance, with all humility!

St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wise to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unsaid that that the angel said, without dishonouring him. It is not necessary to our salvation to make an ordinance of honouring him with saying as the angel did. It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be presumption, I had liefer pre-

(1) "Ne timeas Zacharia," etc.

(3) "Doce nos orare."

(2) "Vos autem sic orabitis."

(4) "Cum oratis, dicite, Pater noster."

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sume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to presume into the office of an angel without God's bidding. It is a godly presumption: to presume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Maria.

"Saints are not to be honoured."—I said this word "saints" is diversely taken of the vulgar people; images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints—so saints are not to be honoured; that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, etc.

They can neither help me nor mine ox; neither my head nor my tooth; nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I showed the good use of them to be laymen's books, as they be called; reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, etc.

And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick image of God (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ reputeth it done to himself) lack necessities, and be unprovided for, by that occasion; for then the layman doth abuse his book.

A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiously gilded; and in the day-time, a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

Now I say, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession; and I said, that these saints, that is to say, images called saints, be mediators neither way.

On pilgrimages and hope in images.

As touching pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, error, false faith, and hope in the images, must be pared away, before they can be well done, household looked upon, poor christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinance of God discharged, or ever they can be well done: and when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done. They shall never be required of us, though they be never done; and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done: wives must counsel with their husbands, and husbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x., where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Christ, which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry; and expositors add to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act: which is plain against master Hubberdin, and the parson of Christ's Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

Efficacy of the blood of Christ.

As touching the saints in heaven, I said, they be not our mediators by way of redemption; for so Christ alone is our mediator and theirs both. So that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, etc.

But by way of intercession, so saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without making suit first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the name of Christ his Son, the Father will give it us: for saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them. Scripture doth set saints that be departed before our eyes for ensamples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, etc.

God biddeth us come to him with prayer; and to do his bidding is no presuming; it is rather presuming to leave it undone, to do that that he biddeth us not do, etc. We must have saints in reverent memory; and learn at God's goodness towards them to trust in God; and mark well their faith toward God

and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adversity; and pray to God which gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like speedings; they be well honoured when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him that made them saints; and as they were saints, so may we be saints; yea, there be many saints that never prayed to saints: and yet I deny not but we may pray to saints, but rather to Him, which can make us saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise. When we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantastical imagination, but even after his own most wise ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour saints; therefore they lie that say, that I would not have saints to be honoured. etc.

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“*There is no fire in hell.*”—I never knew man that ever said so. I spake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at leastway a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now because they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporal and natural fire: some have thought diversely, before the resurrection without body, and after with body: some that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire: some both in and of the fire. The scholastical authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they be spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporal quality; so that Athanasius, a Greek author, calleth their pain “*tristitium*,” a heaviness or an anguish: and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that though they be always in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there: but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them: for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell; but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of God’s privy council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostome saith, that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell; there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

“*There is no purgatory after this life.*”—Not for such liars that will bear me in hand to say what I said not. I showed the state and condition of them that be in purgatory. Then I denied it not, that they have charity in such sure tie that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur nor grudge against God; cannot dishonour God; can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God; cannot be dissevered from God; cannot die, nor be in peril of death; cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation; cannot be but in surety of salvation. They be members of the mystical body of Christ as we be, and in more surety than we be. They love us charitably. Charity is not idle: if it be, it worketh and showeth itself: and therefore I say, they wish us well, and pray for us. They need not cry loud to God: they be in Christ, and Christ in them: they be with Christ, and Christ with them. They joy in their Lord Christ always, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them; ever giving thanks to their Lord God; ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth; discontent with nothing that he doth, etc.

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God’s friends, God’s children, brethren and sisterne to our Saviour Christ, even in God’s favour, even have Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son: and we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adversaries to Christ, hated of God, his angels, and all his saints; they in their state may do us more good with their prayers, than we

Mary. in this state. And they do us alway good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer said in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God, than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us; which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

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I had lever be in purgatory, than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not: in this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not: in this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity be periculum pereundi, peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth: if we be not bounden, per præceptum, to help but them that be in extreme necessity, we see not who needeth in purgatory; but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, "If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee?" Here, either we be, or we may be in extreme necessity, both in body and soul: in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be helpen ourselves, under pain of damnation. Here, for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, foredote¹ ourselves; which inconveniencies shall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them, which might occasion the dishonour of God, etc.

Therefore howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And I had a thousand pound to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, mine own devotion moveth me another way, whether way should I go? I may, by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make any foundations for myself with other men's goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must needs home again; must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, they be poor men's goods. Debts must needs be paid; creditors satisfied and content; God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world discharged; all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, say till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings, nor their sayings, shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning of God's forbiddings.

He that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all unlustiness to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poor Christians to extreme beggary, replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty.

"*In purgatory there is no pain:*"—that can break their charity; that can break their patience; that can dis sever them from Christ; that can dis sever Christ from them.

That can cause them to dishonour God; that can cause them to dis please God; that can cause them to be displeased with God; that can bring them to peril of death.

That can bring them to peril of damnation; that can bring them to extreme necessity; that can cause them to be discontent with God; that can bring them from surety of salvation;—and yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit, if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a good part; if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or scala cœli of a groat, can dispatch for al together, it is not so greatly to be cared for. I have not leisure to write at large; and I wrote before such things, which in this haste come now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the souls in purgatory do pray for us—they could get as much money for the prayer that the souls in purgatory say

(1) "Foredote;" rather "foredo," i. e. to be the occasion of one's own death.—Ed.

for us, as they have done for that that they have said for them, they would not reclaim. You know the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. They that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this: Christ's blood is not sufficient without blood of martyrs.

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Nor at this: Magdalen did not know Christ to be God, before his resurrection.

Nor at this: There can be no idolatry.

Nor at this: Rome cannot be destroyed

Nor at this: The pope is lord of all the world.

Nor at this: Whatsoever he doth is well done.

Nor at this: Pater noster is to be said to St. Peter.

Nor at this: Pater noster is but a beggarly prayer.

Nor at this: Ave Maria is infinitely better.

Nor at this: Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster.

Nor at this: It was not necessary Scripture to be written.

Nor at this: He that leaveth father and mother, maketh for our pilgrimage.
With many more.*

Now, after these things thus finished and discoursed pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in English and Latin, lack of space and place at this present will not permit: nevertheless certain we will take, and first concerning the articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at West-Kington; which he writeth thereof to master Morice, the copies whereof follow.

LETTERS OF MASTER LATIMER.

A Letter of Master Latimer to Master Morice, concerning the Articles written, which were falsely and untruly laid against him.

Right worshipful and mine own good master Morice, saltem in Christo Jesu. —And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore showed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me, so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine inability, etc. Master Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been entreated at Bristol, I mean of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them. When I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop's license, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated master mayor's appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it; procuring also certain preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powell, with other more, whom when I had brought before the mayor and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing. So that they had place and time to belie me shamefully; but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge, when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and swage their malice that they have against the truth and me, etc.

Note the dissemb-ling inconsistency of popish priests.

Inhibition procured against Latimer not to preach. Hubberdin and Powell preach against Latimer.

“*Our Lady was a sinner.*”—So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both priests and beneficed-men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved. I did reason after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner. If a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering

What the papists do give to our Lady. Our Lady not without sin.

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Papists
deprave
whenthey
cannot
disprove.

or preserving her from sin; so that without him neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And, to avoid all offence, I showed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures which make all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostome and Theophylact, which make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me to say that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

Difference
betwixt
images
and
saints.

“*Saints are not to be worshipped.*”—So they lied when I had showed divers significations of this word “saints” among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them—for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be laymen’s books for remembrance of heavenly things, etc.

Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them—I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us), yet by the way of intercession.¹

“*Pilgrimage.*”—And I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away,² ere ever it can be well done; superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God’s ordinance for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of man, to be done. And wives must counsel with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, etc.

Ave Ma-
ria, no
prayer.

“*Ave Maria.*”—As for the Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and show unto her the good-will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bade us say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Ave Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maria also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without Ave Maria. So that I did not speak against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer, etc.

Whether
the fire in
hell be a
material
fire, or
spiritual.
The worm
of consci-
ence is so
called by
a meta-
phorical
speech.

“*No Fire in Hell.*”—Whoever could say or think so? Howbeit good authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporal quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. For as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is a living beast, but it is a metaphor; but that is neither to nor fro: for a fire it is; a worm it is; pain it is; a torment it is; an anguish it is; a grief, a misery, a sorrow; a heaviness inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of God’s privy council, saith³ St. Augustine? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; which be two effects of extreme pain—rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

“*No Purgatory.*”—He that showeth the state and condition of it, doth not

(1) See Master Latimer’s error in those days.

(2) “Pare away the scurf,” and clean take away all popery.

(3) De civitate Dei, lib. xx. 16.]

deny it. But I had leaver be in it, than in Lollards' Tower, the bishop's prison, for divers skills and causes.

First, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel : there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extreme necessity : in that I could not if it be peril of perishing.

Item, In this I might lack charity : there I could not.

Item, In this I might lose my patience : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might dishonour God : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might displease God : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be displeased with God : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled, in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be discontented with God : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a member of the devil : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor in hell : in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain : in that I could not.

Item In this my lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night : in that they could not.

Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself :¹ in that they could not.

Item, In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion : from thence they could not.

Ergo, I had liefser to be there than here. For though the fire be called never so hot, yet and if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and "scala cœli" altogether, I will never found abbey, college, nor chantry for that purpose.

For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation ; that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me ; I care the less for it. John Chrysostome saith, that the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever : which pain, he saith, is greater than many hells ; which pain the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

Consider, master Morice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid ; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made ; christian people (whose necessities we see ; to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himself ; to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourself) are neglected and suffered to perish ; last wills unfulfilled and broken ; God's ordinance set aside ; and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction : so we have trifled away the ordinance of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them ? so that they may pill with pilgrimage and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage shall fall away from them, which had liefser have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use ; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory ; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

Mary.

A. D.

1555

Why it is better to be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower.

What is the greatest pain to damned souls.

Provision for purgatory bringeth many to hell.

What the wasp is that stingeth the papists, and maketh them to swell.

(1) As they did with Hun. [See vol. iv. p. 188.—ED.]

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The pope's pardoning out of purgatory, a vain invention. Authority of keys. Pilgrimage.

I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy; I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own but Christ's glory, I had lieffer have the suffrage of Jack of the scullery, which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his mass. And that is as good of another simple priest as of him. For, as for authority of keys, it is to loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles.¹ And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Calvary for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they have: for as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their christian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth quite them for the time.

Two certifications.

I read in Scripture of two certifications; one to the Romans, "We being justified by faith, have peace with God."² If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith that his blood was shed for me, etc.

The bodily seeing of Christ's blood profiteth little.

Another in the Epistle of John: "We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren."³ But I read not that I have peace with God, nor that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hayles. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body, when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the selfsame blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hayles without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

Warning against false prophets.

Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his crafty fashion for our trial and probation. It were little thankworthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ, when he had taught truly, by and by bade beware of false prophets, which would bring in error slyly. But we be secure and uncareful, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bugge, etc.

Dr. Wilson against master Latimer, and why.

Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myself ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, etc.

See Appendix.

As for Dr. Wilson, I wot not what I should say; but I pray God indue him with charity. Neither he, nor none of his countrymen, did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the bile that may not be touched, etc.

A certain friend showed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holderness; and from thence he will go a progress through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristol. What he intended by this progress, God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristol, I shall hear tell, etc.

As for Hubberdin, no doubt he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of

(1) This blood of Hayles was proved before the king, and openly showed at Paul's Cross by the bishop of Rochester that then was, to be but the blood of a duck. [See vol. v. p. 406.—ED.]

(2) "Justificati ex fide, pacem habemus."

(3) "Nos scimus quòd translati sumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres."

stable wit. He is here "servus hominum;" for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily, in my mind, they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed, etc.

As touching Dr. Powell, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king's person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ's commandment to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit master mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did twicke him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him; for, to occasion the people to them, he alleged this text: "Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife,"¹ etc. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, etc. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's grace to command me to preach before his highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, etc. I pray you pardon me; I cannot make an end.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*Dr. Powell
a stout
preacher
of popery.Scripture
applied of
the pa-
pists.

A BRIEF DIGRESSION TOUCHING THE RAILING OF HUBBERDIN, AGAINST MASTER LATIMER.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm to deface and impeach the springing of God's holy gospel, something would be added more, touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold; who, in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to describe him), seemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisy. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead (although he little deserved to be spared, which never spared to work what villany he could against the true servants of the Lord), this shall be enough for example's sake, for all christian men necessarily to observe, how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and all other like professors, after his hypocritical open alms, given out of other men's purses, his long prayers, pretended devotions, devout fastings, his woolward-going, and other his prodigious demeanour,—riding in his long gown down to the horse-heels like a pharisee, or rather like a sloven dirted up to the horse-belly,—after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leapings, with other like histrionical toys and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretics: at last, riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the churchyard, suddenly this Silenus, lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fitte of mirth to give them a sermon of dancing. In the which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so

Hubber-
din a
right
image of
hypo-
crisy.Hubber
din, a
great
railer
against
the ser-
vants of
Christ.A danc-
ing ser-
mon of
Hubber-
din.

(1) "Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, uxorem."

Mary. to Jerome and Gregory, Chrysostome and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Æcolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them); at last, to show a perfect harmony of all these doctors together—as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe—first he calleth out Christ and his apostles; then the doctors and ancient seniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together, with “pipe up Hubberdin.” Now dance Christ; now dance Peter, Paul; now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome. And thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stampd and took on I cannot tell, but “crash,” quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he so brake his leg the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the church-wardens were called, and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves, that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing, etc. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Hubberdin dancing in the pulpit, fell with the pulpit, and brake his leg.

Amongst many other impugnors and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort which did infest this good man in sermons; some also there were, which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who, upon the same occasion of preaching of the Virgin Mary (or as they thought, against the Virgin), did invade him with his pen, writing against him in Latin; whose long epistle, with master Latimer’s answer also in Latin to the same, hereunder followeth.

Epistola Gulielmi Sherwodi adversus Dominum Latimerum expostulatoria.

Gulielmus Sherwodus Presbyter, D. Latimero Kingtoniæ Rectori, gratiam et pacem à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo.—Nihil molestè feres sat scio, vir egregie, ab homine christiano christianè admoneri, quæ res una (est Deus testis) nos hoc tempore animavit liberius tecum per literas (quando coram fandi copia negatur) confabulari super nonnullis, quæ parum christianè in concione illâ tuâ (si modo concio et non verius multo sãtyra quædam insana dicenda) Magnesfeldiæ effudisse mihi videbare. Ac primum quidem proverbio illo de fure et pastore (quanquam proverbii vocem parabolæ vice mihi usurpasse videtur evangelista) carpsit, ut rectè et verè aiebas, Christus Scribarum et Phariseorum (ut pote Deus, eoque καρδιογνώστης,) vesaniam obduratamque incredulitatem, sed clam, sed tectè, sed in genere. Non aiebat, ‘Scribæ et Pharisei ad unum fures sunt et latrones.’ Sed quid? ‘Amen dico vobis, qui non intrat per ostium in stabulum ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro.’ Tu contra homo patentium intuiitor, non mentium rimator, ‘Episcopi omnes, papæ omnes, rectores ecclesiarum omnes (te uno paucisque aliis, quos nescio, tuæ farinæ hominibus, id enim sensisse videris, exceptis), vicarii omnes, fures sunt et latrones, quibus furibus, quibus latronibus suffocandis ne Angliæ totius quidem canabum sufficere predicabas (aut verius dementabas), hyperbole forsàn, ut semper, usus, sed temerariâ, sed audaci supra modum, sed truci, sed impiâ. Non est, mi frater, non est sic temere, si divo credimus Paulo, ante tempus judicandum, quòd veniet Dominus qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit consilia cordium: Christus quoque ipse, Judex vivorum et mortuorum à Deo

See Appendix.

patre constitutus, temerariam ejusmodi proximi condemnationem apud Matthæum christiano homini mihi sustulisse videtur, quum inquit; 'Nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini,' nec tanti flagitii subiticens pœnam; 'Quo enim (inquit) iudicio iudicatis, eo iudicabitur de vobis, et qua mensura metimini, ea metientur vobis et alii.' Volo hominum vitia taxari, volo sua scelera populo prædicari, annunciarum, revelari, et (si fieri possit) ob oculos poni, non debacchari in homines eosque absentes, non poni lucem tenebras, et tenebras lucem, non dici bonum malum, et malum bonum, dulce amarum, et amarum dulce. Quod si fit, verendum ne dum alius alium mordemus et devoramus, vicissim alius ab alio consumemur. An ista parcius, imo modestius viris obijcienda, ipse videto.

Novimus et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis,
Et quo (sed faciles Nymphæ risere) sacello.

Heu, heu, Latimere, quæ te dementia cepit, ut mentireris (dixissem prædicares), plures longe in Christi ecclesia fures esse, quam pastores, plures hædos quam oves? Non sic Cyprianus ille, non sic. Sed quid? 'Est,' inquit, 'Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax. Stat confessorum, hoc est (ut ipse intelligit pie) Christianorum, pars major et melior in fidei suæ robore, et in legis ac disciplinæ dominicæ veritate, nec ab ecclesiæ pace discedunt, qui se in ecclesiâ gratiam consecutos de Dei dignatione meminerunt. Atque hoc ipso ampliore consequuntur fidei suæ laudem, quòd ab eorum perfidiâ segregati, qui juncti confessionis consortio fuerint, à contagionis crimine recesserunt. Vero illuminati evangelii lumine, purâ et candidâ Domini luce radiati, tam sunt in conservandâ Christi pace laudabiles, quam fuerunt in diaboli congressione victores.' Quæ sanctissimi hominis sanctissima verba ausim, te etiam reclamante, de eâ ipsâ, quæ nunc, ecclesiâ prædicare, verèquæ affirmare; quam ubi ex confessoribus Christi filii Dei vivi depiuxisses, statim ubi esset gentium te nescire prædicabas. Dicebas enim, Quisquis cum Petro Christum Dei viventis filium fatetur, Petrus est, et de ecclesiâ, seu, uti ipse interpretabaris, congregatione (subdolâ nimirum usus arte, ac cæco potius præstigio), ac si hoc loci magis nihil ad Petrum, Christi in terris summum Vicarium, attineret, quàm ex Christianis alium quemlibet. Esto; simus nos (ut Origenis utar verbis) aliquo modo Petrus, si dixerimus quod dixit Petrus, 'Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi,' non carne et sanguine nobis revelante, sed Patre qui est in cœlis mentem nostram illuminante: non alio dicendi genere dicemus hæc nobis Petri competere verba, quàm ipsi Petro? Absit procul, absit! Nam secundum Christi nomen omnes qui sunt illius 'Christi' dicuntur, dicente prophetâ; 'Ut salvos faciat Christos suos.' Item, 'Nolite tangere Christos meos.' At tum alio longe modo hic, alio illi unctionis vocabulo insigniuntur. Sanius certè Roterodamus, cujus imitatore et sequacem strenuum te in nonnullis video. Is 'tu es Petrus' et mox quæ sequuntur imprimis in Romanum pontificem, ut in Christianæ fidei principem, competere ait, omnium semoto dubio, annotatione in 16 Matthæi caput; quanquam plus æquo Origenianæ sententiæ inniti ibidem mihi videtur. Quòd si dixerimus, te auctore, æqualiter et indiscriminatim hæc de Petro et omnibus Christianis intelligi, incidemus in illam Lutheranam sententiam, omnes Christianos esse sacerdotes, et ordinatum nullam potestatem accipere, quam antea non habebat, sed deputari tantum ad licite utendum potestate prius habitâ; quæ sententia jam olim est ab ecclesiâ damnata.

Ad hæc aiebas Christum, quum minima vocaret præcepta, Scribarum et Pharisæorum alluisse impietati, qui, ut sua eveherent et amplificarent, minima dicebant divina. Multum hic discors es ab Origene, Scripturarum interprete, saneque vigilantissimo, qui homiliâ in Matthæum quintâ adeo non negat reverâ quædam Dei præcepta dici et esse minima, ut ex solutione et observatione eorum minimum et magnum dici in regno cœlorum nihil obscure prædicet. Simul pugnat quòd tum Christus ipse seorsum à plebe et populo cum pauculis discipulis, suæ cœlestis tum solis doctrinæ capacibus, in monte versabatur, nihil interim cum Scribis, nihil cum Pharisæis tractans, ut divinâ illâ concione suâ prorsus indignis.

Subjuxisti christianè parum, ut mihi videbatur, hominem christianum carnis æquiescentem desideris non magis christianum esse, quàm sit Judæus, quàm sit Turcus. Hoc mihi non christianum, sed Cœcolampadianum¹ sit opus, quam ad beneficam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam. Quid tu hic tibi velis nescio. Si est aliquis Petri primatus, is certè Catholico

(1) Desunt nonnulla, quæ conjecturis forsitan utcumque suppleri possunt ex sequenti Latimeri responsione. [See infra, p. 482.—Ed.]

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

(De unit.
Eccles.
§ 4.)

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

cuilibet pro viribus defensandus est. Est aliquis Petri primatus; alioqui Christi verbum inefficax est (tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, etc.) Si nihil est opus ut defensetur Petri primatus, nihil est opus ut defensetur veritas. Et ob veritatem ad necem usque mortali cuilibet certandum. Non puto quenkam germanis fructibus referre posse beneficam Petri confessionem, negando Petri primatum: benefica Petri confessio, an non est Jesum esse Christum filium Dei viventis? Dei filius est veritas. At non Christus, si nullus est Petri primatus. Hic fœde lapsus mihi videre. Nihil enim alienum esse puto à beneficâ Christi confessione, si quis pro virili sedem tueatur et defenset apostolicam.

*See
Appendix*

Apertissimum mendacium esse clamitas, Christum cum pauculis discipulis in monte seorsum à turbâ versatum fuisse. Apertissime tum mecum mentitus est Origenes, Scripturarum interpres vigilantissimus, qui homiliâ in Matthæum v. inquit, Descendente Jesu de monte, secutæ sunt eum turbæ multæ: docente verò Domino in monte, discipuli erant cum ipso, quibus datum erat cœlestis doctrinæ novisse secreta, per quæ salutis scientiâ brutorum corda salirent, cœcorumque oculis per mundanæ delectationis tenebras caligantibus lucem patefacerent veritatis. Unde et Dominus ad eos: 'Vos estis (inquit) sal terræ, vos estis et lumina mundi.' Nunc verò descendente eo de monte, turbæ secutæ sunt eum. In montem scilicet ascendere nequaquam poterant, quia quos delictorum sarcinæ depriment, ad mysteriorum sublimia, nisi abjecto onere, scandere minime valent. Audis nostram, non tuam, ab Origene probari sententiam.

Notas præterea, quos nescio—tibi tum notissimos (alii nulli)—pseudo-prædicatores, qui populo suadent christiano sat esse, si credit quemadmodum credit ecclesia, et nescire interim quid aut quomodo credat; ita miserum vulgus ab ampliori Dei agnitione quærendâ dehortando. Iniqua et præceps satis censura in verbi Dei ministros. Tales siqui sunt, debemus Lutheranæ et Hæreticorum ecclesiæ: in nostrâ esse nequeunt, quum pollicitus sit Sponsus ad consummationem usque seculi se non deserturum sponsam suam ecclesiam. Quæ dicis reliqua, quum sint mera convitia, transeo.

Quod satis declarat, quod postremo pene dicis, argute philosophatum me de justificatione fidei, interim mea nihil convelleus. An hoc est argute philosophari de justificatione fidei, dicere fidem justificare sed non solam, imo et opera suam habere justitiam, sed in fide, sed in charitate? Hoc ego arguebam, quòd opera dices non justificare. Si hoc est philosophari, ego sum philosophatus, et non ego tantum, sed et Jacobus apostolus. Fides est, fateor, ut recte dixit Augustinus, fundamentum et radix justæ vitæ, quâ consequimur bonorum operum voluntatem, ac ita justitiam. Tantum ne putet quis justitiam solâ animi existimatione finiri, omni bono et pio excluso opere. Cætera, quum non agnoscis, ego sepolio; unum id adjiciens, si bene feceris, bene recipies; sin autem male, ecce in foribus aderit peccatum tuum. Alias nacto otio abundantius. Interim vale.—Derhamia.

Salutem Plurimam.¹

Non equidem sum ego vel adeo ferox (quod sciam), vir item eximie, ut ab homine christiano christianè admoneri moleste feram, vel adeo insensatus et à communi sensu alienus (ni fallor), ut me prius suggillatum fuisse abs te et inter pocula, neque semel suggillatum, quàm admonitum, imo nec admonitum tandem sed acerrime potius redargutum, sed convitiis et mendaciis male habitum potius, sed calumniis inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius, constanter probem. Quòd si tuis hisce literis pro illarum jure et mei animi ductu ego jam responderem,—Sed cohibeo me, ne dum conor tuo morbo mederi, bilem tibi moveam, homini vel citra stimulum (ut præ se ferunt literæ) plus quam oportet bilioso. Imo det utrique Deus, quod ipse utrique norit commodo fore, et mihi videlicet vel in mediis calumniis patientiam christiano homine dignam, et tibi judicium aliquando tam rectum, quàm nunc habes zelum tuoapte marte bene fervidum. Conducibilis, opinor, fuerit sic orare, quàm ejusmodi criminationi apologiam parare, quum et ego jam negotiosior sum pro concione mihi perendie dicendâ, quàm ut commode possim respondere; et mendaciora sint tua omnia, quàm ut jure debeam ea confutare. Sed ut paucis tamen multis, si fieri possit, satisfaciam, primum operæ pretium fuerit in medium statuere, et quid ego dixi, et quid tu ex dictis collegisti. Collegisti quidem multa veluti sanguinem è silice collidendo excussurus. Sed sic est affectus, uti video, erga me tuus, quem ob

(1) This letter is an answer of master Latimer's unto that which goeth before.

rabiem ejusdem ægre nosti dissimulare. Esto, dixerim ego omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios, rectoresque omnes, per ostium non intrantes, sed ascendentes aliunde, fures et latrones esse. Dum sic dixi, ex introitu et ascensu, non ex personis et titulis, cum Christo sum rem metitus. Hinc tu tuâ Minervâ colligis, omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios rectoresque omnes, simpliciter fures esse, saltem sic me dixisse. Num justa hæc (mî frater) collectio? An non juste in te quadret illud Pauli ad Romanos? Sic aiunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis, sed quorum damnatio justa est (inquit): et tamen justius videri possunt ex Paulo collegisse adversarii, quàm tu ex me.

Jam si idem Dei verbum nunc quod prius, neque minus Deo gratum acceptumque, quisquis interim minister verbi fuerit, nonne et eadem damnatio calumniatores ministri nunc manet quæ olim? Longe interest, dicas, omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse, et omnes simpliciter fures esse. Sed unde (quæso), dum ego dico omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse, videor tibi dicere omnes simpliciter fures esse? nisi forte plerique omnes videntur tibi aliunde ascendere, et non per ostium intrare? Quod si senseris, a nolito dicere si sapis (sapis autem plurimum) quod sentis. Cum quanto enim id dixeris tuo periculo ipse videris. Et nisi id senseris, cur, per Deum immortalem, ego non possum dicere omnes esse fures, qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, quibuscunque interim titulis splendescant, nisi videar tibi dicere statim omnes ad unum fures esse? et tum quæ te potius cepit dementia, dum sic colligis, ut plures fures quàm pastores colligendo esse feceris? Nam, velis nolis, verum est quod ego dixi, nempe quotquot per ostium non intrant, sed aliunde ascendunt, fures et latrones esse, seu papæ seu episcopi fuerint. Quare dum sic in ipso exorbitas limine, quorsum attinet reliqua examinare? Sed age, hoc tibi arridet plurimum, quòd Pharisei sunt tam tecte à Christo reprehensi, et non palam: quomodo tum non displicebit è regione tibi acerbissima illa simul et apertissima criminatio, in os et coram turbâ illis objecta, 'Væ vobis Scribæ et Pharisei hypocritæ,' ubi nominati taxantur? Sed Christus, inquis, Deus erat pervicaciam cordis conspicatus: tu vero homo patentium intuior, non mentium rimator. Sum sane homo (uti dicis), id quod citra tuam operam jam olim habeo exploratum: homo (inquam) sum, non labem in alieno corde delitescentem, sed vitam omnibus patentem et expositam intuitus, adeoque ex fructibus cognoscens, quos Christus admonuit ex fructibus cognoscendos, ipsum quorundam vivendi genus libenter damnans: denique, quod in sacris literis sacrisque interpretibus damnatum toties comperio, nihil id quidem moratus, quæcunque ipsum amplectuntur personæ: quod dum ego facio neque cordium latebras ulterius penetror, nonne immerito abs te reprehendor? qui non homo mecum, sed plusquam homo es, dum mei animi emphasim melius nosti per arrogantiam, quàm egomet novi; utpote qui non sat habes quæ dico novisse, sed quæ sentio nondum dicta noveris, abditissima cordis mei penitissime rimatus, ne non scire in te ipsum competeret, quod in me torquere molitus es; nimirum 'noli ante tempus judicare, noli condemnare:' ut discas quàm oportet mendacem non esse immemorem, ne proprio forsân gladio juguletur, et in foveam incidat ipse, quam struxerat alteri. Nam dum ego pronuntio fures esse, quotquot per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde; tibi—non verba solum audienti sed et corculum meum contemplanti—omnes ad unum fures esse pronuntio, excepto meipso videlicet et aliis meæ farinæ hominibus, nescio (inquis) quos.

Sed quis illam fecit exceptionem nisi tu, qui, cognoscens occulta cordium, sic, inquis, vidisse videris? Sed tibi sic sensisse videor, cui et dixisse videor, quod (ut liquidissime constat) neutiquam dixi. Sed tibi peculiare est alios à cordis intuitu prohibere, ut ipse intuearis solus quicquid est in corde, acie videlicet tam perspicaci, ut videas in corde, quod in corde nondum est natum: id quod ibi facis quoque, dum quod ego de ecclesiâ recte dixi, tu tuo more calumniaris inique, quasi ego, quod ad usum clavium attinet, æquassem omnes cum Petro; cum ne unum quidem verbum de clavium potestate sic dictum, imo ne cogitatum quidem, neque Petri primatui derogatum, ut ejus nulla sit facta mentio. Sed tu pro tuo candore sic colligis, dum ego nil aliud quàm admonui auditores ecclesiam Christi supra petram non super arenam fundatam, ne mortuâ fide plus satis hæreant, tum perituri et portis inferorum fœdissime cessuri, sed fidem operibus ostendant, tum demum vitam æternam habituri. Quid ego minus quàm omnes Christianos, ut ego sum, sacerdotes dixerim esse? Sed oculatissimi sunt invidi ad colligendum quod venantur. Nonne hic optimo jure

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cogor nonnihil christianæ charitatis in tuo pectore desiderare? qui dum nescis confutare quod dico, miris modis mihi impingis quod possis confutare. Tu vero optime nôsti quid sentit Lutherus de ecclesiâ. Et ego non gravabor subscrivere, quid sentit post multos alios Lyranus super xvi. Matthæi, ex quo patet (inquit), quòd 'ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ seu secularis, quia multi principes et summi pontifices,' inquit, 'inventi sunt apostatasse à fide: propter quod ecclesia consistit,' inquit, 'in illis personis, in quibus est notitia vera et confessio fidei et veritatis.' Hic consensit et cum Hieronymo Chrysostomo; sic enim dicunt (nescio an applaudatur tibi quod dicunt, quippe qui in illis te prodixisse esse, qui promptiores sunt ad primatum Petri defensandum, etiam cum nihil¹ sit opus, quàm ad beatificam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam). Sed tu mittis me ad Augustinum, bene liberalis consultor.

Ego optem te eundem legere si libeat in Epist. Johannis tractatu tertio. Videris enim in Augustinianis operibus non adeo exercitatus, cum de fidei justificatione tam argute philosopharis. Quocirca cuperem te in collectaneis Bedæ exercitatiores fore, cum tu ipsius collectanea Augustinum non spirent, ut jam non pluribus neque illius, neque aliorum authorum, locis quærendis te gravem. Sed illud non omitam tamen, etsi aliò etiam me avocent negotia, 'non alluisse videlicet Christum Pharisæorum impietati, cum præcepta vocaret minima.' Sic enim tu audes dicere, quia aliam in Origene interpretationem legisti; pulchre admodum objectum, quasi unus et idem Scripturæ locus non sit ab aliis aliter fere expositus: Origenes de allusione non meminit, igitur nemo: qualis consecutio! Sed nihil, inquis, ibi Christo cum Pharisæis: et id quoque non minus pulchre abs te dictum, quasi non statim post subderet Christus de Scribis et Pharisæis mentionem, populum ab illorum justitiâ humanis, i. e. suis ipsorum, traditionibus stabilitâ revocans; 'Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra,' inquit, 'plus quàm Scribarum, etc.' At versabatur tum, inquis, Christus cum pauculis discipulis seorsum à turbâ: imo hoc apertissimum mendacium est, id quod verba Matthæi caput septimum claudentiâ luce clarius commonstrant; ut tolerabiliora sint mihi de me mendacia tua, qui audes de ipso Christo et ejus sermone mentiri. 'Et factum est,' inquit, 'ut cum finisset Jesus sermones hos, obstupuerunt turbæ super doctrinâ ejus.' Ecce autem, si Christus seorsum à turba sit locutus, quomodo obstupuerunt super doctrinâ, quam (per te) non audiverunt? Sed Lucas Evangelista, sive de eodem sive de consimili Christi sermone locutus, testatur turbam audiisse, capite septimo; 'Cum consummasset Jesus sermones hos' (inquit) 'audiente populo.' En quòd prolabitur præceps judicium tuum invidiâ male deformatum! Scilicet tu ipse hic non toto erras cælo? digniùs videlicet, quia aliorum errores expisceris et notes, et ad palinodiam revoces: tu tuo sensui hic non fidis? Medice, cura te ipsum, et discere quid sit illud; 'Hypocrita, cur vides festucam, etc.' Discere ex tuis trabibus alienis festucis parcere. Ego nihil dixi (testor Deum, non mentior), quod vel Cæcolampadio, vel Luthero, vel Melancthonii acceptum referre debeam; et tamen tu, quæ est tua charitas, non vereris id meo assuere capiti. Ego si feci istud, decidam meritò ab inimicis meis inanis. Sed nescis tu quidem, opinor, cujus spiritûs sis, dum mavis ministrum verbi impudentissimis mendaciis lacessere, quàm testimonium veritatis perhibere; quod quantum sit piaculum in conspectu Dei, tu absque doctore non ignoras, in cumulum damnationis tuæ, nisi respicias.

Jam verò num ego vitupero, ut quis credat quemadmodum ecclesia credit? Non sanè vitupero, nisi quòd malevolentia erga me tua tam surdas reddidit aures tuas, ut ne audiens quidem audias quæ dicuntur. Sed hoc vitupero, ut quis cui christianorum suadeat (quemadmodum suadere solent pseudoprædicatores non pauci), sat per omnia esse credere quemadmodum ecclesia credit, et nescire interim quid aut quomodo credit ecclesia, et sic miserum populum ab ampliori Dei agnitione quærendâ dehortari. Quod postremò mihi obtrudis, mendacium est, et illud plus quàm dici possit inhumanum, neque eo mea verba sensu accipis, quo sint à me dicta, ideoque (Hieronymo super xxvi. Matthæi teste) falsus testis coram Deo futurus. Lege locum, et relinque falsum testimonium. Ego dico Christianum, id est, baptismo in Christianorum numerum receptum, si professioni non respondeat sed carnis desiderii sese dedat, non magis Christianum esse, quod ad consecutionem æternæ vitæ spectat quæ promittitur Christianis, quàm Judæum aut Turcam: imo illius quàm hujus conditionem in

See
Appendix.

(1) See supra, p. 479.—Ed.

illo die deteriorem fore, si verum tibi dixit Petrus; ‘Melius esse viam veritatis non agnoscere, quàm post agnitam, etc.’ Et quibus dicit Christus, ‘Nunquam novi vos?’ Nonne his qui per nomen ejus prophetantes, virtutes non præstiterint? Et nonne negabit Christus nos, illum prænegantes coram hominibus? Non statuemur inter oves Christi à dextris, si non vitam Christo dignam retulerimus professi Christum, sed professionem malâ vitâ contaminantes. Sunt verius pseudo-Christiani quàm Christiani habendi: et ab Augustino et Christo vocantur Antichristi. Non nego quin obligatio manet, sed in majorem damnationem manet, si non satisfacit obligationi. Officium concionatoris est hortari auditores ut sic sint Christiani, ut, compatientes hic cum Christo, cum Christo conregnent in cælo, ut aliter Christianum esse non sit illis Christianum esse. Sic Scripturæ, sic interpretes Scripturæ loquuntur, ut his hæretica tibi videatur locutio: sed avarus, fornicator, homicida, inquis, catholicus est et Christi servus. Tamen sic (animi gratiâ) tecum ludam. Fornicator, per te, est Christi servus, sed idem est peccati et diaboli servus; ergo idem potest duobus dominis servire, quod Christum latuit. Et si fides mortua efficit catholicum, et dæmones pertinent ad ecclesiam catholicam, utpote qui juxta Jacobum credunt et contremiscunt. Fornicator (inquis) fudit Christo; spes non pudefacit, qui fudit Christo non peribit, sed habebit vitam æternam. Neque me latet ad Galatas scripsisse Paulum fide aberrantes, ecclesiam tamen vocasse; sic idem ad Corinthios scribens eos in eodem capite nunc carnales appellat, nunc Dei templum, Corinthios nimirum intelligens, sed alios atque alios. Neque enim templum Dei erant qui carnales erant; quanquam nec me latet ecclesiam, i.e. multitudinem profitentium Christum, partim ex bonis, partim ex malis conflatum esse, nempe rete evangelicum ex omni genere congregari. Quid hoc adversum ea quæ ego dixi, qui conabar omnes bonos non malos efficere, et ideo laborabam ut auditores mei non putarent magnum esse si in malis ecclesiastici invenirentur: sed non visum est tibi piam prædicationem piè interpretari, dum existimas ad pietatem pertinere, si piè dicta impiè revocarentur. Si colloquia tua non sunt quàm scripta clementiora, neque neutra ego optem mihi contingere, sed omnis amarulentia, tumor, ira, vociferatio, maledicentia tollatur à te cum omni malitiâ; et tamen neque colloquiis, neque scriptis est gravabis. Tu non optares (opinor) tales auditores, qualem te præstiteris. Sed Deus te reddat benigniorem, vel à meis concionibus quàm longissimè ableget. Vale.

Spiritum Veritatis.

Flammis fumoque quam lectione aut oculis digniores multo perlegimus tuas literas, quibus tu ipsius scelera in nos torquere subdolè et astutè admodum moliris. Et quo firmiùs ista tua statuas, veterem inter pocula me tui suggillatorem facis. Quod quàm vere (ut omnia) dicas, jam vide. Narravit nobis presentibus jam olim Marchfieldiæ unus et idem alter, qui tuæ interfuerant concioni, te palam summâque (ut præ te ferebas) cum autoritate dixisse, indignos esse miseros homunculos, qui angelicâ salutatione saludent deiparam Virginem, ni velint ipsam rursus ut pariat Christum. Ego hæc dixi parum Christianè et religiosè abs te dicta, cavendumque diligenter piis quibusque Christianis, ne hujusmodi fidem habeant concionatoribus. An hoc est te suggillare, an magis et tibi et illis piè et religiosè consulere? Nihil ego tibi (at tu mihi, necdum viso) bilis impingo, sed summâ rarâque te esse modestiâ et tolerantia hominem (ut videri vis) gaudeo, sed et gaudeo, nec retorqueo in te convitia et probra, quibus tuæ scatent literæ. At istud non video quomodo dicas, ‘Imo nec admonitum tandem, sed acerrime potius redargutum, sed convitiis et mendaciis male habitum potius, sed calumniis inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius.’ Redargui (fateor), at ea redargutio quàm admonitio, aliud nihil. Convitium nullum, mendacium nullum, calumnia nulla, quod sciam, in meis conspicitur literis, nisi mentitus est Paulus, nisi calumniatus est Paulus, nisi convitiatus est Paulus, quum diceret quosdam se dixisse, facienda mala ut venirent bona. Nos calidi adhuc tuo spiritu, tua tibi retulimus verba, id quod norunt probe omnes, qui te illic unâ audiere, utinam tu nil tale effudisses, ego tum certe nihil tibi tale adscripsissem. Absit à me ut ego (quod dicere videris) illo te animi odio, ullo te impio mentis affectu persequar. Didici ex Christo diligere etiam inimicos: tantum abest ut hominem fratrem, ejusdemque Domini conservum, odio habeam. Sed plus quàm hostilia, plus quàm cruenta, tua verba nequicquam me movent. Tantum quàm possum paucissimis tuis respondebo, posthac te tuo relicturus judici.

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Primum quod dicis, 'Esto, dixerim ego omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios, rectoresque omnes per ostium non intrantes, sed ascendentes aliunde, fures esse et latrones: dum sic dixi, ex ascensu non ex personis et titulis cum Christo sum rem metitus.' Si id dixisses, nihil nobis tecum eâ de re negotii fuisset. Sed (quod tu meâ Minervâ me collegisse dicis) dicebas, quòd papæ videlicet omnes, episcopi omnes, vicarii omnes, rectores omnes fures sint, et latrones, nullâ, quum audivi, neque ascensûs neque descensûs, neque per ostium neque per fenestram, mentione factâ. Nec ego adeo surdis eram auribus, ut si quid tale suo loco dixisses, continuò non excepissem. Eum quem nunc adfers sensum catholicum veneror, et exosculor; priorem rejicio et detestor. Sacræ Scripturæ autoritas (principi populi tui non maledices) non sinit me ut sentiam, ut tu mihi ascribere videris, plerosque omnes aliunde ascendere. Quis sum ego ut iudicem alienum servum? (unusquisque enim propriam sarcinam bajulabit.) Non ego, sed nec alius quisquam vetuit unquam quo minus dicerem, omnes esse fures qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, quibuscumque interim titulis splendescant; sed 'qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde,' jam primum audio, quod si prius (ut jam dixi) adjecisses, verbum nullum. Quod dicis, 'quæ me dementia cœperit, sic collegisse, ut plures fures quàm pastores, plures hædos quàm oves esse in ecclesiâ dixerim,' hoc quàm dixeris (ut prius dixi) vere, ipse videto. Jam prioribus literis saniorum fuisse divi Cypriani Martyris de Ecclesiâ censuram docuimus. Frustra dicis apertam illam et in os objectam criminationem, 'Væ vobis, Scribæ et Pharisæi, hypocritæ, mihi è regione displicituram, quum adeo, ut dicis, arrideat tecta et parabolica illa, 'Qui non intrat per ostium in stabulum ovium, etc.' Non potest profectò mihi unquam displicere aliquod sacrum Christi factum. Præsentes reprehendebat ipse impios Scribas et Pharisæos, juxta id, 'annuncia populo meo scelera sua,' non aliena; absentes tu papas et episcopos; qui talia fecerant, væ futurum prædixit; tu vocabula, quo nescio afflatu, tantum respiciebas. Nullius ego hominis animum iudico unquam, sed neque iudicabo, tantum abest ut animi tui emphasis mihi arrogaverim unquam. Desine mihi objicere talia. Quod audivimus loquimur, quod vidimus testamur. Si sanè, et rectè ad quemlibet christianum interpretatus es id Matthæi, 'Tu es Petrus,' æqualitèr (ut dicis) de ecclesiâ, nihil omnino de vi clavium locutus, gaudeo. Mihi certè non aridet. Nec dixi te dixisse omnes christianos, ut tu es, sacerdotes esse, sed illiusmodi nudam et confusam interpretationem non parum fovere et nutrire hujusmodi assertionem Lutheranam; id quod, credo, ipse vides. Me illorum adjectives numero, qui promptiores sunt ad primatum Petri defensandum etiam, ut ais, quum nihil * * * * sed hæreticum dictum videtur. Christianus enim conditionem significat non actionem sine actu. Signo latet quippiam, etc.

Besides these Latin letters above expressed, other letters also he wrote in English, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, which letters, because they do contain much fruitful matter worthy to be read and known, I thought here presently to insert, which albeit may seem somewhat prolix in reading; yet the fruit thereof, I trust, shall recompense the length of them.

A Letter sent by Master Latimer, Parson of West-Kington, in the County of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight.

Salutem in Christo.—Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto your mastership with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable, and so mindful, remembrance of me so poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by master Bonham, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in case I must needs come up: which your goodness towards me with all other such like to recompense, whereas I myself am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your mastership, neither of any man else, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all. In very deed master chancellor did show me that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine ordinary, and that both he might and should reform me as far as I

needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be very loth, now this deep winter, being so weak and so feeble (not only exercised with my disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and the stone), to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, nor he was not bound so to do. Notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my lord of London pleasure, to my great displeasure would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandment, yea though it should be never so great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which answer he was content, saying, he would certify my lord of London thereof, trusting his lordship would be content with the same: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Master chancellor also said, that my lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeas'd with me, for that I did contemn his authority, at my last being in London.

Forsooth I preached in Abb-church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his diocese or no, intending nothing less than to contemn his authority: and this I did not of mine own suing, or by mine own procuracy, but at the request of honest merchantmen (as they seemed to me), whose names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest, if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to hear godly preaching, should return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and, to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certain; but they showed not only themselves, but also many others to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not only content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's seal to show for me, but only a license of the university; which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and, when I should go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had not been alone uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth (as it is), I marvel greatly how my lord of London can allege any contempt of him in me.

First, he did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely that the curate would so little have regarded my lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myself, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whom he would, or else (and rather), that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my lord himself, or some others pertaining to him, were appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fair and friendly, and also the rather to go. For I preach nothing, but (if it might be so) I would my lord himself might hear me every sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainsaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate; yet hear I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

I marvel not a little, how my lord bishop of London, having so broad, wide, and large a diocese committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure for preaching and teaching the word of God, opportunè, importunè, tempestivè, intempestivè, privatim, publicè, to his own flock, instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate et doctrina: have leisure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure; so intermixing and intermeddling himself with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as some men say my lord doth, gather up my joyse, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor yet elsewhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

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In very deed I did monish judges and ordinaries to use charitable equity in their judgments towards such as be accused, namely, of such accusers which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to say amiss; and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wrest them in another sense than they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses be false before God, as St. Jerome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses; much less those which procure such witnesses against any man: nor do I think judges now-a-days so deeply confirmed in grace, or so impeccable, but that it may behove and become preachers, to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the epistle which I declared (Rom. vi.), wherein is this sentence, "Non estis sub lege, sed sub gratia," "Ye christian men that believe in Christ, are not under the law."

What a saying is this (quoth I), if it be not rightly understood; that is, as St. Paul did understand it? for the words sound as though he would go about to occasion christian men to break law, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudo-apostles, adversaries to St. Paul, would have so taken them, and accused St. Paul of the same to my lord of London? If my said lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he should have escaped, and the false apostles have been put to rebuke; if he would have rigorously followed utunque allegata et probata, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good St. Paul must have borne a faggot at Paul's Cross, my lord of London being his judge. Oh! it had been a godly sight, to have seen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Cross, my lord of London (bishop of the same), sitting under the cross. Nay verily, I dare say, my lord should sooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that christian men might break law, and do whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law: but he did mean, that christian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would; because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfil the law to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after St. Paul's meaning, is to be weak to satisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do withal, though his adversaries would not so take it?

But my lord would say peradventure, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwise than they mean therein. Bona verba; as though St. Paul's words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romans, where he saith, "Quod injustitia nostra Dei justitiam commendat," that is to say, "Our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God;" which soundeth to many as though they should be evil, that good should come of it, and by unrighteousness to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So St. Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing so; but showed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtiness to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodness; not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my lord will not think, I dare say, that St. Paul was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heed and attendance to Paul's speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pity the people, which had been so long nursed in the doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darkness of man's traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightness of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by St. Paul. Nor do I think that my lord will require more circumspection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errors in me, than was in St. Paul, when he did not escape malevolous corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever he appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to follow of his saying.

But what followeth? "Sic aiunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis:" "So they report us to say," saith St. Paul; "so they speak evil of us:" "sed quorum damnatio justa est," "but such, whose damnation is just," saith he,

And I think the damnation of all such that evil report preachers now-a-days, likewise just, for it is untruth now and then. Yea, Christ himself was mis-reported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his words. First he said, "destruite," that is to say, "destroy you;" they made it "possum destruere," that is to say, "I can destroy:" he said "templum hoc," "this temple;" they added "manu factum," that is to say "made with hand," to bring it to a contrary sense.¹ So they both inverted his words, and also added unto his words, to alter his sentence: for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wrested it to Solomon's temple.

Now I report me, whether it be a just fame raised up and dispersed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of persons which can make no credible information: first, adversaries, enemies: secondly, ignorant and without judgment: thirdly, "susurrones," that is to say, whisperers and blowers in men's ears, which will spew out in hudder-mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of such is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make process against any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil spoken of, of them that be naught themselves, and to be commended of the same is, many times, no little reproach. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speak well one upon another!

Me seemeth it were more comely for my lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himself, having so great a cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his lordship to take so great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little bishopric at West-Kington,² whether I were present or absent myself, I would thank his lordship heartily, and think myself greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast unreasonable; nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners.

As for my lord, he may do as it pleaseth his lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure St. Paul, the true minister of God, and faithful dispenser of God's mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and very bishops, saith in the first chapter to the Philippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby so to grieve him withal, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authority into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: "Notwithstanding," saith he, "by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth (as ye would say, for truth's sake), so that Christ be preached and showed, I joy and will joy:" so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of christian souls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity; considering right well (as he said), that what authority soever he had, it was to edification, and not to destruction.

Now I think it were no reproach to my lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached *quovis modo*—yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despite, and contempt of his lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt)—than when the preaching cannot be proved justly, to demand of the preacher austere, as the Pharisees did of Christ, "qua autoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam autoritatem?" As my authority is good enough, and as good as my lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his lordship to be so good lord unto me. For the university of Cambridge hath authority apostolic to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one; and the king's highness (God save his grace!) did decree that all admitted of universities should preach throughout all his realm as long as they preached well, without distreine of any man, my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Durham, with such other not a few, standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to contemn my lord of London's authority, were

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Defamation.

Latimer
admitted
by the
Univer-
sity of
Cam-
bridge to
preach.
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Appendix.

(1) Evil will never saith "well."

(2) Nay, my lord will none of that.

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no little fault in me ; so no less fault might appear in my lord of London to contemn the king's authority and decree, yea so godly, so fruitful, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of christian souls, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace and authority apostolic. To have a book of the king's, not inhibited, is to obey the king : and to inhibit a preacher of the king's, admitted, is it not to disobey the king ? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit ? He that resisteth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinance of God ? We low subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances : and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us example of such obedience ? As for my preaching itself, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot rightfully belack it, nor justly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it ; or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, as the poet Martial said to one that depraved his book :

“ *Quem recitas meus est, O Fidentine, libellus :
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus.* ”

Bilney
com-
mended.

But now I hear say that my lord of London is informed, and upon the said information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaries and his judges, which I ensure you is not so : for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong ; for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right ; nor am I altogether so foolish as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a preacher to say as I said, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than ever did my lord of London : for I have been his ghostly father many a time. And to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few such so prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friend and foe, noisome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable ; so seeking to reconcile them as he did, I have known yet not many ; and to be short, in sum, a very simple good soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whose blind fashion and miserable state (yea far from Christ's doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would sorrow, lament, and bewail it, as much as any man that ever I knew : as for his singular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speak of it. Notwithstanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a christian man doth owe either to his prince or to his bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man : we be all men, and ready to fall ; wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal ; God knoweth, whose judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously and virtuously, and killing his old Adam (that is to say, mortifying his evil affections and blind motions of his heart so diligently), should die an evil death, there is no more, but “ Let him that standeth, beware that he fall not : ” for if such as he shall die evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am ?

But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, “ *Omnes vident quæ foris sunt,* ” or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, “ *Deus autem intuetur cor.* ” If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself toward my christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London : for I have preached and taught but according to holy Scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with the which I think my lord of London will be pacified : for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done.

As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reprovèd the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh preachers to do : which thing, if my lord of London

will do himself (as I would to God he would do), he should be reported, no doubt, to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue (so thorny be their hearts). If my lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my lord of London, which I would be very loth, or else my Lord God, which I would be more loth: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a christian man ought to believe. But peradventure my lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer, "Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum," so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God: and in the mean season (Acts viii.), as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Christ but baptismum Johannis, teach and preach mine even christened, that and no further than I know to be true.

There be three Creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the Creed: and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for me and all others to believe. Yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever to learn, and ever to be learned; to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, had been Lord of all the world as Christ is; so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you of the lordship of Bromeham, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise; notwithstanding I have both seen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I had heard, "Ecce vobiscum sum," and "Qui vos audit me audit," bended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily entreated to think otherwise, etc.

I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might persuade me otherwise; or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, etc. I have thought in times past, that and if I had been a friar in a cowl I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death; and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick and diseased: now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, etc. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I know that one can help as much as another; and it pitieth mine heart, that my lord, and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were or I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, etc. Yea, men think that my lord himself hath thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now both dare think and say contrary: and yet this his boldness¹ might have chanced, in pope Julius's days, to stond him either in a fire, or else in a faggot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remissible toward men which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance, than between God's law, and not God's law; nor is it so or so, because any man thinketh it so or so: but, because it is so or so indeed, therefore we must think it so or so, when God shall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so,

(1) Stokesley was so zealous in promoting the divorce of Henry and Catherine, that the king actually selected him to argue the case with sir Thomas More, who was of opinion that the marriage could not legally be set aside. See Dr. Watkin's *Life of Latimer*, p. 30; also Burnet, vol. i.—Ed.

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See
Appendix.

No man
so old but
he may
learn.

Mary. or not so, though all the world had thought otherwise these thousand years, etc.

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And finally as ye say, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath emboldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken, by the working of him, fruit thereby. And even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the ocean-sea, I think, should have divided my lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himself, and yet ought to be. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to God's pleasure, and safety of our souls; Amen.

I pray you pardon me, that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is so out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again, and, if I be not prevented, shortly I intend to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, lest perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter, as a buck in summer.

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, answering to the Letter of Master Latimer, sent to him before.

Master Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, such as for christian charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it swerve from the truth), or at the least in your manner and behaviour, inasmuch as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name.¹ And, forasmuch as your said letters misliked them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your christian breast, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so acknowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pain to note their minds in this letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word: wherein nevertheless, as I trust ye yourself will temper your own judgment, and in a soberness affirm no truth of yourself, which should divide the unity of the congregation in Christ; and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the Scripture of God; even so whatsoever ye will do therein (as I think ye will not otherwise than ye should do), I, being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this altercation and contention, must rather of good congruence show myself, in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith: but that is "per speculum in ænigmate."² And there have been "qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam." Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, considering that to me, unlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwise, not having "sensus exercitatos," as St. Paul saith, "ad discernendum bonum et malum:" and it is showed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epistle, where he saith, "Omnis qui confitetur Christum in carne," etc. "ex Deo est." And like as the word of God hath always caused dissension among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, so in Christ's congregation, among them that profess Christ's name,

(1) These friends of Baynton seem to be some popish priests, and enemies to the gospel, as Powell, Wilson, Sherwood, Hubberdin, etc.

(2) Note the proceeding of the pope's church, which would not have the people certain of God's truth and religion.

The papists will not have unity disturbed. Papists coloured with authority of holy fathers. Master Baynton will follow the most number.

Error and false doctrine would fain lie still in peace and not to be stirred.

"in uno Domino, uno baptisate, et unâ fide," they that preach and stir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of christian charity, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into a unity of faith and baptism. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union in love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls.

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The chain of christian charity.

The Answer of Master Latimer to the Letter of Sir Edward Baynton above prefixed.

Right worshipful Sir, and my singular good master, salutem in Christo Jesu, with due commendation, and also thanks for your great goodness towards me, etc. And whereas you have communicated my last letters to certain of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, etc., what I think therein I will not now say, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the said letters, well taken, as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and undevishly scribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had been made. And besides that, ye know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venom, not for any diversity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that suck the flower: as in times past, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itself, was to some offence, to some foolishness; to others otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversity was in the redress of hearers thereof.

The bee. The spinner. Every thing as it is taken.

But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them which both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform my error? Let this pass, I will not contend: "had I wist" cometh ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation: but yet it is good for a man to look or he leap, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworn to me so wretched a fool, that you should not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, so great learned men as they appear to be, than the opinions of me, having never so christian a breast.

"Had I wist."

Wherefore do as you will; for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be noisome unto you: but yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for none other cause, at least-way inasmuch as they cause me to write writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head. And as touching the points which in my foresaid letters mislike your friends, I have now little leisure to make an answer thereto, for the great business that I have in my little cure (I know not what other men have in their great cures), seeing that I am alone without any priest to serve my cure, without my scholar to read unto me, without any book necessary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counsel withal: all which things others have at hand abundantly. But something must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth; saying in reproof of the same, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed alonely God knoweth all certain truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and those which be taught of God, as saith St. Paul, "Deus enim illis patefecit;" and Christ himself, "Erunt omnes docti à Deo." And your friends deny not but that certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity. Now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, etc.

Example of a true diligent pastor. Latimer unfurnished with outward help.

Latimer blamed for saying he was sure of the truth which he preached.

But as to my presumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray

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It is no presumption in a preacher, being certain of that which he preacheth, to show it to the people.

The doubting doctrine of the catholics.

Certain knowledge. Clear knowledge. Latimer not ignorant of the school subtleties.

you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful teachers and unsure? And you yourselves, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour? And so forth of other articles that ye be bounden to believe. Or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civil ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then with what conscience do ye doubt, *cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est?* But contrary say you, aloney God knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but “*per speculum in ænigmate*”; and there have been “*qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.*” And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having “*sensus exercitatus,*” as Paul saith, “*ad discernendum bonum et malum*”; as ye reason against me, and so you do best to know surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither, “*omni vento doctrinæ,*” etc. Our knowledge here, you say, is but “*per speculum in ænigmate*.” What then? ergo, it is not certain and sure.

I deny your argument, by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, “because the certainty of faith is the most surest certainty,”¹ as Duns and other school doctors say, that there is a great discrepance between certain knowledge and clear knowledge; for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been, say they, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge.² True it is, there have been such, and yet be too many, to the great hinderance of Christ’s glory, which nothing doth more obscure than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they, knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter.³ I mean not among Turks and Saracens, that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have been also that have lost the spiritual knowledge of God’s word which they had before;⁴ because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same; but rather with their mother-wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them, ut *justificetur Christus in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum judicatur*; threatening to him that hath not, that also which he hath (that is, that which he seemeth to have) shall be taken from him: because to abuse that which a man hath, or not to use it well, is as not to have it; and also seeing it is true, that God’s wisdom will not dwell in a body subject to sin, albeit it abound in carnal wisdom too much; for the mere carnal and philosophical understanding of God’s Scriptures is not the wisdom of God, which is hid from the wise, and is revealed to little ones.⁵ And if to call this or that, truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every preacher to have so deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollos was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for

(1) “*Quia certitudo fidei est maxima certitudo.*”

(2) “*Qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.*”

(3) *Qui scientiam habuerunt absque zelo Dei, qui, veritatem Dei in injustitiâ detinentes, plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoscentes, nihil minus quam faciunt.*

(4) *Scientiam Dei, id est, spirituales divini verbi sensum, quem prius habuerunt.*

(5) *Ei vero, qui non habet, etiam quod habet, id est, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo; cum abuti habito, vel non bene uti, sit non habere; necnon sit verum illud quoque, non habituram videlicet sapientiam in corpore peccatis subdito; qui adhuc etsi carnaliter sapiat plus satis; at stat sententia, nempe carnalem et philosophicam scripturarum intelligentiam non esse sapientiam Dei, quæ à sapientibus absconditur, parvulis revelatur. Matt. xiii.*

the truth. And as for myself, I trust in God, I have "sensus exercitatos ad discernendum bonum et malum," i. e. my senses well enough exercised to discern good and evil in those things, which (being without deep and profound knowledge in many things) I preach not; yea there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly discern "bonum et malum," I mean "verum et falsum;" not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with help of all interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scrupulosity that may arise. But in such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either go over, or else return back again; having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own, nor yet their capacity.¹

And such manner of argumentations might well serve the devil contra pusillanimes, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, "ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitatisissimos." As whether, if Adam had not sinned, we should have stockfish out of Iceland: how many larks for a penny if every star in the elements were a flickering hobby: how many years a man shall lie in purgatory for one sin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to slake the sin withal; and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatory.

Such argumentation, I say, might appear to make well against such preachers; not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, "which he hath prepared for us to walk in;"² every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with soberness, having "sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum vel mediocriter exercitatos." For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always, an infant still in Christ, and in infirmity: ³ in reproof of which it was said, "Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo." For St. Paul saith not, "estote humiles, ut non capiatis:" for though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above that that it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves, "ut simus sobrii ac modesti," yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, "as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith."⁴ For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you inquire of them whether they may "cum sobrietate et modestiâ," be sure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may "cum sobrietate et modestiâ," follow St. Paul's bidding, where he saith unto us all, "Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be infants."⁵ God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low; but so that we may restore unto him, "qui peregre profectus est," his gifts again "cum usurâ," that is to say, with good use of the same, so that "ædificemus invicem" with the same, "ad gloriam Dei." Amen.

For my life, I trust in God that I neither have, neither (by God's grace) shall I, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of myself, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be showed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epistle, where he saith, "Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God."⁶ First, not every thing whereupon followeth dissension, causeth dissension,⁷ as I would that they that showed you that, would also show you, whether this opinion, that a man may not

Mary.

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1555.

There be many truths whereof a good man may well be ignorant.

Against preachers which take upon them to define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit.

A mean between too high and too low.

(1) There be many things in Scripture in the profundities whereof a man may wade too far.

(2) "Quæ præparavit Deus ut in eis ambularem.".

(3) Infantulus in Christo et infirmitate.

(4) "Ut cuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei."

(5) "Nolite fieri pueri sensibus, sed malitiâ infantes estote."

(6) "Omnis qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est."

(7) "Not every thing whereupon dissension cometh is the cause of dissension." He meaneth the pope and his papists, which could not abide the dissolving of the marriage between king Henry and his brother's wife.

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1555.Occasion
may be
taken
where
none is
given.The
church of
the Gala-
tians.

marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then, as Gamaliel said, "dissolvetur;" if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, "who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God?"¹ And yet there be many, not heathens, but in Christendom, that dissent from the same, which could bear full evil to hear said unto them, "Vos ex patre diabolo estis." So that such an opinion might seem to some to make a dissension in a christian congregation, saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than others, that an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saving that non omnes omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the gospel into the sour bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a christian congregation, when St. Paul did write his epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to St. Paul that his apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was dissension in a christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renew their opinions by occasion of the epistle, some would "opinari," as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and masters, the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristianed, but christianed, and high prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the paraphrases of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his pen in a christian congregation, inasmuch as many have dissented from him, not alonely in cloisters (men more than christened men), of high perfection, but also at Paul's Cross, and St. Mary Spital, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

Jerome
noted of
some to be
a falsifier
and a corrup-
ter of the Scrip-
ture.See
*Appendix.*Worship-
ful fathers
of greater
authority
than of
good cha-
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And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that St. Jerome's writings were of God, which caused dissension in a christian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epistles, which be these: Sed tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum à me impensius Scripturam veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam exponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec æmulum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturam veritatem poscentibus denegabo."² I pray you what were they, that called St. Jerome "falsarium," and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? unchristian or christian? What had the unchristian to do with christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomachs than right judgment, of a greater authority than good charity: but St. Jerome would not cease to do good for the evil-speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same; and if this dissension were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? de malo in pejus scilicet.

It is not
enough to
be christi-
anized,
but to
keep our
promise
then
made.

And I pray you what mean your friends by a christian congregation? All those, trow ye, that have been christianed? But many of those be in worse condition, and shall have greater damnation than many unchristianed. For it is not enough to a christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christened, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps: which thing if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not crack that we profess Christ's name in a christian congregation,³ in one baptism.

To pre-
tend unity
under the
title of
one Lord,
is not
enough.

And whereas they add, "in one Lord,"⁴ I read in Matt. xvii., "Not every one that saith Lord, Lord,"⁵ etc. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, "Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you?"⁶ Even as though it were enough to a christian man, or to a christian congregation to say every day, "Domine, dominus noster," and to salute Christ with a double "domine." But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chrysostome, super Matthæum,⁷ hom. 49. cap. 24, to learn to know a christian congregation, if it will please

(1) "Quis potest dissolvere, nisi qui videbitur Deo repugnare?"

(2) Hieron. in Prologo super Canon. Epist. (3) In uno baptismo.

(4) In uno Domino.

(5) "Non omnis qui dicit Domine, Domine," etc.

(6) "Cur dicitis, Domine, Domine, et non facitis quæ dico?"

(7) "Chrysostome super Matthæum," Hom. 49. cap. 24. vol. vi. p. 946. Edit. Paris. 1836.

Although this commentary is no doubt incorrectly attributed to the pen of Chrysostome, it con-

them to learn at him. And whereas they add, "in one faith."¹ St. James saith boldly, "Show me thy faith by thy works."² And St. Jerome, "If we believe, we show the truth in working."³ And the Scripture saith, "He that believeth God, attendeth to his commandments:"⁴ and the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company!

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristened, but them that be christened, and answer not unto their christendom. For St. Jerome showeth how true preachers should order themselves, when evil priests and false preachers, and the people by them deceived,⁵ should be angry with them for preaching the truth,⁶ exhorting them to suffer death for the same, of the evil priests and false preachers, and the people deceived of them; which evil priests and false preachers with the people deceived, be christened as well as others. And I fear me that St. Jerome might appear to some christian congregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to divide the unity of a great honest number confessing Christ, "in uno baptisate, uno Domino, una fide," saying, "The people which before were brought asleep by their masters, must go up to the mountains: not such mountains which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountains of the Old and New Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when they are occupied with reading in these mountains, if they find no instructors (for the harvest is great, and the workmen be few), yet shall the diligent study of the people be approved in fleeing to the mountains, and the slothfulness of the masters shall be rebuked."⁷

I do marvel why our christian congregations be so greatly grieved that lay-people would read Scripture, seeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not here the unchristened to the christened, but the lay-people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtle trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain; at the leastway to the pain of them that have wakened them with the word of God. And it is properly said of St. Jerome to call them masters and not servants: meaning that servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their master Christ, to his glory. Masters teach not Christ's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which masterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleep again: but Christ the very true master saith, "Vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem." "Non cogitationes meae cogitationes vestrae, neque viae meae viae vestrae; dicit Dominus:" and there have been, "which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish."⁸ I pray God give our people grace so to wake, ut studium illorum comprobetur, and our masters so to sleep, ut non desidia illorum coarguatur. For who is so blind that he seeth not how far our christian congregation doth againsay St. Jerome, and speaketh after another fashion?

God amend that is amiss;

For we be sometime wide I wis.

But now your friends have learned of St. John, that "Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God:"⁹ and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christians, "which

tains, nevertheless, much valuable and anti-papal matter. Bellarmine, Sixtus Senensis, Joseph Acosta, and other members of the church of Rome, have spoken of it in high terms; and the derogatory opinion of it held by others in the same church may be supposed to arise from its testimony against Romish peculiarities, quite as much, perhaps, as from an objection to the infusion of Arian sentiment, with which it is occasionally (and, we may add, inconsistently), corrupted. Under the pretext of removing *this* objectionable matter, a Franciscan monk of Oudenard, published an edition of the "Opus Imperfectum," at Antwerp, in 1545 (or 1537, according to Montfaucon), in which he omitted *also* the passages, which bear hard upon the doctrine of the Latin church. Consult And. Riveti Critic. Sac. lib. iv. cap. 1, where the opinions of the Romish authors above mentioned, are given at length; and Montfaucon's "Diatribæ ad Opus Imperfectum," pp. 731—735.—Ed.

(1) "In una fide." (2) "Ostende mihi fidem ex operibus."

(3) "Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostendimus."

(4) "Qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis." (5) Populus ab his deceptus.

(6) Hieron. tom. v. cap. 26.

(7) "Populus qui ante sub magistris consopitus erat, ibit ad montes, [non illos quidem qui vel leviter tacti fumigant,] sed montes [veteris et] novi Testamenti, prophetas, apostolos, et evangelistas, et cum ejusmodi montium lectione versatus, si non invenerit doctores (messis enim multa, operarii autem pauci) tunc et populi studium comprobabitur, quo fugerit ad montes, et magistrorum desidia coarguetur." Naum. tom. iv. cap. 30. [See Appendix.]

(8) "Qui cogitaverunt consilia, quae non potuerunt stabilire."

(9) "Omnis qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

How true preachers should order themselves, when wicked priests be against them.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their acts ;¹ so that St. Paul should appear to expound St. John, saving that I will not affirm any thing as of myself, but leave it to your friends to show you " *utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem :*" for your friends know well enough by the same St. John, " *qui ex Deo est, non peccat :*" and there both have been and be now too many, " *which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh ;*"² but will not effectually hear the word of God, by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that St. John saith, " *Qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit ; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis.*" And many shall hear, " *I never knew you,*"³ which shall not alonely be christened, but also shall " *prophetare,*" and do puissant things " *in nomine Christi :*" and St. Paul said there should come " *ravening wolves which will not spare the flock ;*"⁴ meaning it of them that should " *confiteri Christum in carne,*" in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office, which Christ calleth " *false prophets,*"⁵ and biddeth us beware of them, saying, " *They shall come in sheep's clothing ;*"⁶ and yet they may wear both satin, silk, and velvet, called afterwards, " *naughty servants,*" not feeding but smiting their fellow-servants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with hypocrites.⁷ They are called " *servi,*" servants, I trow, *quod ore confitentur Christum in carne ; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem :* because they confess Christ in the flesh : and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising mastership over the flock. And yet your friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristianed, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same epistle of John, calleth such confessors of Christ, *qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, " antichristos ;*" a strange name for a christian congregation. And though St. Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appear not to be of God, to some men's judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Christ's charity, so to cause men to hate Antichrists,⁸ according to the doctrine of St. Paul, " *Hate that is evil ;*"⁹ and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and Antichristians, when neither pen nor tongue can divide the Antichristians from their blind folly. And I would you would cause your friends to read over St. Augustine upon the epistle of St. John ; and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it. As I remember, it is in his Tractate iii.¹⁰ But I am not sure nor certain of that, because I have not seen it since I was at Cambridge ; and here I have not St. Augustine's works to look for it : but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Christians from the Antichristians, which both be christened, and both confess " *Jesum esse Christum,*" if they be asked the question : and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. But to know whether, " *let us not stand upon our talk, but attend to our doings and manner of life, to know whether we strive to perform the duties of our calling or not : yea, rather, we perhaps persuade ourselves that it is not necessary for us to perform them, referring them all to primitive usage ; but that it is enough for us to bear rule and authority, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pomp of this world.*"¹¹ And yet we desire to appear, " *vel soli ex Deo esse ; sed longe aliter Christum confitentur, qui confitendo ex Deo esse comprobantur.*"

Both
Chris-
tians
and Anti-
christians
confess
the name
of Christ.

And yet as long as they minister the word of God, or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to work with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origen saith,

(1) " *Qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant.*" (2) " *Qui ore tenus confitentur Christum venisse in carne.*" (3) " *Nunquam novi vos.*" (4) " *Lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi.*"

(5) " *Pseudo-prophetas.*" (6) " *In vestimentis ovium.*"

(7) " *Servi nequam, non pascentes, sed percipientes conservos, edentes et bibentes cum ebbriis, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis.*"

(8) " *Antichristianismum.*" (9) " *Sitis odio persecuentes quod malum est.*"

(10) Aug. in Joan. Epist. Tract. 3. [§ 8] [Opera Edit. Bened. Antw. 1700, tom. iii. pars 2, col. 614, &c.]

(11) " *Non linguam, sed facta attendamus, et vivendi genus, num studeamus officia vocationis præstare annon studeamus : immo persuasi forte sumus non necesse esse ut præstemus, sed omnia in primitivam ecclesiam et tempora præterita referimus, quasi nobis sat sit dominari, et secularibus negotiis non totos volvere, ac voluptatibus et pompæ inhiare.*"

and Chrysostome, so that "it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them," as St. Jerome saith: but there is required a judgment, to discern when they minister God's word and ordinance of the same, and their own, lest peradventure we take chalk for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion. For as it is commonly said, "the blind eateth many a fly," as they did which were persuaded "of the high priests to ask Barabbas and to crucify Jesus;"¹ and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come into the pit with the same. "And well you know," saith St. Augustine, "how apertly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity and negligence? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himself, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whom they be blamed." [In Johan. Epist. Tract. iii. § 9.]

Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilness with the truth? And, to say truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation² and adulteration of the word, (as Nicolas de Lyra saith in his time few did: what they do now a-days, I report me to them that can judge) than to have such a uniformity, that the silly people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, superstition, and idolatry; and esteem things as they do all, preposterously; doing that that they need not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done; and so show their love to God, not as God biddeth, which saith, "If ye love me, keep my commandments;"³ and again, "He that knoweth my precepts, and doth them, he it is loveth me;"⁴ but as they bid, "which seek their own things, not Christ's:" as though to tithe mint were more than judgment, faith, and mercy.⁵

And what is to love in state of curates, but what he taught, who said, "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed, feed, feed;"⁶ which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing else, but to wear rings, mitres, and rochets, etc. And when they err in right loving, how can the people but err in loving, and be all of the new fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed, I trow, "nisi per manum Dei validam." And I have both St. Augustine and St. Thomas, with divers others, that "lex" is taken not alone for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is said, "Non estis sub lege," though your friends reprove the same. But they can make no division in a christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye mean by it. For I see well, whosoever will be happy, and busy with "væ vobis," he shall shortly after come "coram nobis."

And whereas your friends think that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I think, or have thought, better than I; juxta illud, nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, etc.; as though better men than I have not thought so, as Boniface⁷ (as I remember) Octavus, and the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower,⁸ presbyter cardinalis, in his book, where he proveth the pope to be above the council general, and specially where he saith that the pope is "king

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Intolerable
secularity and
negligence in
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try.State of
curates.The true
honour of
Christ
turned to
piping,
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and sing-
ing.

(1) "A principibus sacerdotum, ut peterent Barabbam, Jesum autem cruciferent."

(2) "Without cauponation." This expression alludes probably to the "κατηλύοντες" of the second Epistle to the Cor. ii. 17. In the same strain Theodoret writes; (Hist. Eccles. i. 4.) οἱ τῶν ἐκείνου χριστιανιστοῦ παρτίαν θεωροῦντες.—Ed.

(3) "Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate."

(4) "Qui habet præcepta mea et facit ea, hic est qui diligit me."

(5) "Qui quærunt, quæ sua sunt, non quæ Iesu Christi."

(6) "Petre amas me? Pæce, pæce, pæce."

(7) This may well be believed of one of whom Platina (p. 253, Lugduni, 1512,) thus speaks: "Bonifacius ille qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur."—Ed.

(8) Johannes de Turrecremata was so called in Latin from his birth-place Torquemado, in the diocese of Balenza. After having been employed in various embassies, he was nominated in 1450 to a bishopric in Gallicia, and ultimately, in 1464, became cardinal-bishop of St. Sabina. His "Summa de Ecclesia, et ejus Auctoritate," was printed at Lyons in 1496, and at Venice in 1561. See Dupin, Eccles. Hist. Cent. xv. chap. iv. p. 89; Possevin. Appar. Sacer. tom. i. p. 951. Col. Agrip. 1608.—Ed.

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1555.The pope
great
Master
Lord and
King
over all
the
world.The
pope's do-
minion.Purga-
tory.
Worship-
ping of
saints.A pretty
nip to
such as
have
many
cures,
and are
resident
on none.

of kings, and lord of lords;"¹ and that he is "the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not so;"² and that Constantine did but restore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that (as St. John saith Christ did), "He came unto his own, and his own received him not:"³ and yet I hear not that any of our christian congregation hath reclaimed against him, until now of late dissension began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would desire them to be my good masters, and if they will do me no good, at the least way do me no harm; and though they can do you no more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Marulphus in London, an Italian, and in times past a merchant of dispensations, which I suppose would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight and true martyr.

As touching purgatory and worshipping of saints, I showed to you my mind before my ordinary; and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saving I cannot interpret evil your doings towards me; and yet neither mine ordinary, nor you, disallowed the thing that I said. And I looked not to escape better than Dr. Crome, but when I have opened my mind never so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my preaching, of them that have belied my preaching, as he was: I shall have need of great patience to bear the false reports of the malignant church.⁴

Sir, I have had more business in my little cure, since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, which hath great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a christian congregation, and divide a sweet and a restful union, or "tot quot," with "hæc requies mea in seculum seculi." Sir, I had made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more distinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my lord of Farley, with a citation to appear before my lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose: I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesu mercy, what a world is this, that I shall be put to so great labour and pains, besides great costs, above my power, for preaching of a poor simple sermon! But I trow our Saviour Christ said true, "I must needs suffer, and so enter:" so perilous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ,⁵ yea in a christian congregation. God make us all Christian, after the right fashion, Amen!

Here followeth another letter of Master Latimer, written to king Henry the Eighth upon this occasion. Ye heard before (vol. iv. pp. 667, 676, and vol. v. p. 569) of two sundry proclamations set out by the bishops in the time of king Henry, the one in the year 1529, and the other set out an. 1530;⁶ in the which proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, were inhibited all English books, either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Where also we have expressed at large the whole catalogue of all their errors and heresies which the said bishops falsely have excerpted, and maliciously imputed to godly writers, with their places and quotations above assigned in the page aforesaid. Now master Latimer growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion by reason of these proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of conscience, directeth unto king Henry this letter hereunder

(1) "Rex regum, et dominus dominantium."

(2) "Verus dominus totius orbis, jure, licet non facto."

(3) "In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt."

(4) Sed opus est magna patientia ad sustinendas calumnias malignantis ecclesiæ.

(5) "Oportet pati, et sic intrare:" tam periculosum est in Christo pie vivere velle.

(6) See Appendix.

ensuing, thereby intending by all means possible to perswade the king's mind to set open again the freedom of God's holy word amongst his subjects. *Wherefore, or we come to this letter of mayster Latimer, it shall not be impertinent, first by the way to set forth the said process and instrument of these bishops, whereby to understand the better the effect of the foresaid letter of master Latimer, answering to the same.

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A Public and Authentic Instrument of the Bishops, for the abolishing and inhibiting of the Scripture and divers other books to be read in English, in the time of king Henry the eight, 1530.¹

In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful [Christen] people, to whom these present letters testimonial or this present

(1) This document is printed entire in the Edition of 1563, pp. 1335—1343, having been taken by Foxe most probably from archbishop Warham's Register, folios 188—193, whence it is printed in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 727. The preamble of the proclamation and the greater part of the alleged "Errors and Heresies" have already been given at vol. v. p. 569; the remaining portion of the "Errors and Heresies" which was there omitted is here subjoined. Foxe's text has been collated with, and corrected by, the Register; and several various readings and additions from the Register are placed between [square] brackets.

The following passage out of the "Book of the wicked Mammon," is omitted in vol. v. :—

"We be so in captivity of the devil, and he holdeth our will in his power, that we cannot consent to God's law, and his will is impossible for us."

The following passages from "the Book, called The Obedience of the Christian Man," are omitted in vol. v. :—

"Qui intendit satisfacere Deo, infidelis est, et non tenemur satisfacere Deo, sed proximo," fol. 70, p. 2, in fine.

"He saith that saints which be dead be not our hirelings, and that their prayer doth not profit us," fol. 119, p. 1.

"He denieth purgatory," fol. 140, p. 2.

The following passages from "the Book of the Revelation of Antichrist," are omitted in vol. v. :—

"To say that constitutions of religion are good, because holy men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, [Bernard,] Francis, Dominic, and such others, that is to leave the faith; and to follow examples of fathers in some things, 'Hoc est, in istis rebus,' is erring," fol. 19, pp. 1 and 2.

"Whosoever [first] ordained universities, be it Alexander de Hales, St. Thomas, or any other, he was a star that fell from heaven to earth: there are brought in moral virtues for faith, and opinions for truth," fol. 32, p. 2, [fol. 33, p. 2.]

"The universities are the very confused cloud and opened gate of hell, and this cloak of all others is most noisome, and doth most hurt and damage," fol. 31, p. 1.

"Faith only doth justify," fol. 63, p. 2.

"Christ offered up our iniquities, as a sacrifice to his Father," fol. 4, p. 1.

"They are ignorant and evil they do that apply Antichrist to one person, for he calleth Antichrist the whole body and multitude of wicked men," fol. 13, p. 2.

"If our most holy father had these laws, matins, prayers, and other faces free, and according to the gospel had left us all equal, we should have had none of these innumerable sins; for where is no law, there is no transgression," fol. 28, p. 2.

"The first woe that the church hath received of the pope, with help of St. Thomas, is universities, defence of free will, moral virtues, and natural philosophy, called 'the [three] headed Cerberus,'" fol. 35, p. 2.

"Christ ordained that there should be no sin but unbelief [and] infidelity, [and] no justice but faith," fol. 69, p. 2.

"The New Testament of Christ will not suffer any law of compulsion, but only of counsel and exhortation," fol. 74, p. 2.

"The most spiritual man of all, if he confess his sins to a priest, sinneth: for he should confess against his will. For this sentence standeth firm and stable: He that doth a thing against his will, doth it not; and compelled service pleaseth not God," fol. 75, p. 1.

"I doubt not but St. Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and many other holy men and women erred as concerning [the pope and his faces, as] masses, matins, &c." fol. 82, p. 2.

The following passages gathered out of "the Sum of the Scripture," are omitted in vol. v. :—

"Men should not seek their health in good works, but alone in faith and grace," fol. 2.

"The water of baptism is nothing but a sign that we must be under the standard of the cross," fol. 12, p. 2.

"We be all equally bound to know the gospels and [the] epistles of Paul," fol. 15, p. 1.

"We have as great right and as much to heaven, as Christ," fol. 19, p. 1.

"Alone one steadfast faith and trust in God may bring us to heaven," fol. 22, p. 1.

"All they do err that thinketh they shall be saved when they have done many good works," fol. 25, p. 2.

"By faith men are sure to be saved: but if God had said, Whosoever do such or such works shall be saved, we should ever have been uncertain," fol. 35, p. 2, fol. 36, p. 1.

"All theologians are abused, that sayth that hope proceedeth out of good works," fol. 40, p. 2.

"If works might have saved Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David had been saved before the nativity of Christ," fol. 44, p. 1.

"A man must do his diligence to keep his heritage of God, and labour to entertain it," fol. 44, p. 2.

"A christian man, perceiving his own sins, should think and say to God, 'I am certain that thou wilt not damn me, and yet thou mayest do it righteously,'" fol. 46, p. 1.

"When we sin, we minish not the glory of God," fol. 48, p. 2.

"The danger in our sins, is the evil example that we give to our neighbour," ibid.

(a) By "universities" we are to understand "universals." See Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 491.—Ed.

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public and authentic instrument shall come, or shall see, read, hear, or understand the same, and whom this under-written shall or may touch or appertain

"Our Lord demandeth nothing but the heart," fol. 49, p. 1.

"When our Lord hath our heart, he regardeth not whether we fast, pray, hear mass, or whether we wear blue habit or grey," *ibid.*

"All outward things are indifferent before God," fol. 49, p. 2.

"When our hearts be ruled in God, according to the gospel, all is one, what thing soever we do," *ibid.*

"God commandeth us to exercise works of mercy: all other works in the church be founden by avarice, not commanded by God," etc. fol. 52, p. 1.

"No man is righteous, but that fulfilleth commandments with joyful heart," fol. 57, p. 1.

"The salvation of a christian man lieth not in this life, but rather [in death]: for we cannot be saved but by death, and in this life is no profit," fol. 60, p. 1.

"It is but folly and infidelity to weep for death of our friends," fol. 61, p. 2.

"It is great sin before God to ordain where thou wilt be buried, or what stone thou wilt have on thy tomb: all is one before God, to be buried in the church, or in any other place," fol. 61, p. 2.

"In times past, all that lived after the gospel were monks, and gave them to that life," fol. 62, p. 2.

"The first monks were Elias, Eliseus, the sons of Jonadab," fol. 63, p. 1.

"The monks after our Saviour's ascension, unto St. Benedict and Gregory's days, made no vows, nor profession: they might eat, drink, fast, pray, when they list. They had no certain masses, nor hours to sing daily," fol. 63, p. 2.

"What is now the life of religion, but a superstitious subjection unto certain vain ceremonies?" fol. 66, p. 1.

"If a man vow to live chaste and in poverty in a monastery, then if he perceive that in the monastery he liveth worse than he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leave the cloister and break his vow without sin," [fol. 70, p. 2.] fol. 71, p. 1.

"Whosoever intend to enter religion, let him above all things beware that he enter not upon the intention to deserve heaven by watching, praying, fasting, singing, &c." fol. 75, p. 1.]

"St. Austine holdeth them for heretics, that sayth that religious men should not labour with their hands," fol. 81, p. 1.

"Bodily labour is commanded to all persons," *ibid.*

"It is abomination to make sumptuous monasteries, chapels, altar-cloths," fol. 81, p. 2.

"Four manner of people, or four parts of people, liveth and are fed by one part, that is to say, by citizens, artificers, and husbandmen; which labourereth and getteth their own expenses, and the expenses of the other four parts, of priests, monks, of lord councillors, old people and children, [and] of men of war, thieves, murderers, ruffians, common [women], that get nothing, but spendeth all," fol. 94, p. 2.

"Thou shalt not count at night how much money thou hast gained," fol. 97, p. 2.

"The good christians shall not defend themselves by justice in no manner for any manner of wrong that they suffer, but recommend all to the good will of God," fol. 98, p. 1.

"He that is rich, and liveth of his rents, may not use nor spend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee," fol. 98, p. 2.

"God hath not given riches to rich men for to boast and brag therewith: nor to make great cheer, neither to make themselves lords: but to the intent that they should be servants unto all the world," fol. 101, p. 1.

"It is not true that a rich man doth gain his goods: nor he is lord of his own goods, nor he may not use them at his pleasure," fol. 101, p. 2.

"A man shall be reproved for no other thing at the day of judgment, but for forgetting of the poor," *ibid.*

"Making of churches, and foundations of masses, chauntries, and chapels, are rather invented by covetous mind of men, than otherwise," *ibid.*

"There be two sorts of people [in the world]: one is the kingdom of God, to which belongeth all true christian people, and in this kingdom Christ is king and lord, and it is impossible in this kingdom (that is to say among very true christian people), that the sword of justice temporal should have ought to do," fol. 104, pp. 1, 2.

"There is another sort of people belongeth to the world, and they be unrighteous, and they had need of the sword of temporal justice," fol. 105, p. 1.

"No man is under the secular power, but they that be [out] of the christian estate and out of God's kingdom," fol. 106, pp. 1, 2.

"Jesus Christ hath not ordained in his spiritual kingdom, which is all true Christian [people], any sword: for he himself is their king and governor, without sword, [and] without [any] outward law," fol. 108, p. 2.

"Christian men, amongst themselves, have nought to do with the sword nor with the law; for that is to them neither needful nor profitable. The secular sword belongeth not to Christ's kingdom, for in it is none but good and just[ice]," fol. 109, p. 2.

"Christ saith that no [Christian] shall resist evil, nor sue any man at the law," fol. 110, p. 2.

"A true christian man never plaineth to [the judge of] the injury that is done unto him," fol. 114, p. 1.

"By the gospel christian men ought not to have suit and [process] among them," fol. 114, p. 2.

"The obedience of a christian man to temporal power, is as Christ was obedient to temporal puissance, and paid tribute money, not because that he ought it, but because he would not offend: so must a christian man do. But when lords ask nought, thou oughtest them nought before God," &c. fol. 116, p. 2.

"Men of war are not allowed by the gospel: the gospel knoweth peace and not war," fol. 117, p. 1.

"Doctors that say that war is a thing reasonable or good, understandeth not the words of the gospel, or of St. John," *ibid.*

"St. John praised not war by his words, but rather forbade it, as teacheth all the gospel," fol. 118, p. 1.

"A servant should not be sorry that his master will not suffer him to hear mass, nor come to the church; for God careth not what thing we do, nor in what place," fol. 121, p. 1.

The following passages are wholly omitted in vol. v. :—

Out of "The Book of Beggars."

"There be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the church, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in the abjection of all the world, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is this, that there is no purgatory, but it is a thing invented by the covetousness

in any manner of wise in time to come; William, by the sufferance of Almighty God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, [and legate of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them; and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture.]

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Out of "the Kalendar of the Prymar."

"God took Enoch away, that is to say, he departed out of this world like other men:" *Primo male vertit, nam scriptura dicit transtulit, non abstulit: deinde falsum est, quod addit: nam ad Hebraeos undecimo legitur, Fide Enoch translatus est, ne videret mortem; et non inveniebatur, quia transtulit illum Dominus; et Ecclesiasticus 44, Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradysum, ut daret gentibus sapientiam.*

"David's good intent, and Nathan's, in building the temple, were nought": *Et quid est quod dicit (I Reg. viii.), Quod cogitasti in corde tuo ædificare domum nomini meo, bene fecisti hoc ipsum mente pertractans: et ob illud propositum videtur David illud pramii à Deo tulisse, ut ejus filii in regna ei succederent.*

Out of "The Primer."

"He putteth in the book of [the] seven Psalms, but he leaveth out the whole Litany; by which appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to saints."

"He hath left out all the hymns and anthems of our Lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to our Lady."

The ungodly and erroneous Sayings contained in a book in English, inscribed "An Exposition unto the Seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians."

"Whosoever in himself doth not feel this godly thing, this gift of chastity, but doth feel incontinency to him, I say, a commandment is given that he be married." Fol. 2.

"Hereof doth follow that no person may make a vow or promise to live chaste or single, and that none is bound to keep any such vows, but rather to break them: and he that shall observe them, it is damnable, and by the law of God already condemned." *Ibid.*

"The touching of women some persons have compassed much straitly, so that they dare not touch a woman's hand nor skin; moreover they imagined many both statutes and ceremonies to keep them from company of women, as they thought that built abbeyes; but how fortunately that hath come to pass, what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be spoken of." *Ibid.*

"He that is compelled outwardly to abstain from women, and is inwardly full of lust, is a dessembler, and it is double lechery." Fol. 3.

"Mark what soul-slayers they be that provoke foolish youth to a vow of chastity, compelling them to nourish inwardly hidden malice." *Ibid.*

"All other evils may be suffered with a [merry] conscience. This cannot so be endured; this can be helpen by no medicine, but by marriage."

"It is good for a man not to touch a woman: 'this word 'good' is not understand of merit and deserving afore God, as though an unmarried man were better afore him than the married, like as St. Jerome hath expound this text, for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work; but it is spoken of temporal quietness of this life, so that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquillity." Fol. 4.

"Chastity is a good thing, if lust and incontinency make it not so common a thing as we have hitherto used to do, and yet do, but all amiss. But the apostle will, that universally all men be conjugate: but all the bishops since his time hath destroyed this godly ordinance, when they babble and rail in pulpits, changing this word 'quisque' into 'quidam.'" Fol. 6.

"Men ought to stint of their statutes-making, for a better statute can none be than this, that men without any respect of time use their wives: not to exempt certain days as they have, which we call vigils, and women conceived." Fol. 8.

"Our holy father, put to your judgment how righteously he clepeth himself Peter's successor and vicar."

"Fasting is a measurable usage of meats and drinks: prayer is a crying, sighing, desire, and mourning." Fol. 9.

"No man ought to enforce and compel men to fasting and prayer by laws, as they hitherto have done." Fol. 11.

"Before God, all things be like and equal." Fol. 12.

"Abominably they do sin which make nuns swell in pride, when they babble that their religion is more precious than matrimony, and then fayn that they shall have a crown or garland of gold, so making them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful."

"Chastity is a gift of God, and therefore can no man nother promise nor vow, nor keep it." Fol. 13.

"The sects of all them that are called religious, and of all manner shavelings, are falsely called the spiritual orders: for matrimony, like as in very deed it is, ought to be called the spiritual estate, other orders worldly and secular; matrimony is of all other the highest religion and most spiritual estate."

"Matrimony is as gold: the spiritual estate as dung. The Spirit and such spiritual estates have no more agreement than Christ and Belial, the day and the night, the spirit and the flesh, faith and our senses or reason." Fol. 17.

"Their prayer, their singing, doing their spiritual works, for so much as they have not the word of God to confirm them, God cannot be pleased with them." Fol. 18.

"Dico autem non nuptis et viduis' etc. Of this we [may] gather that Paul had a wife, and he speaketh only of widows, a wive which other was dead, or for a time left him for the gospel's sake: but the other apostles led about their wives." Fol. 19.

"By testimony of Scriptures, all the apostles and all the bishops successors were married." Fol. 20.

"St. Paul saith, that he ought to be chosen for to be a bishop, that is the husband of one wife." "Seeing ye choose not married men to bishops, either Christ must be a fool and unrighteous which so did choose, or you antichrists and deceivers."

"You put away universally marriage from priests, contrary unto God, to nature, to reason, to right: only of presumption, without all manner cause." Fol. 21.

"There is no sin ne mischief in all the world so manifold, that can let a man from priesthood, but godly matrimony." Fol. 22.

"Wicked traditions and laws, and ungracious constitutions, letteth bigamy from priesthood."

"What other thing is it to say, that a priest should not marry, than to say, that a man should not be a man?" Fol. 23.

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of the see Apostolic, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well wit and know by these presents, that where the king, our sovereign lord, hearing of many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors and damnable opinions, printed in parts beyond the seas, to be brought into divers towns and sundry parts of this his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith catholic, and perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also to be kept pure and clean of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Christ's religion: considering also that he, being defendor of the faith, would be full loth to suffer such evil seed sown amongst his people, and so [to] take root that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine before sprung in the souls of his subjects: for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but also of each university a certain number of the chief learned men of them, proposed such of those books as his grace had ready therefore unto them to be read, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation perusing over the said books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such a sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space); gathering also out of them many great errors and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable; of which hereafter, out of each book gathered, many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said books, which books totally do swarm full of heresies and detestable opinions.

"The body of a christian man must as well nourish seed, and beget children and multiply, as the bodies of birds, beasts and other lively things."

"Every man, as willeth St. Paul, needeth to go to matrimony, necessity so requiring." Fol. 25.

"This dare I be bold to say, that where is one chaste, there ought more than a hundred thousand to live married." Fol. 26.

"St. Jerome, which extoloth chastity with most high but most perilous lauds, nevertheless confesseth, that he could not tame his flesh. He belonged to the number of them that belanged unto matrimony. [Many] such examples shalt thou find in a book 'De Vitis Patrum.'" Fol. 27.

"To keep a young man in cloister to live chaste, is as much as to offer a child to Moloch, there to be burned." Fol. 28.

"If the one would be at one, and the other will not, the party that would be reconciled to love may marry another, though the other be alive." Fol. 32.

"Whosoever doth not expel faith, is by reason of the same harmless, pure, clean, holy, profitable." Fol. 35.

"Infants be holy and clean, though they have not received baptism, because their parents be holy and clean."

"The wretched laws of the pope bindeth on married persons to abide, other the coming again of the other, [other decease of the other], that was his mate; and that under pain (O presumption! O shameless boldness!) of damnation." Fol. 38.

"To help a man to God, or let a man from God, cometh only of faith and unbelief." Fol. 43.

"*Pretio empti estis*, etc., a general proverb or [feat] sentence against all human laws and traditions. He showeth what liberty is granted by the doctrine of Christ, and how that faith maketh all states and things equal." Fol. 47.

"Christ with his precious blood hath redeemed and delivered us from all sins and laws, so that no longer any law can bind us in conscience." Fol. 48.

"All exterior things before God be free, and that a christian man may use them according to his appetite, other leaving or taking."

"Thou owest nothing unto God, but faith and confession. By confession I mean not the whispering of sins into the priest's ear, ne yet the confession of thy sins to God; but, with St. Paul, if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is Christ, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from death, thou shalt be saved. In all other things, he giveth thee liberty [after] thine own will; thou mayest do all things without [all] jeopardy of conscience."

"God careth not as concerning for himself, though thou didst forsake thy wife, run from thy lord or master, and shouldst break all manner covenants that thou makest with all men; but for that thou art bound to thy neighbour." Fol. 49.

"Thou canst not perish or be damned, whatsoever thing thou shalt outwardly other do, or else leave undone."

"We owe nothing unto any man, save love only."

"In cloisters and monasteries they do against faith, God, liberty, and God's ordinances. They shall occupy seats appointed for them in the deep dongen of hell." Fol. 52.

"By this is overthrowen the devilish doctrine of the brainless and doting doctors and preachers of the devil, which doth forge singular coronets for nuns and virgins in heaven. Only faith hath it." Fol. 53.

"Reading, sounding of organs, singing amongst religious, be superstitious; and among them, the service and honour of God is suppressed and quenched." Fol. 59.

"Where the apostle [saith] here 'better,' it is to be understand of goodness in this world."

Fol. 61.

"[They play the] cruel tyrants and soul murderers, that shutteth up youth in cloisters." Fol. 62.

Errors and Heresies contained, &c.¹

Mary.

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All which great errors and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors, the king's highness in person, by one whole advice and assent of the prelates and clerks, as well of the universities as all other, assembled together, determined utterly to be expelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people and not to be suffered to go abroad among his subjects. And his highness willing further that this his pleasure and determination should be notified by preachers abroad unto the people, as well for putting away of all such books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like; delivered unto certain preachers the form of a writing, to be published in effect unto the people in their sermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his realm to publish the same.

Here followeth the Bill in English, to be published by the preachers.

It is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to show and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their souls to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify unto them such things as be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eschewed; and also, as near as they can judge, who be teachers and authors of the same. This example we have of our Saviour Christ, where he said, "*Attendite à falsis prophetis,*" etc. St. Paul likewise many times giveth warning to such as he wrote unto, that they should beware of the false apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the true doctrine he had taught them being present. Wherefore, considering that it hath pleased the king's highness, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the present bodily wealth and tranquillity of all his subjects, for his and the worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their souls, and their due order towards God, thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory, to assemble and call together the chief personages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such books as be now spread abroad within this his grace's realm in the English tongue concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conscience to make relation unto his highness, whether the same books [were] expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their conscience and souls, or else contagious and pestiferous for the same, and whether the opinions contained in them were agreeable to God's word and doctrine or no: forasmuch as the said congregation and assembly had free liberty and license granted unto every man to say as his conscience and learning served him without any reproach or blame to be imputed or arrected for any thing to be spoken there, whose person soever it touched, or any necessity to agree to the more part, but only to say that his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify; after mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there by a whole consent, no man repugning or againsaying, determined and agreed that the books now being abroad in the English tongue contain false traditions and corrupt doctrine, far discrepant from the true sense of the gospel and catholic understanding of Scripture, only persuading pernicious heresies to the destruction of the souls of good christian men; and that the certainty hereof I can report unto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the said assembly, and hearing and seeing the said opinionous read, declared, and examined, and by the true sense and meaning of God's learning reprov'd and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the office of a preacher, following the example of our master Christ and St. Paul, as is aforesaid, to warn and monish you by the words of Christ, as I spake before: "*Attendite à falsis prophetis,*" etc. And take heed of yourself that ye be not infect by the contagion and infection of such pseudo-apostles as have, in our English tongue, set forth books to seduct you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring [you] by their false interpretations of Scripture into detestable and abominable heresies, to the destruction of your souls. Wherefore you that have the books called "The Obedience of a

Form of
a declar-
ation, etc.See
Appendix.

(1) See above, p. 499, note (1).—E.D.

Mary. Christian Man;” “the Sum of Scripture;” “the Revelation of Antichrist;”
 “the Supplication of Beggars;” “Mammona Iniquitatis;” “the Matrimony
 of Tyndale;” the New Testament in English, of the translation which is now
 A. D. 1555. printed, and such other books in English, the authors whereof either dare not,

Form of a
 declaration, etc.

ne do not put to their names be [unknown unto you or else be such as have set forth these] pernicious books; detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the superiors such as call for them: and if by reading of them heretofore any thing remaineth in your breasts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel it and purge it, to the intent that ye, being so purified and cleansed of that contagious doctrine and pestiferous traditions, may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and understanding of Christ's laws, to the comfort and edification of your souls. Thus I move and exhort you in God to do; this is your duty to do, [this ye ought to do; and being obstinate, and denying or refusing so to do,] the prelates of the church, having the cure and charge of your souls, ought to compel you, and your prince to punish and correct you not doing of the same; unto whom, as St. Paul saith, the sword is given by God's ordinance for that purpose.

Ye shall also farther understand, that the king's highness, forasmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendered an opinion in divers of his subjects, that it is his grace's duty to cause the Scripture of God to be translated into English tongue to be communicate unto the people, and that the prelates, and also his highness, do wrong in [denying or letting] of the same, his highness therefore willed every man there present in the said assembly freely and frankly to show and open unto him what might be proved and [confirmed] by Scripture and holy doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his highness (as he then openly protested) might conform himself thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his people, as he would they should do their duties towards him. In which matter, after Scripture declared, holy doctors and authors alleged and read, and all things said which might be on both sides and for both part spoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole Scripture in English is not necessary to christian men; but that without having any such Scripture, endeavouring themselfe to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow such lessons as the preacher teacheth them, and so learned by his mouth, may as well edify spiritually in their souls, as if they had the same Scripture in English. And like as the having of Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been by holy fathers of the church heretofore in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time, it hath been thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicate amongst them. Wherein forasmuch as the king's highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience, that the divulging of the Scripture at this time in the English tongue to be committed to the people, considering such pestilent books and so evil opinions as be now spread amongst them, should rather be to their further confusion and destruction, than the edification of their souls, and that, as holy doctors testify, upon such like considerations the semblable hath been done in times past, it was thought there in that assembly to all and singular in that congregation, that the king's highness and the prelates in so doing, and not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate in the English tongue unto the people at this time, doth well. And also I think and judge the same, exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his highness did there openly say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands, ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same; that ye will so detest these pernicious books, so abhor these heresies and new opinions, so decline from arrogancy of knowledge and understanding of Scripture after your fantasies, and show yourself in [commending] and reasoning so sober, quiet, meek, and temperate, as, all fear of misusing the gift of Scripture taken away, ye may appear such in your prince's eyes and [the] eyes of your prelates, as they shall have no just cause to fear any such danger; persuading unto yourself in the meantime without grudging or murmuring the very truth, which is this, that [ye] cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the English tongue, otherwise than upon the discretions of the superiors, so as whensoever they think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well to

give it unto you; and whensoever it shall be seen otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it.

Of and upon the which decree, order, and determination above recited his gracious highness, being in person in the chapel called The Old Chapel, which sometime was called St. Edward's Chamber, set on the east-side of the parliament-chamber, within his grace's palace at Westminster, upon the 24th day of May, the year of our Lord God [Jesu Christ] 1530, and in the xxijnd year of the reign, [the third indiction, and the vijth year of the pontificacy of our holy father Clement of that name the vijth pope,] called before his grace the three notaries hereunderwritten; and then and there, in the presence of all the personages there assembled and gathered together, willed and required the same three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and us to set thereunto our seal accordingly, in and for witness and perpetual memory and monument of this his grace's [decree,] order, and determination, and of all and singular the premises, and all the personages then and there being present to testify the same, and bear record and testimony thereupon. In witness of all and singular the premises, we William archbishop, primate, and legate aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these present letters testimonial, or present public [and] authentic instrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination above-said, to be made, and to be subscribed and consigned by the hands of the notaries hereafter named, and to be sealed with our own seal. All which premises hath been done in manner and form above specified, [the year, indiction, pontificacy, month, day, and place above specified,] then and there being present the noble personage [Sir] Thomas More, knight, great chancellor of England, our reverend brother in Christ Cuthbert, by the permission of God bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, master Stephen Gardiner, secretary; master Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel, doctor of law; master Richard Wolman, master of the requests, master John Bell, counsellor, doctors of holy decrees; master Nicholas Wilson, the king's confessor, master Richard Duck, archdeacon of Wiltshire, doctors of divinity; master John Oliver, master [Edward] Steward, doctors of law, chaplains to our said sovereign lord the king's grace; master Richard Mawdly, master William Mortimer, master Edward Crome, master Edward Wiggen, doctors also of divinity; master Robert Carter, master Edward Leighton, master Hugh Latimer, [master John Thixtill, bachelors of divinity;] master William Latimer, and master Roger Tilson, masters of art in both the universities above-said; with many moe learned men of the said universities, in a great number assembled then and there together, witness to the premises required and adhibited.

[Et ego Thomas Ashley in legibus baccalarius, clericus, Lincolniensis diocesis, publicus auctoritate apostolica notarius, quia dictus illustrissimus dominus noster, rex Henricus octavus, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ rex, dominus Hiberniæ, fidei quoque defensor, me notarium publicum antedictum, una cum magistris Ricardo Watkyns ac Matheo Gryfton, notariis publicis, in præsentii nonnullorum nobilium ac venerabilium virorum superius nominatorum, anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die et loco predictis, sibi unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta super ordinatione et decreto præmissis conficere requisivit: ideo hoc præsens publicum instrumentum sive has literas testimoniales manu alterius, me ad tunc aliunde occupato, fideliter scriptum seu scriptas exinde confeci, publicavi, et in hanc publicam formam redegi; signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis, una cum appensione sigilli dicti reverendissimi patris, signavi, in fidem et testimonium præmissorum, modo quo præmittitur requisitus.]

Et ego Ricardus Watkyns in legibus bacalarius, clericus, Landaven. dioc. publicus sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius, causarumque curiæ Cant. procuratorum generalium unus, Quia unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta super dictis decreto et determinatione per dictum illustrissimum principem in præsentia testium superius descriptorum, sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die, et loco predictis, una cum dictis magistro Ashley superius, et magistro Matheo Grefton notariis publicis inferius se subscribente, conficere requisitus fui: ideo has præsentis literas testimoniales seu hoc præsens publicum et autenticum instrumentum manu aliena, me interim aliter occupato, scriptum exinde confeci, publicavi, et in hanc publicam et autenticam formam redegi; signoque et nomine meis solitis atque consuetis, una cum appensione sigilli dicti reverendissimi patris, signavi, in fidem et testimonium præmissorum.

Mary.

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Form of a
declaration,
etc.

See
Appendix.

*Magy.*A. D.
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Et ego Mattheus Grefton Exonien. dioc. clericus, publicus sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius, Londonensisque epi. registrarius, quia excellentissimus dominus noster Henricus octavus, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, et dominus Hiberniæ, me notarium publicum predictum, una cum magistris Thoma Ashley et Ricardo Watkyns notariis publicis superius se subscribentibus, unum seu plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta super ordinatione decreto et determinatione superius preinsertis, in presentibus nonnullorum nobilium et venerabilium virorum superius nominatorum, sub Anno Dom., indictione, pontif., mense, die et loco predictis, habitis et factis, conficere requisivit: ideo has præsentis literas testimoniales sive hoc præsens publicum instrumentum manu alterius, me interim aliunde præpedito, scriptum, exinde confeci subscripsi et publicavi, atque in hanc publicam formam redegi: signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis, una cum appensione sigilli dicti reverendissimi patris, signavi, in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum, ad id specialiter requisitus.]

These being premised, now let us see the answer of Master Latimer again to this foresaid testimonial or instrument of the bishops, in a letter which the said Latimer wrote to king Henry the Eighth the same time in that behalf.*

A Letter of Master Latimer to king Henry the Eighth, for restoring again the free liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures.

*To the most mighty prince, king of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father by our Lord Jesus Christ:—The holy doctor, St. Augustine,¹ in an epistle which he wrote to Casulannus saith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him, for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same the holy man St. John Chrysostome saith, that he is not alonely a traitor to the truth, which openly for the truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not pronounce and show the truth that he knoweth. These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my conscience; and at the last drove me to this strait, that either I must show forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else to be of the sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

Latimer touched in conscience to write to the king.

What it is to be a traitor to truth.

For what thing is it to be a traitor to the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas to Christ, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth? the which saith, that whosoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dread than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men, and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! and specially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto other, and challenge unto themselves the knowing of holy scripture, yet they will neither show the truth themselves (as they be bound), neither suffer them that would. So that unto them may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees,² "Wo be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would to enter." And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the word of God, which David calleth "a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts" according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner all kings in Christendom to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief. And in especial in this your realm, they have sore blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections, I would say).³ And now, at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which

The subtle wiliness and practice of the Pharisees.

(1) See note in Latimer's Remains, vol. ii. p. 298, and Decret. Causa, xi. 3. 80.—Ed.

(2) Matt. xxiii.

(3) See Appendix.—Ed.

the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny), they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the scripture in English.

Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference between your grace and me, as is between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your subjects in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ.¹ And though you be a higher member, yet you must not disdain the less. For, as St. Paul saith, "Those members that be taken most vilest, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other for the preservation and keeping of the body."² This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your lowly, favourable, and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

First, and before all things, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ and his apostles in preaching and setting-forth of the gospel;³ and to note also the words of our master Christ, which he had to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel; and to these have in your mind the golden rule of our master Christ, "The tree is known by the fruit:" for by the diligent marking of these your grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ and teachers of his gospel, and who be not.

And concerning the first, all scripture showeth plainly, that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor. Begin at his birth, and, I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, or so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poorly Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both Master and Man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your grace, were they entreated in the inns and lodgings by the way! and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed in, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight! Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world; and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

But this he did to show us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus: "If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and his heart upon them." So that it is not against the poverty in spirit,⁴ which Christ praiseth in the gospel of St. Matthew, chapter v., to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good man. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasure and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse), which have professed (as they say) wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men; and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth;⁵ unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul teacheth every christen man to obey: yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that againsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

Your grace may see what means and craft the spirituality (as they will be

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Kings stand as much in need of Christ's passion, as any inferior subject.

The rule of Christ.

The poverty of Christ's life.

It is not against the poverty of the spirit, to be rich.

Privy enemies to spiritual poverty, monks, friars, and prelates of the spirituality. Subjection to superior powers.

(1) Eph. ii.

(2) Rom. xii. 1 Cor. ii. Eph. iv. 1 Cor. xii.

(3) Matt. vii.

(4) The poor condition of Christ's life, is an example to us to cast down our pride, not to set by riches.

(5) Matt. xvii.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Ambition
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cross.Crafty
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called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them: neither will I that your grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away such evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

I name nor appoint no person nor persons, but remit your grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew vii., "By their fruits ye shall know them." As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew v. and x., where he showeth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake; but exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, "It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics?" Read the xxivth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and there your grace shall see that he promised to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignity; but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith, "In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you - but in me you shall have peace."¹ And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel saith our Saviour Christ also, "Lo I send you forth as sheep among wolves." So that the true preachers go like sheep harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; so far it is off that they will persecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be despised among these worldly wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness and deceivable doctrine; and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith, that "every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution." And also he saith further, in the Epistle written to the Philippians, in the first chapter, that "it is not only given you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake."

Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and where as is quietness and rest in the worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that is contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer nor away withal.

Therefore pleaseth it your good grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, "By their fruits you shall know them." For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute be void and without all truth, not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of St. John's gospel) "is come into the world, and which shall utter and show forth every man's works." And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the holy Scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection: and so they persuade, at the least way they would fain persuade, your grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet. good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold

(1) John xvi.

and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their God, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even to-day, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly wise men deceive you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly wise counsellors of Hannu the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which, when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hannu, not alonely not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying that "they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his laud; so that afterward they, bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it."¹ And they caused the young king to shear their heads, and cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of all them that took their parts.

Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, true preachers, and his own word also, to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your grace believe that they will cause insurrection and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which obstinately withstand and againsay his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth show, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel regard not your grace's commandment, neither set by your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so, like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard nor esteem other your grace's laws, statutes, and ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion: for your grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish, to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English,² yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcome the better. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put thi; your realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it to great penury; and more would have done, if God hath not mercifully provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about:³ and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they, being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, [under] pain of everlasting damnation? for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections, which hath been in this realm heretofore; and whence is it, that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not break only your grace's laws,

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Persua-
sion to be
read in
English.
Sinister
counsel
about
princes.

Wicked
policy
turned to
its own
destruction.

Under the
pretence
of insur-
rections
and here-
sies, the
prelates
stop the
liberty of
Christ's
gospel.

Objection
prevent-
ed and
answered

Cause of
the pro-
clamation
against
Scripture
books in
English.

A prac-
tice of
prelates
to convey
their own
proclama-
tions un-
der the
king's
name and
authority.

The cause
of insur-
rections.

(1) 2 Sam. x.

(2) He meaneth of Cranmer, Cromwell, and one or two more, against whom the Bishop of Winchester and his faction did prevail. [See the Appendix.]

(3) He meaneth of the pope, which went about drive to king Henry out of his kingdom, and that not without some adherents near about the king.

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ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons, which causeth many a man to sin, in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both of these books, and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten upon faggots to burn both the books, and them that have them.

The greatest enemies to the gospel. The forward life of the gossellers not to be laid to the gospel. Lack of good curates is the cause of all mischief in the realm.

And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these books, that be evil, unruly and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws nor man's, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ, and his words, the cause that Judas fell, but their own forward mind and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates and by the true exposition of the Scriptures. If the lay people had such curates, that would thus do their office, these books, nor the devil himself, could not hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame: so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read; but to show that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

The gospel will not go forth without persecution, though the reading thereof be free. The last sign before the judgment day.

And though it be so that your grace may by other books, and namely by the scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite-wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your grace such things as God put in [my] mind to write. And this I do (God so judge me!) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ showed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment: so that if your grace had once commanded that the scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers and their abominable ways and counsels.

Latimer chaffereth forth his talent.

And take heed whose counsels your grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that, for fear of losing of their worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion,¹ they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed should be now put forth and allowed. But, alas! let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions* for that which, before, he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

Paul, a good example for all persecutors to follow.

Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had showed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and, notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

David a good example for all kings to submit their intents and purposes to God's word.

Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance,² whom I pray to God that your grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness

(1) He meaneth this belike by Sir Thomas More, who, for the bishop's pleasure, set his pen against the gospel.

(2) By Nathan we may learn not to be ashamed to call back our words when we know God's pleasure to be otherwise.

before God; that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church; and, according to the office that he hath called your grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith: for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, and be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your "quietus est" sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your grace.—Anno Domini 1530. Prim. die Decembris.

In this letter of master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider: first, his good conscience to God, his good-will to the king, the duty of a right pastor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of princes' courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them; and specially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvel at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly without all fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish that, which no counsellor durst once speak unto him, in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realm, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessity would follow (as indeed they should), so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and also for lack that the officers of God's word do not their duty.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time: yet, notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good-will of the prince, for, not long after the same, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester, as is above declared.

Seeing master Latimer was so bold and plain with the king (as is afore specified), no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of their disorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression: for example whereof we have another letter of his written to a certain justice of the peace in Warwickshire, who, as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed. The letter, although it may seem somewhat

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Divers things in this letter of Latimer to the king to be considered.

Heavenly courage of Latimer in discharging his conscience.

The king pleased with his plainness

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Example
for bi-
shops, and
all good
pastors to
follow.

Warning
to justices
of peace.

long and tedious, yet I thought here not to overpass the same for divers and sundry respects : first that the virtue and faithful conscience of this good pastor may appear more at large ; also for that all other bishops and pastors by this example may learn with like zeal and stomach to discharge their duty and conscience in reforming things amiss, and in powdering with the salt of God's word the sores of the people. Which thing if every bishop for his part within his diocese had done in king Edward's days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the persecution of queen Mary had not so plagued the realm as it did : but where never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the realm ? Item, another respect is, because of the justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed thereby, not to abuse their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong, through extortion or partiality. And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this letter, I showed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the gentleman, is this as followeth.

A fruitful Letter of Master Latimer, written to a certain Gentleman.

Right worshipful, salutem in Domino. And now, sir, I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that "you will not bear it at my hand, no, not and I were the best bishop in England," etc.

Ah sir ! I see well I may say as the common saying is, "Well, I have fished and caught a frog ;" brought little to pass with much ado. "You will not bear it with me," you say. Why sir ? what will ye do with me ? You will not fight with me, I trow. It might seem unseemly for a justice of peace to be a breaker of peace : I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand ? What hath my hand offended you ? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turn it to good. I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another, in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceed with judgment :¹ and then and there, do best, have best, for club half-penny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to rattle me up in a letter, wherein, confuting me, you will defend yourself and your brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long Robin, ut dicitur vulgariter. I cannot choose but much allow such diligence :² for so should both your integrities and innocencies best appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brother's doings, in this matter to be upright. And then will I gladly give place, confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons.³ But I think it will not be.

But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand ? What have I done with my hand ? What hath my hand trespassed you ? Forsooth, that can I tell ; no man better : for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper-dealing, and such like misbehaviour. What a sore matter is this !⁴ And will ye not bear so much with me ? Will ye not take such a show of my good will towards you, and toward the saving of your

(1) Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuso iudicium ullum. Accusemus invicem, ut emendemus alius alium in nomine Domini. Fiat iustitia in iudicio.

(2) Non potero sane non vehementer probare ejusmodi industriam.

(3) Et ego tum justis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confessurus.

(4) O quam grave piaculum !

soul at my hand? O Lord God, who would have thought that master N. had been so impotent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his soul? I have in use to commit such trespass many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, and the best of the realm,¹ and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even² "to rebuke the world of sin," without respect of persons. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office and duty of the Holy Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers.³ You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reprov'd in the pulpit, which cannot bear the same in a secret sealed up letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly: unless perhaps to rebuke sin sharply, be now to lack all charity, friendship, and truth.⁴ But, master N., if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceivable world, that I ween you have forgotten your catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complain, etc.

Item sir, you say further, "that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour," etc. How so, good master N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of master Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Master N., to forge and feign (which argueth an ill cause), that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing: as though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, master N., I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some others whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad: among all men, either friends or enemies, according to Paul's precept, not esteemed of the children of this world, Hate you, saith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time, for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen.⁵ And now what manner of man do you make me, master N., when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this tottering world, and have I been so many ways turmoiled and tossed up and down, and so much as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheese from chalk, truth from falsehood; but that every silly soul, and base witted man, might easily abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused me, promising before me and many more, that he would stand to your awardship, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how those two false, faithless wretches abused me, promising also to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you yourself have abused me, promising me to redress the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but only you must needs burden me with my neighbour's abusing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God

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Latimer
flattereth
no man.

(1) As may well appear by his letter sent to the king before.

(2) "Arguere mundum de peccato."

(3) "Quod quidem ipsum est ipsius Spiritus sancti peculiare in ecclesiâ munus et officium, sed non nisi per prædicatores legitimos exequendum."

(4) "Nisi forte acriter reprehendere peccata sit jam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere."

(5) "In omnibus hominibus, sive amicis sive inimicis, juxta præceptum Paulinum, à filiis hujus seculi in pretio non habitum: Sitis odio, inquit, prosequentes quod malum est, adhærentes autem et quod bonum est: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemus unquam, id quod filii hujus seculi vulgò faciunt, ut est videre ubique."

*See
Appendix.*

Mary. help me in my need! For if he had abused me as you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, etc.

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Bolstering of falsehood and iniquity.

Item sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants agreed to stand to your award, etc. No sir, master N., you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have persuaded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your own shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the peril of your soul, for consenting, at least way, to the maintenance by falsehood of your brother's iniquity. For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you show yourself nothing inclinable to the redress of your brother's unright dealing with an honest poor man, which hath been ready at your request to do you pleasure with his things, or else he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.¹

Corrupt tenants.

Ah, master N! what manner of man do you show yourself to be! or what manner of conscience do you show yourself to have? For first, as touching your brother, you know right well that sir Thomas Cokin,² with a letter of his own hand-writing, hath witnessed unto you your brother's agreement; which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I showed the same to my neighbour, and other moe or I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to show. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a sufficient proof, trow you? the Lord himself saying, "In the mouth of two or three,"³ etc. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive that dare swear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you yourself play the part you do? But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.⁴

Justices turned to jugglers.

Item sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your brother,⁵ etc. Ah, master N., what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth! For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing; and a worthy minister of justice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to minister justice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of justices be they, I pray you, which would so fain have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and should reform and amend your brother? as you yourself know, no man better. What! justices? No, jugglers you might more worthily call such as they be, than justices. Be they those justices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your brother's part against all right and conscience, whom you had picked out and appointed to have the final hearing and determining of my neighbour's cause, after your substantial and final award-making? Verily I think no less. Forsooth he is much beholden to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsel that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you show yourself a worthy juggler: oh! I would have said a justiciar, among other of your juggling and partaking justices. Deum bonum! i. e. O good God! what is in the world? Marry sir, my neighbour had spun a fair thread, if your partaking justices, through your good counsel, had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all God's little flock, from the whole fellowship of your so natural and partaking justices. Amen.

Partaking justices.

Lord God! who would have thought that there had been so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices in Warwickshire, if master N. himself, one of the same order (but altogether out of order), and therefore knoweth it best, had not told us the tale? But these call you, you say, very unnatural, etc. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural? For we read, of a double nature, sound, and corrupt. That was full of justice: this, unless it be restored,

(1) Brother ought not to bear with brother, to bear down right and truth, especially being a justice.

(2) This was probably sir Thomas Cockaine, who died in 1592.—Ed.

(3) "Vel ipso dicente Domino. In ore duorum vel trium," etc.

(4) "Verum vivit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia, et judicat justè," etc.

(5) Were not here good sort of justices, trow you?

abideth always unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickedness one after another: ¹ so that he that will not help his brother, having a just cause, in his need, may be justly called unnatural, as not doing according to the instinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. ² But he that will take his brother's part against right, as to ratify his brother's wrong deceiving, he is too much natural; as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God; ³ and so to be natural may well seem to be cater-cousin, or cousin-germain with, to be diabolical.

I fear me we have too many justices that be too much natural, to their own perishment both body and soul. For worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes (of which sort we have a fewer amongst us, than I would ⁴) will have no respect at all in their judgments and proceedings, to vicinity of blood; ⁵ but altogether ad dignitatem et æquitatem causæ, ut quod justum est semper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injustum est intuitu hominum; of which number I pray God make you one. Amen. "He is just," saith St. John, "that doth justice. But he that sinneth" (as they all do, which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) "is of the devil," ⁶ saith he; which once all our partaking and natural justices be with all their partiality and naturality. Quare dignum et justum est, that as many as be such justices, be justly deprived of their offices, and further also be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their crime; so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the commonwealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us. ⁷ Amen.

Quare seponite justitiam, et sequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as just as Germans' lips, which came not together by nine miles, ut vulgo dicunt, etc.

Item sir, finally and last of all you added these words following: "Well," quoth you, "let master Latimer take heed how he meddeth with my brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life," etc. Ah, sir! and is your brother such an one as you speak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one brother to give another! Is this your glorying, my friend? ⁸ And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, "Vexation giveth understanding." ⁹ And again, "It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me." ¹⁰ At least way, I may pray to God for him as David did for such like. After this sort: "Bind fast asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approach not near unto thee." ¹¹ In the mean season, I would I had never known either of you both; for so should I have been without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardliness of you both to godliness, for I cannot be but heavy hearted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you say, "I shall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece," etc. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confess your brother's cause wherein he so stiffly standeth, to be unjust and very naughty. For he that standeth so stiffly in a good quarrel and a just cause, as many good men have done, is called a fast man, a constant, a trusty man. But he that is so obstinate and untractable in wickedness and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your brother to be. Wherefore, knowing so well your brother's cause to be so naughty, why have you not endeavoured yourself, as a worthy justice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelve months ago, if not altogether? Summa summarum, master N., if you will not come off shortly, and apply

(1) De naturâ duplici, integrâ et corruptâ. Illa erat justitiæ plena: hæc nisi reparata, semper manet injusta, injustitiæ fructus alios post alios paritura.

(2) Juxta instinctum nature, sive integræ, sive reparatæ.

(3) Tanquam sequens ingenium sive inclinationem naturæ corruptæ, contra voluntatem Dei.

(4) Quales sunt pauciores apud nos, quam vellem. (5) Ad propinquitatem sanguinis.

(6) "Justus est qui facit justitiam. At qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quisquis injuste facit in gratiam et favorem ullius hominis) ex diabolo est."

(7) Juste priventur munere, et amplius quoque plectantur pro sui quique facinoris quantitate, ut vel sic tandem absceendant, tanquam nati in incommo- dum reipublicæ nostræ, qui nos turbant, cum adjuvare debent.

(8) "Estne ejusmodi gloriatio tua, mi amice?"

(9) "Vexatio dat intellectum."

(10) "Bonum mihi, Domine, quod humiliasti me."

(11) "Ad hunc modum: Chamo et fræno maxillas eorum constringe, qui non approximat ad te." [This way of spelling "chamo" may not be incorrect: see Stephen's Greek Thesaurus, col. 10,363. under χαβόν. Edit. Valpy.—Ed.]

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

yourself thereunto more effectually hereafter, than you have heretofore, be you well assured thereof, I shall so detect you to all the friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedness and frowardness, as your colourable supportation of the same; that I trust I shall be able thereby either to bring you both to some goodness, or at least way I shall so warn my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your illness, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least way less harm by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and shun your company.

You shall not stay me, master N., no though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I will not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other men's sins.¹ For whether it be by detestable pride:² whether by abominable avarice,³ or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keep any poor man so long from his right and duty so stiff-neckedly and obstinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to consent to the same? You know, I trow, master N., what theft is; that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another man's good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a thief that so doth openly, what shall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and supporteth him by any manner of colour?⁴ Consider with yourself, good master N., what it is to oppress, and to defraud your brother in his business;⁵ and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, "The sin is not forgiven, except the thing be restored again that is taken away."⁶ No restitution, no salvation; which is as well to be understood, of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery.⁷ Wherefore let not your brother, master N., by cavillation continue in the devil's possession. I will do the best I can, and travail with the devil, omnibus viribus, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man neither in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of law in this realm that I am acquainted withal, as maister Goodrick, maister Gosnal, maister Chamber, and as I should saye fyrste Sergeaunt Hales, and such lyke, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authority.

Godly
threats of
Latimer
to save
the soul
of his
friend.

I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the king's majesty, and all his honourable council, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the devil shall possess you still, to your final damnation. So that I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck both you and also your crabbed brother (as crabbed as you say he is) out of the devil's claws, maugre the devil's heart.

These premises well considered, look upon it, good master N., that we have no further ado: God's plague is presently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wise defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatsoever hath been amiss. These were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter; and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so move you, the rather to call yourself to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply yourself to accomplish and perform what you have begun and promised to do, namely, the thing itself; being of such sort as apparently tendeth both to your own worship, and also to God's high pleasure.

Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling, I wot not well what (but I know you can read it, and comprehend it well enough), I bid you most heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to God's pleasure. Amen.—From Baxterley, the 15th of July.

Yours to do you good, to his power, Hugh Latimer.

(1) Ego nolo tamjustam causam derelinquere, ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare.

(2) Per detestabilem superbiam. (3) Per abominabilem avaritiam.

(4) Furtum quid sit, nempe, quovis modo auferre vel retinere alienam rem invito domino, ut quidam definiunt. Si fur sit qui sic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuscunq; ambagibus sufficit?

(5) Quid sit opprimere et fraudare in negotio fratrem.

(6) "Non tollitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum."

(7) De rebus per fraudes, technas, et dolos, ut de rebus per manifestum furtum et latrocinium partis.

During the time that the said master Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise of letters we find very few or none that he did write to his friends abroad, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake; who so long as she remained in England, was a singular patroness to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to master Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to master Coverdale, master Latimer, doctor Cranmer, with many others. The copy and effect of which his letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

A Letter sent to Mrs. Wilkinson¹ of London, Widow, from Master Hugh Latimer, out of Bocardo, in Oxford, where he was prisoner for the testimony of Christ, An. 1555.

If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, "I was in prison, and you visited me?" God grant us all to do and suffer, while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. Amen.

Yours, in Bocardo,

Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to king Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still, an ancient custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the first day of January, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another. But master Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, "Fornicadores et adulteros judicabit Dominus."

New-year's gift sent to king Henry.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of master Ridley and of master Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, withal their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travails, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years, to this present time and month of queen Mary, being the month of October, A. D. 1555; in the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were together both joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, which were, Dr. White bishop of Lincoln,

Ridley and Latimer brought to examination.

October.

White bishop of Lincoln, Brooks bishop of Gloucester, the pope's deputies.

(1) "Mrs. Wilkinson. of Soper-lane, in London, widow, she being at the maner of Englysh in Oxforde shere." See Edition 1563, p. 1356.—F. D.

Mary. Dr. Brooks¹ bishop of Gloucester, with others, and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used; and what again were
A. D. the answers of these men to the same, as in the process here followeth
1555. to be seen.

THE ORDER AND MANNER OF THE EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER, HAD THE 30TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1555, BEFORE THE QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

First, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the 28th of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from cardinal Pole, legate à latere, to John White bishop of Lincoln, to Dr. Brooks bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr. Holyman bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge master Hugh Latimer, and master Dr. Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions; that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore, the last of September, the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared

The effect of the cardinal's commission sent down to Oxford.

Ridley and Latimer cited to appear.

(1) Brooks is highly spoken of in a small volume (to be referred to more fully hereafter), entitled "Historia de Vitâ, etc. Buceri et Pagii" (fol. 197), which makes us regret his present situation: "Erat in Broko literatura non vulgaris, eloquentia non contemnenda, ingenium acutum, morum felicitas satis amabilis, si illorum temporum iniquitas, et malorum hominum consuetudo, naturam jus non immutassent."—Ed.

master Dr. Ridley, and anon master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, master Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoons as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following :

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is my lord cardinal's grace, legate à latere to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage [and therewith master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you at this name to have discovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer), you shall cause us to take the pain, to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

The words of the bishop of Lincoln to him, for not putting off his cap.

To whom master Ridley making his petition for licence, answered :

Ridley :—" As touching that you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire ne cap ne knee, but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the cardinal grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's grace : for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace : but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome [and therewith put on his cap] whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession profess the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap ; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."

Answer of Ridley to him.

Ridley reverenceth the person of the cardinal, but not his legacy.

Ridley doeth not reverence to the pope.

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (which look for no such honour of you), neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you ; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent [at which word master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent qualities ; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and master Ridley put on his] ; and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you

White bishop of Lincoln replieth

Putting off caps at the naming of the pope.

Mary allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

A. D.
1555.

The
usurped
supre-
macy of
Rome de-
fied.

Ridley's
capplick-
ed off by
force.

Ridley :—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is an officer of the University) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ in this manner:

Lincoln :—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church (which first was founded by Peter¹ at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time), if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself: you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles as commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do."

Though
the coun-
try of
Rome
be not
strange,
yet the
doctrine
of Rome
is strange.

"Remember, master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter-forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to spring,² the council willing to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him (I then being in my lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you), and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, "Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also."³ If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter), hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

The
bishop of
Lincoln
persuad-
eth Rid-
ley to
return to
the pope's
church.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholically spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place, whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ

(1) Nay the faith of Christ may be proved to have been at Rome in Tiberius's time, before Peter came there.

(2) Another untruth in bishop White, for "only faith" is no new doctrine.

(3) These words of Ridley are falsely reported.

promised before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St. Augustine,¹ who writeth in this manner: "All the christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome."²] Here you see, master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Then master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

Ridley:—"My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

Answer of
Ridley.Three
points
noted in
the bishop
of Lin-
coln's
oration.

First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

The see of
Rome
founded
upon
Peter.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

Confirmed
by old
doctors.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Then Peter said, 'I say That thou art Christ, the Son of God.' To whom Christ answered, 'I say, thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church;'³ that is to say, upon this stone—not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

Confirmed
by old
doctors.
Ridley
once of
the same
see.The
church
not build-
ed upon
Peter.The
church
built
upon
faith, not
upon any
person.The
words of
Christ to
Peter ex-
pounded.
Faith the
founda-
tion of the
church.

"Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarch of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, was a great maintainer and setter-forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the

Lineal de-
scent of
the bishop
of Rome.

(1) "Dubitatur utrum forma verborum hæc sit Augustini." [Some doubt may well be expressed, as the tendency of the language contradicts the 22d canon of the Council of Milevis, to which Augustine had himself subscribed: "Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur." See *Concilia*, Studio Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1543; but the passage intended for citation is, no doubt, that in Augustine's treatise "Contra Epist. Parmen." lib. i. cap. 3, § 5, and its application to the bishop of Rome is here aided by the addition of *Romanæ Ecclesiæ*.—E.D.]

(2) "Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris Romanæ Ecclesiæ subiectus est."

(3) "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam."

Mary. sacraments were most duly ministered; and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake: so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled]. Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

Why the bishops of Rome have been more esteemed than other bishops. The prerogative that the doctors give to the see of Rome.

So long as it continued in sound doctrine, it was worthy to be revered.

The bishop of Rome proved to be Antichrist. The place of Augustine answered. Four patriarchs in the church in his time.

How countries beyond the sea were subject to Rome.

Rome may be mother of churches, and yet not supreme head of churches.

"Semblably, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting-forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But, after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory, 'He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.'

"Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, All the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection, I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St. Augustine's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called Mare Mediterraneum, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Augustine saith, 'All the christian countries beyond the seas and far regions, are subject to the see of Rome.'¹ If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, 'All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as

(1) "Totus orbis christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris ecclesie Romanæ subjectus est."

your lordship said) from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I, to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectuously by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Ridley falsely charged to preach transubstantiation at Paul's Cross.

Ridley mistaken in his sermon.

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him said:—

"Well, master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, 'In transmarinis, et longe remotis terris,' only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that 'totus mundus' is more than Europe."

Lincoln replieth.

Ridley:—"Indeed, my lord, if St. Augustine had said, 'simpliciter totus mundus,' and not added 'in transmarinis,' it had been without limitation; but in that he said, 'totus mundus in transmarinis partibus,' 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by 'totus mundus.'"

Ridley answereth to the words of Augustine.

The bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:—

"Well, if I would stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither now to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of exhortation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will return thither again.

"Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is 'catholica,' 'catholic,' which is deduced of *κατὰ ὄλον*, that is, 'per omnia': so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places,¹ not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, master Ridley, for God's love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth: it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possession, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning

Lincoln returneth to his oration.

Two powers; the keys, and the sword.

(1) And why then do you alligate it to the city of Rome?

Mary. matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yielded?

A. D.
1555.

England, how subject to the king, and how to the pope. Ridley exhorted to submit himself to the pope.

Fear of punishment before him.

"Wherefore (master Ridley) you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their majesties' honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of their highness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm due for heretics. *Then my Lord of Lincoln put off his cap.*"

"Wherefore, master Ridley, consider your state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us), but that is the temporal judge's office; we only declare you to be none of the church; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust, master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

Then master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

Answer of Ridley to Lincoln. The church tied to no place.

Ridley:—"My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err,² without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is everywhere founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed.³ And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.'⁴ In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair

Great part of Christendom infected with the church of Rome.

(1) But that office you yourselves have assigned unto them.

(2) He meaneth, in which general error can be finally.

(3) The catholics do bind the church to a certain place, and that only to Rome. The protestants bind the church to no one certain place, but follow the confession of the word.

(4) Vincentius Lyrinensis, cap. iv.—ED.

to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, in that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church.

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded,¹ receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ, after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, 'à suffocato et sanguine,' that is, from things stified, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"²

Ridley :—" My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, 'Do this,' that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

Lincoln :—" So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, other affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St. Mary's Church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

ARTICLES, JOINTLY AND SEVERALLY MINISTERED TO DR. RIDLEY
AND MASTER LATIMER, BY THE POPE'S DEPUTY.

In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolniensis, Iacobus Glocestrensis, et Iohannes Bristolensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum—miseratione divina: S. Mariæ in Cosmedin, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum—authoritate sufficientis delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et

(1) The Bohemians required that, and were shent for their labour.

(2) Argument :—The church did abrogate the precept of the apostles of strangled and bloodings: ergo, the church likewise hath authority touching the ministration under both kinds.

Answer :—The precept of the apostles was but for a time, and for a purpose, by little and little to win the Jews.

Mary.

A. D.

1555

Great reasons of the Catholics to prove the communion under one kind.

Mary. Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigorniensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes, specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet inquirendo) proponimus, et articulatur conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur.¹
 A. D. 1555.

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful master doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

THE EXAMINATION OF DR. RIDLEY UPON THE SAID ARTICLES.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln:—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln:—"Yea, master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

Ridley:—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and license to change mine answers, as I should think good.² It was meet, also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort, the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."³

Then spake doctor Weston, one of the audience:

Weston:—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley:—"No, master doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's

Weston shooteth his bolt.

(1) The articles here follow in Latin in the First Edition, page 1362.—Ed.

(2) The Catholics promise fair, but they perform nothing.

(3) The high priests had not power to put Christ to death, but they had power to commit him to Pilate, neither would they suffer him to absolve Christ.

deeds, and the high priest's, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley :—" Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto."

Lincoln :—" No, master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley :—" I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln :—" No, master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

Ridley :—" Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln :—" Well, master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

Ridley :—" My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *verè*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *verè et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *verè et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water at our baptism."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The protestation
of Ridley.

Ridley
not to
speak.

How the
body of
Christ
may be
said to be
really,
and how
not really,
in the
sacra-
ment.

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, other to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley :—" My lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead: only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *verè et realiter*, indeed and really, if you take these terms "*in deè and really*" for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But, if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

Two
questions
under
one.
The
papiests
and pro-
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presence,
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only in
the man-
ner of
being,
they dif-
fer.
How
Christ
may be in
the sacra-
ment, and
how not.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

What change is in the sacramental bread.

Bread and wine not changed.

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

Ridley :—" Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that, that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered :

Comparison between the communion and baptism.

Ridley :—" That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth : with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still : in like sort in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

Difference put between the communion and baptism

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, " This is the Holy Ghost," as he did by the bread, " This is my body."

Then master Ridley recited St. Augustine who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other : but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding, thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said :

Answer to the third article.

Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass is a derogation to Christ's passion.

Ridley :—" Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion : for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln :

Unbloody sacrifice.

Lincoln :—" Indeed as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross : yet, nevertheless, he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven ; the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Answer to the fourth article.

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false ; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly ; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientiâ scholasticâ*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said :

Lincoln :—“ To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary’s church ; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article [for it was long before he was understood] if it shall please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require : but, if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it.”

Ridley assigned to appear again the next day.

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have pen and ink, dismissed master Ridley, and sent for master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

MASTER LATIMER APPEARETH BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.

Now, after master Ridley was committed to the mayor, then the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, eftsoons as he was placed, said to the lords :

Latimer :—“ My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready : for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls.”

Then the bishop of Lincoln :—“ Master Latimer, I am sorry you were brought so soon, although it is the bailiff’s fault, and not mine ; but it shall be amended.”

Then master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin), wearing an old thread-bare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner :

The order of Latimer’s apparel.

Lincoln :—“ Master Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Pole’s grace, legate à latere to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope’s holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In the which commission be specially two points ; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and, together with all this realm, yea all the world, confess the truth, we, upon due repentance of your part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ’s church, from the which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you ; I desire you but to return thither from whence you went. Consider, master Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no error.¹ Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted. It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed : it shall be no more shame to you, than it

The oration of Lincoln to Latimer.

(1) But this church then standeth upon the truth of God’s word, and not upon the fantasy of man.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

The
pope's au-
thority.

was to us all. Consider, master Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head; and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead,¹ to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious: it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God, may be proved."

With that master Latimer, who before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying:

"For Christ spake expressly to Peter saying, 'Pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas,' the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government;² and therefore is the king called 'Rex à regendo:' so that in saying 'rege,' Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all ages hath it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and, according to the authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal his grace, by him, as legate to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But, if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness; if you will not acknowledge your errors; if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions; if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do, (*that* the temporal sword of the realm, and not we,³ will do) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are 'filius perditionis,' a lost child; and, as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws. Therefore, master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate; remember you are a learned man; you have taken degrees in the school, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man; spare your body, accelerate not your death, and specially remember your soul's health, quiet of your conscience. Consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part [then the bishop put off his cap] again with all my heart exhort you."

Reasons
to per-
suade the
flesh, but
not to sa-
tisfy con-
science.

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then master Latimer lifted up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had said; and the bishop answered, "Yea."

Latimer :—"Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

(1) How you spared the dead, your own acts can bear witness.

(2) Ποιμαίνειν, signifieth to feed, or to rule.

(3) "Qui tradiderunt me tibi majus peccatum habent," saith Christ.

Lincoln :—"Yea, master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

Latimer :—"I beseech your lordship license me to sit down."

Lincoln :—"At your pleasure, master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Latimer :—"Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome only, as you say; and me thought your lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him 'regere,' govern his people.¹ Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid 'regere:' but, since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of 'regere.' Indeed they ought 'regere,' but how my lord? not as they will themselves: but this 'regere' must be hedged in and ditched in. They must 'regere,' but 'secundum verbum Dei;' they must rule, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned 'regere secundum verbum Dei,' into 'regere secundum voluntatem suam:' they have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best; as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and, amongst others, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word 'regere;' and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, 'If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests *Levitiçi generis*, of the order of Levi, shall decide the matter *secundum legem Dei*, according to the law of God, so it must be taken.² This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and others the clergy of the new law: but, in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter 'according to God's law,' that 'according to God's law,' is left out, and only is recited, as the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I ensure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin?" With the which terms the audience smiled. "This is much like the 'regere' which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet."

Mary

A. D.

1555.

His answer to Lincoln.

The universal church hath not its foundation only in Rome.

"Regere secundum verbum," turned to "regere secundum voluntatem."

Clipping of God's Scriptures by the catholics.

Lincoln :—"No, master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know not of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Latimer :—"Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read,³ and is entituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission.

Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up and said it was his book.

Latimer :—"Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I knew not your lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me."

Then the audience laughed again; and master Latimer spake unto them, saying:—

Latimer :—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death, 'Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.'"

(1) Argument: Christ bade Peter, "regere," govern his people: Ergo, the pope must play the *rex*, to reign over kings and emperors.

(2) Deut. xxi.

(3) The author of this book was Dr. Brooks, who was there in the commission. [James Brokis his Sermon at Paul's Cross; printed by Robert Caley, twice in 1554.—ED.]

See Appendix.

Mary.

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said :—

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1555.

Lincoln :—“ Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done.”

Brooks,
bishop of
Gloucester,
speak-
eth.

After this the bishop of Gloucester said, in excusing of his book, “ Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have.” Then master Latimer interrupted him, saying :—

The Ca-
tholics unreason-
able in
using of
men.

Latimer :—“ Lo, you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of Oblivion, making the bare walls my library; keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?”

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying :—

The Ca-
tholics al-
lege the
Scrip-
tures, but
take not
all.

Gloucester :—“ I went not about to recite any place of Scripture in that place of my book; for then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law; and I pray you in this point what availeth the rehearsal ‘*secundum legem Dei*?’ ”

Latimer :—“ Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matters of religion; and, as my lord said even now, ‘*regere*’: but they must do it ‘*secundum verbum Dei*,’ and not ‘*secundum voluntatem suam*,’ according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, their own imaginations and fantasies.”

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saving that the bishop of Lincoln said that they came not to dispute with master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to master Ridley. But master Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester.

Latimer :—“ Well, my lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God’s word, and not to leave out a part, and to snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully.”

The pro-
testation
of Lati-
mer.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of master Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing of the articles in form and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to master Ridley, and required master Latimer’s answer to the first. Then master Latimer, making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen their majesties’ subject, and not the pope’s, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them; required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken ; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again : and master Latimer answered as followeth :—

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Latimer :—“ I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ ; because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ’s passion. But I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament, as you would have it.”

First Article. Latimer against the gross and carnal being of Christ in the Sacrament.

Lincoln :—“ Then, master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.”

Latimer :—“ Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively

Lincoln :—“ What say you, master Latimer, to the second article?” and recited the same.

Second article.

Latimer :—“ There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ’s body ; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine. For the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity ; because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ’s body : for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God’s word.”

What change is in the bread and wine in the sacrament, is not in the nature, but in the dignity of representing.

With that the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying :—

Lincoln :—“ Lo, master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine ! That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish : for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.”

Latimer :—“ Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is a holy bread indeed.”

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him and said :—

Lincoln :—“ Oh, ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread. [With that the audience laughed]. Well, master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration ?”

Latimer :—“ Yes, verily, it must needs be so ; for Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy bread : not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ’s body ; and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.”

Difference between Christ’s bread and the Pope’s.

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln :—“ What say you to the third question?” and recited the same.

Third article.

Latimer :—“ No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul saith) upon the cross ; neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only.”

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln :—“ What say you to the fourth, master Latimer ?”

Fourth article.

And recited it. After the recital whereof, when master Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or no ?

Mary. Latimer :—" Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby."

A. D. Lincoln :—" Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by
1555. master Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, master Latimer?"

Latimer :—" Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Fifth article. Lincoln :—" What say you, master Latimer, to the fifth article?" And recited it.

Latimer :—" I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer: I would you would propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln :—" In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouths of the people."

Latimer :—" I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time; but what men report of them I know not, nor care not."

Latimer assigned to appear the next day again.

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said, " Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that, after you have pondered well all things against to-morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

Latimer :—" Now, my lord, I pray you give me license in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope."

Lincoln :—" Nay, master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have license to speak forty words."

Latimer :—" Nay, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again."

Lincoln :—" Yes, master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

Latimer :—" Truly, my lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

Lincoln :—" Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy: you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St. Mary's church."

And forthwith the bishop charged the mayor with master Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clock at afternoon.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The next day following (which was the first day of October), somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After master Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Ridley's appearance before the deputies.

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you, neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but, in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's holiness (with that the bishop and all them present, put off their caps, but master Ridley moved not his) you said you ne could ne would by any means be induced to give him honour: but, forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley :—" I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), neither for contempt of your lordships *neither in the despect* of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln :—" Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following :

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but, because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper and ink, yea any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then, also, to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or contrary contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points content to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you [and therewith he put off his cap], not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Augustine's meaning, in that you would have 'totus mundus' to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world: whereas, indeed, the process of St. Augustine's words, will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not 'totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis,' etc., but first 'totus mundus Christianus Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est:' 'all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, 'in transmarinis partibus,' 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

But master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

"I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called 'Mare Mediterraneum,' cast between

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The words of master White bishop of Lincoln, to Ridley, about his cap. Capping again at the name of the pope.

Ridley refuseth to put off his cap to the pope, or to them which come from the pope.

The former examination of Ridley. The words of the bishop of Lincoln.

The place of St. Augustine again repeated, 'Totus mundus.'

Mary. Europe, and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand.”

A.D.
1555.

How the
catholics
use to
allege the
doctors.

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St. Augustine. After long disceptation the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St. Augustine might be known by the consent of other of the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, was none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the doctors of some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

A place of
Cyril al-
leged by
Melan-
thon

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common Places;¹ and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before—wherefore he passed it over.

“Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, ‘Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: Ergo, Christ is come.’ But we may use the contrary of that reason, ‘Altars are plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come: a good argument *a contrariis*.² I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come.”

Dr. Ridley smiling, answered, “Your lordship is not ignorant that this word ‘altare,’ in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word ‘altare,’ not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying, ‘Altars are erected in Christ's name: Ergo, Christ is come,’ he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: Ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except the thing itself be past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just consideration, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in these latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church.”

Lincoln:—“A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table³ instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive: and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church.”

Ridley:—“Your lordship's unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things.”

See
Appendix.

(1) The “Loci Communes rerum Theol., seu Hypotyposes Theologicae,” were first published at Wittenberg, 1521, then in 1522, and again in 1541: the two former editions do not mention the name of Cyril or any other Father under the head ‘De cœna Domini.’ But the next and all following editions contain the passage of Cyril. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) “Argumentum a contrario sensu ex Cyrillo contra Judæos.” Altars be erected in Christ's remembrance in Britain: Ergo, Christ is come. Altars be now plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come. Answer: This argument is not “a sensu contrario:” for erecting of altars in the antecedent, and plucking down altars in the consequent, be not contrary. In the antecedent, Cyril meaneth the table, or else the celebration of the Lord's supper in his remembrance. In the consequent, by plucking down of altars, is meant the taking away of places and monuments serving not to the Lord's supper, but to idolatry, whereby the true table of the Lord's supper, in his remembrance, may be erected again.

(3) Bishop Wliffe blasphemously calleth the board of the Lord's supper, an oyster table.

Lincoln :—“ As for that, master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man : but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles ;” and eftsoons he read the first article in manner above specified, “ Now master Ridley, what say you to the first article ? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it : but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.”

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Then master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written : but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

The articles read again to Ridley ; he not suffered to read his own.

Ridley :—“ Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it ? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure : therefore let the audience be witness to your doings.”

Lincoln :—“ Well, master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published ; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you.”

With that master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy ; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said :—

Lincoln :—“ In the first part, master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness.”

Ridley :—“ No, my lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it.”

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required master Ridley's answer to it. Then master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published : but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, master doctor Weston being prolocutor.

First article.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation : and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

Second article.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move master Ridley to turn.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The words of exhortation of Brooks to Ridley.

Gloucester :—" If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be perduced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit:¹ so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.'

" But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but, if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the 'væ' and 'woe' which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit:' then, for God's love, master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no places of Scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And, indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

" It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church,² with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your own judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most

(1) This is a rather favourite presumption with Romish arguers, as is apparent from the repeated reference to Luther's idea, that he was opposing the whole world *alone* (solus), just as if Luther's *supposition*—not unnatural in his circumstances—was equivalent to matter of *fact*. The contrary appears in the following extract: " Sic pugnavi, ut me *solum* esse putarem—sed ecce et mihi dicitur esse Domino reliquias suas salvatas etiam in hoc tempore, et prophetas in abscondito servatos. Nec hoc solum dicitur, sed et cum gaudio ostenditur. Prodiit eni! Wesselus (quem Basilium dicunt) Phrysus Groningensis, vir admirabilis ingenii, rari et magni spiritus, quem et ipsum apparet esse vere Theodidactum:—hic si mihi antea lectus fuisset, poterat hostibus meis videri Lutherus omnia ex Wesselo hausisse, adeo spiritus utriusque conspirat in unum." Luther. *pref.* in Wesseli Epist. ad Engelbert. Leidensem; which appears in the condemned list, vol. iv. p. 670. The latest and completest edition of Wesseli's works (and in any shape they are rare) is entitled " *Aura purior, hoc est M. Wesseli Gainsfortii, alias Basilii Groningensis, opera: publicavit M. F. Lydius.*" Amstel. 1617.—*Ep.*

(2) The *determination of the church* is only that. whereupon our catholic men do ground their faith.

truly with the prophet, "Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit;" but that he acknowledged no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of master Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholar, then was master Cranmer a doctor, so that he confessed that master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:—

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.A brief
answer of
Ridley to
bishop
Brooks's
tale.

Gloucester:—"Why, master Ridley, it is your own confession, for master Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in master Cranmer's books, and master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word; and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to show his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Ridley
could not
for his
con-
science
yield to
the pope's
doctrine.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, who sat by, and said, "Why my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his license: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers.¹ And eftsoons master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

Weston
shooteth
his bolt.Ridley
limited no
more but
forty
words to
speak.

After this the bishop of Lincoln who sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

Lincoln:—"Now I perceive, master Ridley, you will not permit me suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I ensure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than 'dolentes et gementes:' for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you."

Whereunto master Ridley answered, "I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soul."

See
Appendix

Lincoln:—"Nay, not so, master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is

(1) Note, reader, the extreme dealing of the papists.

Mary. sufficiently already expressed before,¹ we thought meet in this place
 A. D. to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things
 1555. devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this :

“That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar : Secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration : Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be perduced and brought from these his heresies : they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol) did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church : and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.”

THE LAST APPEARANCE AND EXAMINATION OF MASTER
 LATIMER BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately master Latimer was sent for : but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat master Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) master Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as master Ridley had. But eftsoons as master Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying :

Latimer :—“My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance : for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm.”

Lincoln :—“I am sorry, master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.”

With that master Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner :

The
 bishop of
 Lincoln's
 words to
 Latimer.

Lincoln :—“Master Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred further process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you : or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry.”

Latimer
 short with
 the commis-
 sioners.
 See
 Appendix.

It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that master Latimer interrupted him, saying :

Latimer :—“Your lordship often doth inculke the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to

(1) See the degradation of Hooper, vol. vi. page 651.—Ed.

the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here, in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprian, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops¹ that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken.'" And again demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? "Christ," said he, "hath foreshowed, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it most like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection:" which he proved, beginning at Noah's time even to the apostles.

Lincoln:—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel. But you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God and the received truth of the church."

Master Latimer interrupting him, said: "Yes verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."²

But Lincoln goeth forth in his talk: "Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually, there were very few which truly served God; but, after his coming, began the time of grace. Then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist. There is a diverse consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, master Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school, a place for disputations. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had license to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors, we, thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your estate, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time; and now have called you again here in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning;" and afterwards recited the first article.

Latimer:—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships' authority, in that you are legaced by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction—to the first article I answer now, as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by the Spirit and grace: but, after that corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before. After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer:—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other, propitiatory sacrifice."

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The catholic church, and the Romish church, be two things. Cyprian's counsel: in truth no deliberation to be taken.

The image of the church before Christ, compared with the church after him.

Articles propounded again to Latimer.

The very body of Christ received in the sacrament by the spirit and grace.

The second and third articles.

(1) See Appendix. (2) The cause of the martyrs of the primitive time, and of the latter time, is all one.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Latimer
will not
deny his
master
Christ.
His con-
demna-
tion
read.Papists
false in
their pro-
mises.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant, as he did master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and master Latimer had answered that he ne could, ne would deny his Master Christ, and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired master Latimer to hearken to him : and then master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation ; after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But master Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have license briefly to declare the cause, why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then master Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," quoth master Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name."¹ With that appellation the bishop was content : but, he said, it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed master Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, master mayor." Because the press of the people was not yet diminished, each man looking for further process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and willed master Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued bishop Ridley, and master Latimer, in durance till the 16th day of the said month of October.

A COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DR. BROOKS, AND DR. RIDLEY,
IN THE HOUSE OF MASTER IRISH, THE 15TH DAY OF
OCTOBER, AT WHICH TIME HE WAS DEGRADED.

In the mean season upon the 15th day in the morning, and the same year abovesaid, Dr. Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with divers other of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came unto master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same,² and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they

(1) Master Latimer appealeth to the next general council, truly called in the Lord's name ; but that council is long a coming.

(2) No mercy to be had without consenting to iniquity.

must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

“But,” saith he, “we have been oftentimes with you, and have requestea that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time.”

“My lord,” quoth Dr. Ridley, “you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God’s word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood.”

Answer of
Ridley
to Dr.
Brooks.
O worthy
champion
of Christ’s
church.

Gloucester :—“Well, you were best, master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope’s holiness to be the chief head of the same church.”¹

Ridley :—“I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish Antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations.”

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome’s authority, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. “And seeing,” saith he, “that you will not receive the queen’s mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to disgrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.”

Ridley
com-
manded
to silence,
when
otherwise
he could
not be
con-
vinced.

Ridley :—“Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.”

Gloucester :—“Put off your cap, master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice.”

Ridley :—“Not I, truly.”

Gloucester :—“But you must.”

Ridley :—“I will not.”

Gloucester :—“You must: therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.”

Ridley :—“Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.”

Gloucester :—“Will you not do it upon you?”

Ridley :—“No, that I will not.”

Gloucester :—“It shall be put upon you by one or other.”

Ridley :—“Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; ‘the servant is not above his master.’ If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants.”

Ridley re-
fuseth to
put on the
surplice.

Ridley in-
veigheth
against
the bishop
of Rome
and his
foolish
apparel.
The sur-
plice here
is called a
foolish
apparel.

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him

(1) With that their caps went off, but Dr. Ridley held on his cap.

Mary. Antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a
 A. D. Vice in a play, insomuch that bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with
 1555. him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley
 answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath
 would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings,
 whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

*See
 Appendix*

Gloucester :—" Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

Master
 Edridge
 giveth
 counsel,
 that
 Ridley
 should
 be gagged.
 Degrad-
 ing of
 Ridley.

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks; " Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, " Oh well, well, well !" So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

Ridley
 would not
 let come
 in his
 hand the
 chalice
 and wa-
 fer-cake.

When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, " They shall not come in my hands; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

Ridley
 degraded
 from
 preach-
 ing.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: " We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," etc. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, " O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness !" And as they put upon him the mass-gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, " Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

A praise
 of Ber-
 tram's
 book upon
 the Sacra-
 ment.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation¹ was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, " Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, " Mas-ter Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then master Ridley said, " Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer the cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but master Ridley said, " My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the

(1) All the glittering of Antichrist's kingdom, consisteth in apish toys.

same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then master Ridley said,

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better."

Note the charity of papists

Then he read the same; and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said, "This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done." And with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them."

Ridley's sister put from her lease by Bonner.

Ridley :—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

Gloucester :—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley :—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein; and God's will be done."

Gloucester :—"I will do what lieth in me."

The copy of this supplication written to the queen here followeth.

A Supplication of Bishop Ridley to Queen Mary in the behalf of certain poor Men's Leases.

It may please your majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenancies and holdings, and some hath renewed and changed their old, and therefore hath paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

Now, I hear say, that the bishop¹ which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or coven, either of their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents reserved to the see without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of

See Appendix.

(1) This bishop was doctor Bonner.

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money as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and specially in an iron chest in my bed chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore, if that way shall please your highness, they must be known by such ways and means as your majesty, by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

*See
Appendix.*

I have also a poor sister that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them.¹ I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered in durance at my entrance into the see of London, not one penny of his movable goods; for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I did enter into that place: yea and also, if any were left, known to be his, he had license to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called master Staunton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and in especial the archbishop now of York, which for that he was continually in my house a year and more before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief now unto your highness I make most humble suit.² The 16th of October, anno 1555.

Nicholas Ridley.

Ridley
could not
with any
notorious
crime be
charged.

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then master Ridley in praising God, brast out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure,³ bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe

(1) If to succour the widow and fatherless, is pure and undefiled religion, as St. James saith, then are Bounner and his religion filthy and abominable, which do such wrong to the widow and fatherless.

(2) Notwithstanding these goodly and just requests, no justice could be had, until that now, of late, some of these shameful injuries by order of law have been redressed.

(3) "One master Warner, as I remember." Edit. 1563, p. 1376.—Ed.

thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

Mary.

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THE BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY AT HIS SUPPER, THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS SUFFERING.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and, as he sat at supper, the same night at master Irish's (who was his keeper), he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married:" and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart:" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk mistress Irish wept.

Ridley biddeth guests to his marriage.

Mrs. Irish, a great papist before, weepeth for Dr. Ridley.

But master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," etc.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, etc.

Ridley without care at his death.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER, AT THE TIME OF THEIR DEATH, WHICH WAS THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1555.

Upon the north-side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol-college,¹ the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred² likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, etc.

See Appendix

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all

(1) "Balliol College." A correspondent in the *Christian Observer* for June 1838, (p. 354) after referring to a previous communication in the number for September 1837, tending to confirm the accuracy of Foxe's history, states that, "not many weeks since, some workmen, who were employed in making a drain in Broad-street, opposite the door of the master of Balliol's lodgings, found, at the depth of about three feet from the present surface, such a quantity of ashes and burnt sticks, as plainly indicated that they had discovered the spot on which the martyrs suffered."—Ed.

(2) "With a tippet of sables nothing undressed:" Edit. 1563.—Ed.

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worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Ridley
and Lati-
mer
brought
together
to the
stake.

Beha-
viour of
Ridley
and Lati-
mer at
the stake.

Master doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then master Ridley, looking back, espied master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he, following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying master Latimer, with a wonderous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and most effectuously prayed, and behind him master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Dr. Smith
preaching
at the
burning
of Ridley
and Lati-
mer.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in king Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby."¹ Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Œcolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where as they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Smith
raileth
against
the mar-
tyrs.

Christ's
congrega-
tion bur-
dened
with di-
versity of
opinions.

Dr. Ridley said to master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

(1) "Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio."—1 Cor. xiii.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said master Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshall. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying, master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

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Ridley ready to answer Smith's sermon, but not suffered. Marshal, vice-chancellor of Oxford, stoppeth Ridley.

Ridley committeth his cause to God. Latimer's words when he could not be suffered to answer Dr. Smith.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet,¹ and gave it to his brother-in-law master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Ridley giveth away his apparel and other gifts to the people.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Latimer at the stake in his shirt.

Then master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou

Ridley thanketh God for his martyrdom, and prayeth for England.

(1) This was no popish tippet, but made only to keep his neck warm.

Mary.

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hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Gunpowder given to the martyrs.

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridley's, and master Latimer's middles: and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked, what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother;" meaning master Latimer. "Yea sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunpowder unto master Latimer.

Ridley's suit to the lord of Thame, for leases of poor men. Bonner taketh away the leases from poor men, granted before by Ridley.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalves. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

The church lightened by the martyrdom of saints.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Latimer's prayer and martyrdom.

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum." And after, repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-

high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God), he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

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1555.Ridley
long in
burning.The death
and mar-
tyrdom of
Ridley.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

The lamenting
hearts of
the people at the
martyrdom of
these two
saints.

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatises, letters, and exhortations, belonging to the story of the martyrs, unto the latter Appendix in the end of these volumes; thinking also to have done the

See
Appendix.

Mary. like with these farewells and exhortations following of bishop Ridley, yet for certain purposes moving me thereunto, and especially considering the fruitful admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations contained in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adjoin the said tractations of that learned pastor, with the life and story of the author; whereof the two first be in a manner his farewells, the one to his kinsfolk, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Christ's congregation: the other more special to the prisoners and banished Christians in the gospel's cause: the third containeth a fruitful and a general admonition to the city of London, and to all others, with necessary precepts of christian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be seen.

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A Treatise or Letter written by Dr. Ridley, instead of his last Farewell, to all his true and faithful Friends in God; with a sharp Admonition withal unto the Papists.

The first
farewell
of Ridley
to his
friends.

At the name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure, so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you—Oh all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world—having like mind towards you all—and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness—to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

Commen-
dation of
George
Shipside,
his bro-
ther-in-
law.

Farewell, my dear brother George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions; and now, in the time of my cross, over all others to me most friendly and steadfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

Farewell, my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God, that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

To his
brother
John
Ridley.

Farewell, my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoune, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

To his
sister-in-
law of
Unthank,
wife to
Hugh, his
brother.
To his
cousin,
Nicholas
Ridley.

Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, master Nicholas Ridley of Willymountswike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness), to be as it were the bell-wether to order

and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others : so I pray you, good cousin (as my trust and hope is in you), continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness; and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

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Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss: but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

To his
cousin,
Ralph
Whitfield.

Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord, which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, king Edward, and so also denounced openly in his court, by his privy council.

To all his
kindred.

Ridley
appointed
to be
bishop of
Durham.

I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed nor astonished at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I ensure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are God's causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that Paul's Epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I ensure thee, O man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, saith, "If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ," (that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake,) "then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you."¹ If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy apostle blessed and happy: how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs; that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

Martyr-
dom,
God's sin-
gular and
rare pro-
motion.

A blessed
thing to
suffer
death for
Christ.

Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, (where, alas! if it chanceth a man so to be slain of a thief, as it often chanceth there, which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more steadfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact, and his posterity doth endure: even so ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs): know ye, I say, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know, and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God [to] rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God,

If it be a
point of a
faithful
friend to
die with
his friend,
upon
thieves,
for world-
ly goods;
how
much
more then
to die in
Christ's
quarrel,
upon the
enemies
of his
church?

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nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations: ¹ the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love, than to give his life for his friend.²

To die in any right, whatsoever it be, is to die in God's cause. To die in the truth against thieves, and to die for the truth against Christ's enemies, compared.

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: for both is God's cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the christian brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For, know ye all, that like as there, when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten (whereupon he and his household shall live), he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

Truth taught in the church of England.

True ministrations of the Lord's Supper.

This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's Supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated, unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

Homilies in the Church of England. Articles set forth for matters of controversies.

It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that useth alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church, much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas! was almost overgone.

Robbing of Christ's church.

But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying,³ "O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones;" that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves, be of Samaria; these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers, have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God; they

(1) Deut. vii. (2) John xv. (3) "Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam," etc. Ps. lxxii.

have carried it away, and overthrown it, and, instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments (as of baptism and others), they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

In the stead of the Lord's holy Table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass; but, in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and made them to believe *that* to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but, in substances, is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table, is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood: which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, "Do this in remembrance of me."¹ And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again."² And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel.

Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word, wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness?

For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed (nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things), but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God; high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer; for it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all ye my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefor, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

Although the cause of the true man slain of the thief, while helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I said before), yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders: the goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far divers. These thieves are worse (I say), for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty: for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called "sacrilegi," as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all

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Baptism mixed with men's fantasies. The Lord's Supper turned to the mass.

The Lord's cup robbed.

Prayers turned into an unknown tongue.

Instead of homilies the pope's decrees. The pope's doctrine containeth blasphemy to God, treason to Christ, is contrary to God's word, is a subversion of true godliness, and destruction of man's soul.

Comparison between popish persecutors and strong thieves.

(1) Luke xxii.

(2) 1 Cor. xi.

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heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live. These goods (I say), these thieves, these church-robbers, go about to spoil us of: the which goods, as, to the man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so, to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

Popish
persecu-
tors are
false
thieves,
but true
catholics.

These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft-tines hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkness, and darkness light, superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God, and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to bewray their falsehood.

The fight
with spi-
ritual
thieves is
worse
than with
temporal
thieves.

The kind of fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed, and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of Antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, which are called of St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtleties concerning heavenly things,¹ therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly: we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their souls.

The wea-
pons of a
christian
warrior.

And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, "we fight not against flesh and blood;"² that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword, wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master, duke, and captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy, murdered down like a meany of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful, is the kind of death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

(1) Ephes. vi.

(2) Ibid.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities), ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice (if ye love me indeed), for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt), than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he (I say), that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I, through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself to do): who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea and of my life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the university of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted), than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born?

Farewell therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees: of thy common offices, the chaplainship of the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader. And, of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow; and, after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell Pembroke-hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge! What case thou art in now (God knoweth) I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is now a thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter-forth of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word: so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse: of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my lifetime ever after; and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Dr. Ridley named to the see of Durham.

The cause of martyrs is the common cause of Christ, and of all his elect saints.

Let no man shrink to die in such a blessed and common quarrel.

To his friends in Cambridge.

Benefits showed to Ridley in Cambridge.

Commendation of Pembroke-hall to be a setter-forth ever of the gospel. Ridley learned the Epistles of St. Paul and Peter.

Mary. the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

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Ridley called by archbishop Cranmer to the parish of Herne in Kent.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to be vicar of Herne¹ in East-Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: oh! that the fruit had answered to the seed. And yet I must knowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but, I bless God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word which the Lord, by preaching of his word, did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Fiennes: the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many other moe.

To the metropolitan see of Canterbury.

Farewell thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitane see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name Christ's-church, in deed and in truth.

To the see of Rochester.

Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God! Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

To Westminster.

To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws: and thus fare you well!

To the see of London.

O London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel's sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever in them delight.

Ridley deposed from the see of London without right or judgment.

Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor never suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well! as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God which is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day: this only I can pray for.

The see of London worthily rebuked.

O thou now wicked and bloody see! why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses, instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostome, yea the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it

(1) Ridley was collated to the vicarage of Herne in 1538; in which parish resided Lady Fiennes, an ancestress of Lord Say and Sele.—Ed.

should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon! thou wicked limb of Antichrist! thou bloody wolf! why slayest thou down, and makest havock of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor seely sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and wilt follow none other but their own pastor Christ's voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god (I say) will not indeed, nor can not (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands, O thou whorish drab! shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab! and all thy false prophets.

Yet thou, O London! I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt but in that great city there may be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in the office of mayoralty, yea, and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other, for true christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, alderman and knight! thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor seely members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakedst the matter for the poor: thou didst plead their cause, yea and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, indued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city: and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of seely poor members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobs! and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever, unto the world's end. Amen.

And thou, O sir George Barnes! the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Chris-

*Mary.*A. D.1555.

See
Appendix.
The
bloody see
of Lon-
don.

Ridley's
prophecy
upon the
episcopal
see of
London.

To the
city of
London.

Com-
menda-
tion of
sir
Richard
Dobs,
alder-
man
and
knight.

The erect-
ing of
the hospi-
tal by
Ridley
and sir
Richard
Dobs,
mayor of
London.

Com-
menda-
tions of
sir George
Barnes.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

tendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a House of Occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy brethren, and of that godly king Edward, that christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell;¹ and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

To the
citizens
of Lon-
don.

Farewell now, all ye citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be! Undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

To the
higher
house
and tem-
poral
lords of
the par-
liament.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of king Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my lords of the temporality farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already, to the see of London. To you therefore, my lords of the temporality, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor, if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me; for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good: hearken what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, "I wonder, my lords, what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist; from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions; from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warn you of your peril: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus: "We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame:" My lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands;² but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but he saith, both, shall fall into the ditch.³ Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate their governor and the emperor's lieutenant by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death); forsooth no, my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands,

A good
warning
or lesson
to the
temporal
lords.Igno-
rance will
not ex-
cuse the
temporal-
ty, being
seduced
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gion.

(1) Bridewell was obtained of king Edward by sir George Barnes, to set poor people on work.

(2) Ezek. iii.

(3) Luke vi.

neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary the bishop of Rome.

And lest, my lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish; and that I do but rage, and, as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place.¹ For I assure your lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak), I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly, which therefore justly may be called "apostolici," that is, true disciples of the apostles; and also that church and congregation of Christians to be a right apostolic church; yea and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof "apostolicus," or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed,² in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that see and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

The see is the seat of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon,³ and spiritually Sodoma and Egypt, the mother of fornications and of the abominations upon the earth.⁴ And with this whore do spiritually mell, and lie with her, and commit most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for examples' sake), her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostles' doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises

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Many good men in the see of Rome.

So long as the see of Rome followed the rules of the apostles, it might be called Peter's or Paul's chair.
See Appendix.

The see of Rome hath degenerated from the apostles' rules, and hath set up another religion.

If true doctrine make the see apostolic, then contrary doctrine maketh the see to be antichristian.

Kings committing adultery with the whore of Babylon, what it meaneth.

(1) Acts xxvi.

(3) Rev. xvii.

(2) That is, hath exercised another power.

(4) Rev. xi.

Mary. more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust, by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore of Babylon,¹ and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintain at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel's prophecy²) and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light or light unto darkness, white to black or black to white, or as Belial unto Christ or Christ unto antichrist himself.

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I know, my lords,³ and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirit of grace and the light of God's word, so many (I say) would at these my words lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John saith) the greatest of all; and then I shall not need (I trow) to fear what any lord, no nor what king or prince, can do unto me.

My lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said (when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure), how hath then your lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge) otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which, I am persuaded assuredly by God's word, shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore both of the see of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betimes, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my lords, for God's sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed.⁴ For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiss), so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly, with one consent, to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy say now, and so say the pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity for our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the Eighth and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation:⁵ how then chanced it that ye were all, O my lords, so light and so little passed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof (without the which no man can be saved), as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith—that is, to forsake Christ and his Gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is, so necessary to salvation, how

(1) Rev. xvii.

(2) Dan. vii.

(3) He speaketh to the lords temporal.

(4) Psalm iv.

(5) If the unity of the pope's church standeth upon necessity of salvation, why did the lords of this realm abjure this unity in king Henry and king Edward's days? If it be otherwise, why then do they perjure themselves, turning to it again?

chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spirituality and temporality, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But, on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ a thing of necessity required unto salvation, be an antichristian law (as it is indeed), and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting-forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be), then, my lords, never think other, but the day shall come when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law.¹ The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon "a poena et culpa") that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try this matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my lords (I give your lordships warning in time), repent, if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health: repent, I say, or else without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations: so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen.

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Another farewell of Bishop Ridley to the Prisoners in Christ's Gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own Country, choosing rather to leave all worldly Commodity, than their Master Christ.

Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both ye my fellow-prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity, than the Gospel of Christ.

Farewell, all ye together in Christ; farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such, after trial (ye know) shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dear beloved. Let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord.² As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example, of patience in tribulation, of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable.³ For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God, for thereunto are we called; that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth. When he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he

(1) Jer. vi.

(2) James v.

(3) 1 Pet. i.

Mary. railed not again : when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to Him that judgeth aright.¹

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Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ : " Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake : rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven ; for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you."² Therefore let us alway bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our master hath told us before hand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake : but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.³

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord : how doth it not then become us to suffer ! for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his Master, and the servant to be as his lord.⁴ If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they so call them of his household?⁵ " Fear them not then," saith our Saviour, " for all privities shall be made plain ; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light."⁶ Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed, nor afraid to speak them ; for so Christ our master commandeth us, saying, " That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad ; and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill ; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell fire."

Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you ; so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our master Christ), for ye are more worth than many small sparrows.⁷ And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, " Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven : but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven." Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself : in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross, he will none of us ; we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore : but if, in his cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant, yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon.⁸ " Wonder not," saith St. Peter, " as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire," (he meaneth of tribulation) " which thing," saith he, " is done to prove you ;" nay rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.⁹

Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's

(1) 1 Pet. ii.
(6) Matt. x.

(2) Matt. v.
(7) Matt. x.

(3) Luke xxi.
(8) 2 Cor. iv.

(4) Luke vi.
(9) 1 Pet. iv.

(5) Matt. x.

cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall they appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and, thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that which the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified;¹ he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christ's cross; yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul,—in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and pass them all,²—what wonderful Spirit was that (I say), that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him?³ O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? "Bear thou," saith he, "affliction like a good soldier of Jesus Christ."⁴ This is true: "If we die with him [he meaneth Christ], we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself." This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Christ and his way: and "all that will live godly in Christ, shall," saith St. Paul, "suffer persecution."⁵ By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the Spirit (for so it was in Isaac's time); so said St. Paul, it was in his time also.⁶ And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man (the selfsame man I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God), let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories; if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments, which the men of God, in God's cause and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, "Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others again, were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheep's pelves, in goats' pelves, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted; such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith."⁷ And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain, as they were, for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we

*Mary.*A. D.
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flictions.The glory
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sisteth.The way
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flictions.See
Appendix.(1) 1 Cor. ii.
(5) 2 Tim. iii.(2) 2 Cor. xi.
(6) Gal. iv.(3) 2 Tim. ii.
(7) Heb. xi.(4) *Ibid.*

Mary. may all go together to meet our Master, Christ, in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

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Reasons
to move
us to pa-
tience
under the
cross.

Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so sure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: "Let us throw away whatsoever might let us—all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality—and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ the ringleader, captain, and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not passing upon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin."¹ Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus: "My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth."² "What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, wherof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it."³ Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ, to bear Christ's cross, than for this short lifetime to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, who is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forsooth, but contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.⁴

Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, etc., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him.⁵ And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea infinite plenty of all these, above that which man's heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally), and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption:⁶ who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live.⁷ Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise."⁸ To die in the defence of Christ's gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord

(1) Heb. xii.

(2) Prov. iii.

(3) Heb. xii.

(4) 2 Cor. v.

(5) 2 Cor. v.

(6) 1 Cor. i.

(7) 2 Cor. v. Phil. i.

(8) Luke xxiv.

over all.¹ And seeing he died for us, we also (saith St. John) should jeopard, yea give our life for our brethren.² And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord,³ and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, "He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die."⁴ And, in another place, "He shall depart from death unto life."⁵ And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and resolution and both Peter and Paul, "a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling house,"⁶ meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries: for so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter in the kingdom of heaven.⁷ And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom.⁸ What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

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to be with
Christ,
and not to
fear
death.

Farewell, dear brethren! farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God; for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse! here wandering in this world in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

Farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost, farewell!

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastor Christ; for to thee it hath pleased the Heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom.⁹ Farewell!

Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell! Farewell!

Another Treatise of Bishop Ridley, wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of Religion in England: then a comparison between the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Romish Religion; with wholesome instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.

Alas! what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! When, as of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yea and almost in every honest man's house, alas! now, it is exiled and banished out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content, in Christ's cause and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word, the articles of the christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer,

(1) Rom. xiv. (2) 1 John iii.

(3) Rev. xiv.

(4) John xi.

(5) John v.

(6) 2 Pet. i. 2 Cor. v.

(7) Acts xiv.

(8) Luke xvi.

(9) Luke xii.

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The babes and young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church : and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same : but now (alas, and alas again!) the false prophets of Antichrist which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

The lamentable change of religion in the church.

Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas! all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy, are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, nor public perjury no more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.¹

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment (as Paul saith plainly), that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word.² But, alas! all is turned upside down; Paul's doctrine is put apart; Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but a strange tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

Ignorance in prayer.

Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas! the unlearned people are brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts is nothing mindful at all; for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

Abuse in the Lord's supper.

Of late the Lord's supper was duly ministered and taught to be made common to all that are true Christians with thanksgiving and setting-forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas! the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting-forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

The sacrament turned out of its right use and kind.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness), was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry wherein that adoration is given unto

Idolatry in worshipping the creature for the Creator.

(1) Jer. v.

(2) 1 Cor. xiv.

the liveless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they say they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be showed unto this day: but now, alas! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

Of late the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them:"¹ this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost everywhere in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry (as the wise man saith), were taken out of the churches, and straightly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas! God's holy word is blotted and razed out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other side he forbade images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them. But now, alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon; and that which he forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly uphelden.

Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain yea wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief is Antichrist and his brood; the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. "The whore is that city," saith John, in plain words, "which hath empire over the kings of the earth." This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth. And of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk; yea and kings of the earth have lien by this whore, and merchants of the earth by virtue of her pleasant merchandise have been made rich.

Now what city is there in all the whole world, that, when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth;² or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that see hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understand Peter's former epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same epistle in plain terms Babylon? By the abominations thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith (alas! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apostle of Christ (of whom this stinking strumpet

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The cup debarred from the ministrations of the Lord's supper.

Blasphemous sacrifice for sin.

Idolatry to stocks and stones.

The whore of Babylon with her cup of abominations expounded.

(1) Deut. v.

(2) Rev. xvii.

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beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause), did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles (for this whore and beast will be called "dominus apostolicus," whosoever say nay) after this manner in his latter epistle? "There were among the people in times past false prophets, as there shall be among you in time to come false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness, by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall," saith Peter, "make merchandise upon you."¹ And doth not John likewise, in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise), reckon up amongst the rest, and concludeth, saying, "Et animas hominum," that is to say, "and the souls of men too?" Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb in Latin, "Omnia Romæ venalia;" "All things for rose are set to sale at Rome?"² Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween in Latin?

The mystical merchandise of the Babylonical strumpet.

All things at Rome for money.

"Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum:
Vendere jure potest; emerat ille prius."

Verses against pope Alexander.

These two verses in Latin I have read thus of one translated into English rhyme:

"Alexander, our holy father the pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom;
And all kind of holiness the holy father doth not stick
To set to sale, ready money for to get.
And eke Christ himself he dare be bold
To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be sore,
For what doth he sell but what he bought before?"

I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that see. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be established by custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's or a few men's personal crimes, but are now, by laws, custom, and doctrine, incorporated into that wicked see, and make indeed the body of the beast, whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

Abominations and wicked abuses of the see of Rome declared.

But you would know which be those merchandises which I said this whore setteth for to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow;

(1) 2 Pet. ii.

(2) This proverb has been largely illustrated, so far as regards the church of modern Rome, in Rivet's "Jesuita vapulans, sive Castigatio not. in Epist. ad Balsacum;" (Lug. Bat. 1636.) The passage which will confirm Ridley's statement is this: "Æneas Sylvius, qui postea Pontifex fuit (epist. 66); 'Nihil est quod abecatur argento Romana curia dedat. Ipsa manuum impositio et Spiritus Sancti dona venduntur, nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis impenditur.' Hinc illi Actii Sincerii Sannazarii lusus in Leonem X. Epigr. lib. iii.

'Sacra sub extremâ, si forte requiritis, hora
Cur Leo non poterat sumere? vendiderat.'

De Alexandro VI. testatur Guicciardinus Hist. Ital. lib. i. sect. 2 (p. 7, edit. Friburgo, 1775). Cardinales ei vendidisse potestatem exercendi Mercaturam sacrorum thesaurorum in præcipua et eminentissimâ parte templi; de quo dictum fuit,

'Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.'

Jes. Vap. cap. 10, sect. 2.—Ed.

as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, "placebo" and "dirige," with trentals¹ and "scala cœli," dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and "tot quots,"² with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering friars and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the see of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it), clear absolution "a pœna et culpa," for thousands of years; yea, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise: for all these things, they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew! As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and such like things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man once, at the least, every day of a wafer-cake.

After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes—I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as John saith (he meaneth so long as that seed doth abide in him)—that holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of

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The true word of God, and the office of the same declared.

(1) These terms will be explained by the following illustrations:—"But yet, not trusting to the uncertain charity of others, most persons strained to the utmost, and many most excessively, their fortunes considered, to leave some provision behind them, for that purpose (namely, the release of souls in purgatory): and most commonly by their last wills and testaments, which were accounted sacred, and carrying an obligation more than ordinary for all persons concerned, to see them performed: and thereby, or by acts executed in their life-time, it was not rare, for many men, though they had many children to provide for, or many debts to pay, to postpone all relations and considerations to this concern of the soul, and to appoint and take order for 'masses satisfactory,' 'anniversaries,' 'obits,' 'requiems,' 'dirges,' 'placebos,' 'trentals,' 'lamps,' 'lights,' and other offices, to be performed daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly, as far as the sums destined would afford, for the ease and help of the testator's soul.

"Masses satisfactory" were the Romish service appointed to be said, or sung, at a certain time, or times, and at an appointed place, at such an altar, or in such a chapel, with special reference to, or remembrance of, such a soul or souls, tormented in purgatory.

An 'anniversary' was the appointment and performance of prayers, at such or such a time, once a year, for the souls of deceased persons; commonly upon the day of the death of the party who appointed it: and this in imitation of the old anniversary days, whereon the martyrdom or deaths of saints were celebrated.

An 'obit' was a funeral office, performed for the dead, and for his soul's health, at certain times and places appointed.

A 'requiem' was an office or mass, commonly sung for the dead, so called from those words in it—'Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine.'

A 'dirge, quasi dirige,' was an office of the same nature for souls in purgatory, so called from the first word of the first antiphone in the office, 'dirige.'

A 'placebo' was another such like office, or service, so called from the word *placebo*, being the first word of the office.

A 'trental,' from the French *trente*, was a service of thirty masses, said or sung for the dead, or a service performed thirty days after death." See the Romish Horseleach; or an Account of the Charge of Popery to this Nation; (London, 1769,) pp. 199, 200. The folios of the *Manuale ad usum Sarum* (Antv. 1542), are full of the above terms; as page 123, &c.—En.

(2) "Tot quots." The pope sometimes granted a dispensation to hold so many (*tot*) benefices, as (*quot*) together amounted in value to a given sum, without specifying the particular benefices. See Latimer's use of the phrase in this sense, at p. 498 of this volume. It is also so used by Latimer in his Sermon before the Convocation (Sermons, Parker Soc. p. 49). Hutchinson (Parker Soc. Ed. pp. 6, 93) mentions "*tot-quots*," and "*tot-quots of promotions*," in lists of ecclesiastical abuses of the time. Bishop Jewel also mentions "*tot quots*" amongst a variety of other expedients for obtaining money. See his Defence of the Apology; part 6, ch. 23, divis. 2, Parker Soc. Ed. p. 1079.—Ed

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God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work—when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point; what his blessed will and pleasure is; what his infinite great goodness and mercy is; what he hath done for us; how he hath given us his own only dearly beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and also to do; and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they are taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation): and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God; which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know; what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day; how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christ's words shall allow; who shall be the judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke—when (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion (whereof I spake before), it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures which be appointed in the margin,¹ whereupon this talk is grounded, and, by God's grace, he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: "Well," said he, "spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, ye shall ear with your ears, and not understand; and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull; and with their ears they are hard of hearing; and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God."²

Alas! England; alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused

(1) Note here, that these Scriptures were written by master Ridley in the margin, but were not in the copy which we followed

(2) Act xxviii.

him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou bearest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in king Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the king's highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young christian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself; and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for showing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men, of all other, these magistrates then could never abide. Others there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but, alas! all sped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not diminish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of peace, sergeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his): but, for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired; and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he, being of counsel with the dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocrisy and dissimulation St. Jerome doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil), and also falsely it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and unreligiously to come to the holy communion and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal and undersecret devotion which they had aforesaid to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And again, as for our almsdeeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as, he saith himself, he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged and impotent poor needy folk, and

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Cranmer
and
Ridley,
standing
in the
duke of
Somerset's
cause, etc.The corrupt
life
of gospellers
in
king
Edward's
time.Hypocrisy
a double
evil.Slackness
that was
in that
time, to
good
works.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing: in these works, I say, how wayward were many, in comparison, I mean, of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up, and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess, for such godly works in sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor his year began marvellous well. The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun. Amen.

God's
plague
upon
England
justly de-
served.

All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now, with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

He ex-
horteth to
constant
confes-
sion of
Christ.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so that he deny not his Master Christ; or else he is but a castaway, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

Punish-
ment of
heretics,
more
gentle in
the old
time, how
it was
used.

Now then, seeing the doctrine of antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers, alas! are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will, he can make them bow: and also that christian princes in old time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image, but even (as all the world knoweth), after the same manner that both John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death. And Daniel declareth further, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

Therefore if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss, at the last, both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surety for thy soul's health, is that which I shall show thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

Counsel
given in
these
days of
persecu-
tion what
to do.

My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man, than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the persecution of wicked Jezebel. And Christ our Saviour saith in the gospel, "When they persecute you in one city, fly unto another:" and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius.¹ But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it.

Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichrist, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination. Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, "Tunc inquit qui in Judæa sunt, fugiant ad montes." "Then," saith he, mark this Christ's "then," for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this "then" is commanded. "Then," saith Christ, "they that be in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains; and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck; but pray," saith Christ, "that your flight be not in winter, nor on the Sabbath-day."

These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be "in Jewry" spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the gospel of Christ; such as they whom Christ here biddeth in the time of the reign of Antichrist's abominations, to fly unto "the mountains;" which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house-top, "not to come down," and him that is in the field "not to return to take with him his clothes;" he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back; and, for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, "Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck;" women great with child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word "woe" signifieth: all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And whereas Christ saith, "Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day;" in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul; and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the Sabbath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the ways; and also to go far, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day; that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the causes why we should fly, follow in the same place of St. Matthew's gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayest read them there.

And in Revelations xviii. the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, "Fly my people out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell and are come unto the heavens! Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul,

(1) Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, [was elected about A.D. 326; deposed, and re-elected for a time A.D. 349; finally re-established A.D. 364, and died A.D. 373.—Ed.]

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The abomination of desolation set up in England.

Christ commandeth to fly to the mountains.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

that blessed apostle. He plainly forbiddeth us,¹ "to join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful. For what fellowship can there be," saith he, "of righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness, or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God." As God hath said, "I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people." "Wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty God."

Counsel to depart the realm. Doubts whether to fly or to tarry, debated.

This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many, I trust, that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be, peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, "We should counsel a man always to do that, which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardliness. In many things, that which is best for one at sometimes, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run, before he can go." I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O man of God: as I would wish, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister, after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game (that is, to confess the truth of the gospel, and of the christian faith, in hope of everlasting life), should not shrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall; but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day—so likewise I dare not wish nor counsel any, either brother or sister, of their own swinge, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before or further in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is, that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in his Ecclesiastical History) for evermore.³

Presumptuous provocation and rash running in danger forbidden.

But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to fly the infection of the Antichristian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague, truly, agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as they who think otherwise. "Yes," peradventure will some say, "thus it may be: thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayest thou be suffered in the common wealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience. In other countries, somewhere, this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God wot: but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England, in the times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these rites, laws, and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience: for in observing of them, thou

Conscience in religion would not be dissolved.

(1) "Ducere jugum cum incredulis."

(2) 2 Cor. vi.

(3) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 15.

shalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the church, and bare a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with the conjured water?

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of Antichrist's service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre for setting-up and painting of images—nay indeed of idols—and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar, to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of thy household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for "requiem," masses, "dirige," and commendations, and such like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for "amicus Cæsaris?" A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enow to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more, contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, "Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil;"¹ or else, if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

A hard dwelling in England for a good man, either with danger of conscience, or peril of life.

But peradventure (as a man is ready to find, and invent some colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, "Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body. I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?"

O my friend, beware for God's sake; and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David, "Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my sin." Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God; and it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down or to do worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing. And God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers God's word accounteth to be guilty both: and it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Invent not excuses to cloak sin

Confession of mouth must go with belief of heart.

Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man! take heed what thou sayest; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly *καρδιογράφος*, that is to say, "the searcher of the heart." Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. "He that hath my commandments," saith Christ, "and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me:" and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that

To trust in God, what it is.

(1) "Ab omni specie mali, abstinete vos."

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

God hath thy heart after this manner of sort (which is to have thy heart indeed), when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's,¹ and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege, and dost rob God; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. "Do you not know," saith St. Paul, "that your body is a lively temple of God?"² And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely; it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every christian soul? "As you have in times past," saith he, "given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified."³ And I pray thee, good brother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he showed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John, yet, to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know, I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what, I suppose, is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master, the beast of Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his head, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not let to tell thee what, I think, to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of Antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with "tau,"⁴ whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which, for his cruelty and beastly manners, is well called a beast.⁵

The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the Messias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew also there was a promise of Messias, that he should come, and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore. But they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Messias, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory; whereas the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood—of Elias, that he should come not in person, but in spirit, that is, one that should be endued with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles; and of Messias's reign, all the prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias, and the true Messias; and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewise, I fear me, nay it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God ("for the world is not able to receive him," saith John,) neither doth, nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never so beastly, and though his

To bear
the
beast's
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what it is.

See
Appendix.

The li-
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Scripture
made the
Jews in-
fidelis.

The
pope's
marked
men.

(1) 1 Cor. vi.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Rom. vi.

(4) The letter T, or a cross. See Dr. A. Clarke's Comment. on Ezekiel ix.—Ed.

(5) Rev. xiii. xx.

marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say, "O sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can, or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayest away either with the people, or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand," etc.

I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country, I mean out of the whole realm into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke, "If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother," (he meaneth, and will not in His cause forsake his father and mother) "his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple." And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of conscience, to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause layeth it upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some, "Alas! sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and, because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loathe either to look on them, or to hear them. But, sir, alas! I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants, and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas! sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care.

Alas, what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, women with child, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of Antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith, "Woe be to the women with child and travailing women, and women that give suck in those days." For these, alas! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall; and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put his helping hand. Daniel, God suffered to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace; and yet he saved them all. Paul was

*Mary.*A. D.
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*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Exam-
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perils.

plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he saith of himself), and in Asia he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death; and yet he that raiseth the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in troubles for Christ's cause not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

Exam-
ples of
God's de-
liverance.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both Old and New. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but, of all others, Joseph, and how mercifully were they delivered again! In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life! And when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so compassed on every side—the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other—that they could look for none other (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. Those judges, which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speak of the prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micaiah, and Jonas, and many others, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when both the high priest, the pharisees, and rulers of the Jews, had conspired to require judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison; and also more than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, nor man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearsal thereof.

Now to descend from the apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these, and a hundred more, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and in the Tripartite History.

But for all these examples, both of holy Scripture, and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: "All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true; but all these, we must needs grant, were

special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see; and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?"

Well beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times); or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things; or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all others, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth: but God our heavenly Father is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe, and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the prison-door and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero, as the Ecclesiastical History saith; as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison, and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an earthquake, to tremble and shake.

Thinkest thou, O thou man of God! that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr Stephen, because he suffered his enemies even at the first conflict to stone him to death? No surely, nor James, John's brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant's sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of antichrist's time, "And the learned" [he meaneth truly learned in God's law] "shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame," [that is, shall be burned in the flaming fire] "and in captivity," [that is, shall be in prison] "and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season."¹ And after a little in the same place of Daniel it followeth, "And of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white"² [he meaneth, be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty]. If that then was foreseen to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand steadfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

Marg.

A. D.

1555.

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The
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(1) "Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, et ruent in gladio et in flammâ, et in captivitate, et rapinâ dierum, etc. Et de eruditibus ruent ut conflentur et eligantur, et dealbentur," etc. Dan. xi.

(2) Dan. xi.

Mary.
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1555.

Martyr-
dom a
high
honour.

To die in Christ's cause, is a high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, "that they loved not their lives, even unto death."¹ And our Saviour Christ saith, "He that shall lose his life for my cause, shall find it." And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians (as the worldly do wickedly dream), but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them (mark that he said not this to the disciples and apostles only, but he said it to all), "Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it;" [he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, forsake or leave him and his truth]; and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the Gospel's sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and lose his own soul," his own life? "or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul?"² "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my Gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels."³ Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy salvation. "All things," saith Paul, "work with the good to goodness." Even the enemies of God, and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them service.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved the patriarchs to have had such troubles, his prophets, his apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and Gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain. "Of the which some were racked (as the Apostle saith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection; some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewn and cut asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they wandered up and down in sheep's skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated."⁴ They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow-servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

Now, thou, O man of God, for our Lord's sake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, endued with God's Spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, "Come, Lord Jesus, come."⁵ For then when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ: for this our weak body shall be transfigured and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things. Then, that which is now corruptible shall be made incorruptible; that which now is vile shall be made glorious; that which is now weak shall rise then mighty and strong; that which is gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

Who, or what then shall let us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we

(1) Rev. xii.

(2) Matt. xvi.

(3) Mark viii.

(4) Heb. xi.

(5) "Veni Domine Jesu." Rev. xxii.

have here, in Christ's cause? in our Lord God's cause? O thou, therefore, man of God, thou that art loaden, and so letted like unto a woman great with child, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet, if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall, in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christ's cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve and to work with thee unto the best, before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end!

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Nothing
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foresight.

All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called a woman great with child, I mean to be spoken likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause; for such I count to be as it were already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and as it were soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour, that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost which is our comforter and sanctifier of all, unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health; I say unto all these, hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ spoken to his apostles, and meant to all his, in St. Matthew's Gospel, "Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy and cast both body and soul into hell fire. Are not two small sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows. Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven."

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day, before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory, and everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen.

Thus with the death and martyrdom of these two learned pastors and constant soldiers of Christ, master Latimer and bishop Ridley, you have divers of their letters and other writings of theirs expressed, with the farewells also of bishop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his journey to the kingdom of heaven. Divers and sundry other treatises of his remain also in my hand both in Latin and English, to be remembered by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

*About¹ this time suffered William Dighel, most constantly offering his body a burnt-sacrifice unto God, forsaking the world, life and all, for the love of his holy truth. This holy martyr suffered at Banbury in the county of Oxford.

(1) This passage, and the following Profession of Faith, are only extant in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments; respecting the latter, Foxe gives no authority from whence he derived it. It is called, "*Brevis Descriptio Professionis Fidei Christianæ in comitiis Petruolita, vulgo Prel-kan Ptegatos, regni Polonia; facta tertio die Maii, 1555.* Omnes in peccato orti et nati sumus, et omnes intelligentiæ humanæ sicut tenebræ; ita ut nedum Dei tantum, sed ne nostri cogitationem habere possimus. Proinde dedit Deus decem precepta legis, ut ex eis veluti caligantes oculi nostri aperiantur et illustrentur, ex illisque humanam infirmitatem agnoscamus," etc. See Edition 1563, pp. 1238, 1239.—E.D.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*

A brief Description of the Profession of the Christian Faith, agreed upon and made at Peternot,¹ commonly called Pretkan Plegatose, of the Kingdom of Poland; the third of May, A. D. 1555: translated out of Latin into English.

All men have their beginning and be born in sin, and all men's understandings be as darkness, so that we cannot have a thought, not only of God, but neither of ourselves; wherefore God gave the Ten Commandments of the Law, that, by them, our blind eyes, as it were, might be opened and made bright, and by the same we might know man's infirmity.²

Therefore Christ came that he might manifest God unto us, and his will: wherefore Christ is the light of this world, whom whoso followeth, and swerveth not from his word, he walketh in the eternal light.

This only Doctor and Schoolmaster, that eternal God of the world, commanded us to hear and follow, forasmuch as that Son of God cannot lie; and whosoever follow not his word, although they be most mighty and wise, they all be liars.

He hath manifested unto us all things that seem to pertain unto eternal salvation; without him, no man may be acceptable before God.

Unto him all the prophets do ascribe and bear witness that such as believe in the Son are blessed: he aloue hath made us free from the wrath of God, because, by our works, we deserve not the same, neither is there any thing under heaven that may save us besides him.

Therefore whosoever doth attribute salvation and due praises to any other, but only to Christ, is guilty of blasphemy against God.

This the Son of God doth attribute to the merit of his passion by the gospel (which ought to be preached unto every person in his own mother tongue), and, by the sacraments, unto the believers of his word: that is, by baptism, and by the use of his body and blood which was shed for the remission of our sins.

In these sacraments the covenant of the Lord is sealed up unto us, which, whosoever will change, is accursed.³

In none other place verily we find a sacrament, but where it is tied to the word of God: for the traditions of men not agreeing to the word, be idolatries; specially when they be set in God's place.

This also we have learned out of the commandments of Christ,⁴ that only God is to be worshipped,⁵ who alone is the searcher of the hearts;⁶ which is proper to no creature; and we have a commandment in the old law: He that worshippeth another God besides this, let him suffer death.⁷ Unto this God we have none other Mediator and Intercessor, besides Jesus Christ.⁸ It is evident therefore that God is not bound by the word unto images and figures.

The sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's supper do offer unto the believers the remission of sins; besides these the Christians use none other.⁹

Other godly ordinances, as matrimony, the confirmation of the ministers of the church [etc.], do not bring unto us the remission of sins, which be inferior dignities; albeit we do not despise them. We deny that oblation should be made for the dead; for if, when they were alive, they knew and praised God, where they ought, they are saved; otherwise, contrary, the masses and diriges, and such other trifles, can do them no good. Of this the word of God testifieth: "He that believeth in the Son of God shall not be damned."¹⁰

Paul forbiddeth us to be careful for them that be dead.¹¹ While we are in this world it is certain we may help one another as well with prayers as with counsels, but when we shall come before the throne of God, neither Job, neither Daniel, neither Noah, shall pray for any person, but every man shall bear his own burden. Here life is either lost or gotten; here provision is made for us of eternal salvation, by the worship of God, and by faith: after this life there is no place of repentance, neither of any satisfaction. There is none other place but in this life to correct our affections and manners, for after

(1) Petricow, Petercaw, or Piotrkow, a small commercial town in Poland, where the kings were elected and the diets held.

(2) Psalm l. Tobit i. Rom. iii. Gal. iii. Matt. ii. 1 Cor. x. (3) Gal. i.
 (4) Matt. xxv. (5) 2 Kings viii. (6) Jer. xvii. (7) Exod. xxii.
 (8) John xiv. 1 Tim. ii. (9) Bernardus "De Cœnâ Domini." (10) John iii. (11) 1 Thess. iv

this life every person shall have that, which, in the same, he hath purchased to himself.

All the catholic faith, by the authority of Scripture, believeth the kingdom of heaven to be the first place from whence he that is not baptized is to be excluded utterly: we acknowledge no third place, yea, neither do we find it to be in the holy Scriptures.

We hold God's most holy word and commandment; but of the traditions of men, this God speaketh: "They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men." Also, "Every plantation which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out."*

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The Death and End of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester,

THE ENEMY OF GOD'S WORD.

The next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and master Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life: concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of which man, forso much as somewhat hath been declared before in the story of king Edward's reign, I shall need therefore the less now to stand greatly upon the same. First, this viper's bird, crept out of the town of Bury in Suffolk, was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himself wanted to the goodness of his gifts. Through this promptness, activity, and towardness of his, he profited not a little in such studies as he gave his head unto, as first in the civil law, then in languages and such other like, especially in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helps of nature, memory chiefly seemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of study.

To these gifts and qualities were joined again as great or greater vices, which not so much followed him, as overtook him; not so much burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole realm. He was of a proud stomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle; toward his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equal stout and envious, namely, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him, as appeared between the good lord Cromwell and him in the reign of king Henry, being of like haughtiness of stomach as the poets write of Pelides,¹ "cedere nescius:" who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithstanding I wish he would have given place to truth, according as he seemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evident partly to understand as well by his book "De verâ Obedientiâ;"² as also by his sermon before king Edward. Also by his answers to the council the same time, and moreover by his own words

The vices
of Win-
chester
descr. bed.

(1) Hor. Od. lib. i. Ode vi.—Ed.

(2) Stephani Winton. Episc. De Verâ Obedientiâ Oratio; 1535. An edition appeared, also bearing the imprint of Hamburg in 4to, and another in 8vo. at Strasburg, both in 1536. See Dibdin's Typogr. Ant. III. 292; Panzer's Annales Typogr. VII. 118; Schelhorn's Amœnit. Eccles. I. 837; and Mr. Stevens' Memoirs of Bradford for a translation, Append. LXIV. &c.—Ed.

Mary. it may be gathered in sundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

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Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whose profession was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him so stiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here speak of that which hath been constantly reported to me touching the monstrous making and mishaped fashion of his feet and toes, the nails whereof were said not to be like to other men's, but to crook downward, and to be sharp like the claws of ravening beasts. What his learning was in the civil and canon law I have not to say. What it was in other liberal sciences and arts, this I suppose, that neither his continuance in study, nor diligence of reading was such (by reason of his too much intermeddling in prince's matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what learning or cunning soever it was he had, so it fared in him, as it doth in butchers, which use to blow up their flesh: even so he with boldness and stoutness, and specially with authority, made those gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, peradventure, use also, and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickness of wit, or happiness of education.

Winchester not worthy the title of a learned man.

The mutability of Gardiner in religion.

And as touching divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, to swear and forswear, so as he did. For first in the beginning of queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief agent in the behalf of the lady Anne? by whom also he was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, as Edward Bonner was preferred¹ to the bishopric of London. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who so ready to swear or so vehement to write against the pope as he, as not only by his sermons, but also by his book "De Obedientia" may appear? in which book "De Obedientia," lest any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declareth how, not rashly nor upon a sudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment; whereof read before. And moreover, so he uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the pope, that, coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted for a person excommunicate and a schismatic, insomuch that he was not permitted in their church to say mass; and moreover, in their public sermons they openly cried out against him.² Whereof read hereafter following.³

The first turning of Winchester from the gospel, and why.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester, during all the time and reign of queen Anne? After

(1) "Preferred" by the lord Cromwell.—Ed.

(2) Touching the doings of Winchester at Louvain, read the letter of Driander to Crispin. [See vol. vi. p. 139.—Ed.]

(3) Also in vol. vi. of this Edition, in the Process against Gardiner.—Ed.

her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his so much favouring of Bonner, whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide, made him an utter enemy both against him, and also his religion: till again, in king Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and somewhat to smell of the gospel, as both by his sermon before king Edward, as also by his subscribing to certain articles, may appear. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel, and, no doubt, he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset clean turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel persecutor to his dying day.

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Another half turn from popery to the gospel.
Winchester turned to a full papist.

And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Stephen Gardiner's popish divinity. In which his popish trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or else time, or rather the spirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to say; and so much the more doubtful, because in his doings and writings a man may see him not only contrary to himself, but also in some points contrary to other papists. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he seemeth therein not so much to follow his own sense, as the mind and meaning of Perseus;¹ out of whose book the greatest part of Winchester's divinity seemeth to be borrowed.

Winchester never constant in himself, nor agreeing with other papists.

A great part of his divinity is in Perseus.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and scripture he appeareth nobody; so in his pen and style of writing no less far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainness and perspicuity: in whose obscure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no reader find any sweetness in his reading.

Winchester's style unpleasant.

What moved him to be so sturdy against master Cheke, and sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they please: I speak but what I think, that so he did, for that he saw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that man, as it seemeth, that of purpose he ever affected to seem to be a patron of old customs, though they were never so rotten with age. Amongst other matters, this one thing I cannot but smile at in my mind, when I see how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himself (as well in his letters to the lord protector, and others of king Edward's council, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners) of the high favour he had of the noble king of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, when indeed nothing was less true; neither did the king less favour any of his council than him, affirming very often, that he greatly suspected the said bishop to be a secret maintainer of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of religion. And therefore he did so much dislike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had sent

(1) This was Martín Perez de Ayala, a Spanish theologian. He accompanied his patron, Don Francis a Mendoza, after having been his confessor and coadjutor in the bishopric of Jaen, into Italy, and afterwards staid for some years in Louvain, Worms, and Antwerp, where he commenced the work, to which Gardiner may have been indebted, "De divinis, apostolicis, atque eccles. Traditionibus libri decem;" Coloniae 1549. He died in 1566, archbishop of Valencia. Antonio Biblioth. Hisp. nova; tom. ii. p. 107. Matriti, 1788.—Ed.

Mary. his highness longer life) to have used the extremity of law against
A. D. him, upon very sore and just matter of old, committed by him, and
1555. yet not taken away by any pardon, commanding thereupon often the
 lord Paget, then his secretary, to keep safe certain writings which he
 had against him; but also commanded that he should be put clean
 out of his last will and testament, not suffering him either to be any
 of his executors, or else in any case of his son's council (no, although
 he were earnestly entreated to the contrary by sundry of the lords
 and others of his highness's council), saying, he was a wilful, trouble-
 some, and headstrong man, and not meet to be about his son, or to
 have any thing to do by his will.

Now amongst other causes that moved the king thus to suspect his
 fidelity towards his godly proceedings in religion, I find this to be
 one. It pleased his majesty, after his abolishing of the bishop of
 Rome's usurped authority, (amongst other embassages to foreign
 princes,) to send the said bishop of Winchester, and sir Henry
 Knivet knight, as joint ambassadors to the emperor, being then at
 a diet or council at Ratisbon, appointing also sir John Barkley,¹
 sir William Blunt, knights, and master Andrew Beynton esquire
 (his highness's servants), to give their attendance upon the said
 sir Henry Knivet, for the more honouring of his embassy. It
 happened also at that time, that sir Henry Knivet entertained
 into his service, as steward of his household, one William Wolfe,
 who had in the same place and room before served sir Thomas
 Wyat, knight, the king's former ambassador there, and by that
 means had good acquaintance in those parts, as well in the emperor's
 court, as elsewhere.² This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet
 or council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the emperor's
 palace to hear some news, where he met with one Ludovico, an
 Italian merchant, a banker, one of his old acquaintance; who, sup-
 posing the said Wolfe to have attended upon the bishop of Win-
 chester (not knowing of any other joint ambassador), required Wolfe
 for old acquaintance, to do him a pleasure; whereunto he willingly
 granted. Whereupon Ludovico showed him that the pope's legate
 or ambassador to the emperor (which was cardinal Contarini³), de-
 parting the day before towards Rome, and having no leisure to end
 his business himself, had put the said Ludovico in trust for the
 accomplishing of it; and amongst all other things he had espe-
 cially charged him, that he should repair to the ambassador of Eng-
 land, and require of him an answer of the pope's letters, which the
 legate did of late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome; and
 that upon the receipt thereof he should send them after with all
 speed; and therefore, if his lord ambassador would write by that
 courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for

(1) Spelt Bartley in the depositions. See next note.—Ed.

(2) This narrative has been anticipated in the Twentieth Session against Gardiner, vol. vi. pp. 165—168, where the depositions of Beynton and Chaloner are reprinted from the first edition.—Ed.

(3) Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, bishop of Belluno, was much employed in negotiations amongst the Protestants previous to the Council of Trent; in the conducting of which he did not proceed with so much dogmatism as was thought proper at Rome, and accordingly fell under suspicion of heresy. Sleidan, lib. xiv (anno 1542), pp. 280, 281, vol. ii. edit. Franc. 1786. His name appears first amongst the signatures to the celebrated "Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia," addressed by certain cardinals and other prelates to Paul III., upon his own suggestion, in 1538; and from this and other portions of his history it is evident that he was not voluntarily altogether a *Romish* bishop. He died legate of Bologna in 1542. See Dupin, cent. 16, book iii, pp. 429 and 462; Schelhorn's "Epistola ad Card. Quirini de Consilio de Emend. Ecclesia," (Tiguri, 1743); and Rivet, Cath. Orthod., tract iv. Quest. 2. § 12.—Ed.

the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abashed, and yet partly guessing which ambassador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whose servant he was, but by other soothing talk perceived that he meant the bishop of Winchester. And to the end that Ludovico should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he, being not the ambassador's secretary, could say little therein; howbeit he would not miss to put his secretary in remembrance of it (which thing Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambassador); and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he did straightways reveal it to sir Henry Knivet his master; who, weighing also the greatness of the ease, and what disadvantage it were upon one man's so bare a report to attempt aught, in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, that he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. "But sir," quoth he, "if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some other of your servants shall hear the like words at Ludovico's own mouth, as well as I." Upon which talk sir Henry Knivet devised which of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon master Thomas Chaloner his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue: not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chaloner's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the piazza, or market-stead, which he, gladly granting, so did; not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the piazza, over against the emperor's palace (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged), and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and, espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, Chaloner being still with them. At last, upon occasion, they entered into like talk about the former letters that the ambassador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an answer, affirming, that the post did depart the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambassador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, that he would willingly do it: but he did not well know which ambassador he meant, for that there were two, one the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, that he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and more such like (as upon the former day), master Chaloner, being moved (and not knowing yet of his master's and Wolfe's purpose), after the departure of Ludovico from them said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, "Do as you will, if you think any

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matter therein." And therefore at his return home, he told sir Henry Knivet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth. Sir Henry Knivet, being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to sir John Barkley, sir William Blunt, and to master Beynton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof, and therefore devised that Wolfe should procure Ludovico to bring certain velvet, and other silks, unto sir Henry Knivet's lodging, as well for himself, as for the other gentlemen; which that afternoon he did accomplish, and brought Ludovico unto sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had awhile viewed the silks, and had had some talk about the prices, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovico, if sir Henry were the ambassador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, "No, it was not his seigniory, but it was a bishop," terming him "reverendissimo," whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knivet hereupon, somewhat dissembling the matter, entered into further talk thereabout, whereby Ludovico opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe: but yet at last, perceiving that as well sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen, did behold him somewhat fixedly, he brake off his talk; wherewith sir Henry Knivet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly dismiss him, praying him that when he had received the bishop's letters, he would also repair to him for a packet to an English gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promised to do, and so departed again. When sir Henry had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the meanwhile Ludovico the next morning repaired unto the bishop of Winchester's lodging, to demand an answer of those letters the legate had sent unto him: but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the talk he had with sir Henry Knivet and with Wolfe, whom he supposed at the first to be the bishop's man, it is not certainly known. But the bishop (perceiving that by mistaking one for another, and in supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant, Ludovico had uttered all his message from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light), in great hasty rage, caused Ludovico to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to Granuella, one of the emperor's council, and so practised with him, that Ludovico was secretly committed unto prison, in the custody of one of the emperor's marshals, so as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then, sending in great haste to sir Henry Knivet to come and speak with him (which he did), he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he understood it; and prayed him that Ludovico might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their presences; which the bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming that he had so declared the case to Granuella, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovico, nor speak with him; but that the emperor's council should examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom sir Henry Knivet

again very earnestly objected, that he marvelled that the bishop, in matter touching the king's majesty, their master, would use the aid or means of Granuella, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of Ludovico any more ever after. Whereupon there rose great and long controversies between them (both writing letters unto the king about that matter), until at last the king's majesty, perceiving his affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both, that they should lay all those things under foot, and join together in his service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this matter was afterward salved here with the king's majesty, as either by the death of sir Henry Knivet (which I think was not long after), or by other friends the bishop had here at home, I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two months after died of a long cough of the lungs, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premises to be most true; and therefore, in the presence of sir Henry Knivet, and divers other of his servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought, or procured this at Ludovico's hands, for any malice or displeasure borne to the bishop, but only for discharge of his faith and duty unto the king's majesty, desiring that the same his protestation might be inserted in the end of his last will and testament, which was then presently done; and thereunto he set his hand.¹

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved so often master secretary Paget (being after lord-keeper) to keep safe as some matter against the bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some depositions of the nobility, and others, in the process against him had in king Edward's days, that the king's majesty, Henry the Eighth, had this matter ever in his mind; for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did still except all treasons committed beyond the seas: meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his majesty would call him to account. And therefore all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with king Henry his master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fool's paradise by the lord Paget; who (as he himself reporteth in his depositions), in his messages from the king to the said bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the king had spoken, and concealing always the king's hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraso not a little. All which premises appear more at large by the depositions of the nobles and others, examined in the long process against him in king Edward's reign, as appears in our first edition of Acts and Monuments, from page 804 unto the end of that process, in that book at large mentioned.²

But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord there-for: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the Six

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Gardiner especially hunted for the life of the lady Elizabeth.

(1) See vol. vi. p. 168.—Ed.

(2) See also vol. vi. pp. 143 to 264

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Articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, etc., also as, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass, in murdering also our noble queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did, no doubt, proceed from that bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only Lord's most gracious counsel, through master Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices; for the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches. Amen.

Master Bridges, lieutenant of the tower, the Lord's organ in saving the lady Elizabeth's life.

Of things uncertain, I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or else peradventure they be in the realm that can say more than here I have expressed. For as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death: so this bishop, for his part, bent all his devices, and had spent all his powder, in assailing the root, and in casting such a platform (as he himself in words at his death is said to confess) to build his popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever and a day. But, as I said before, of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he showed; whether he died with his tongue swollen and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, or whether he stank before he died, as cardinal Wolsey did; or whether he died in despair, as Latomus and others did, etc.: all this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury.

Notwithstanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foresaid bishop, I thought not to overpass a certain hearsay, which not long since came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible gentlewoman, and another gentleman of the same name and kindred, which Mrs. Munday,¹ being the wife of one master Munday, secretary sometime to the old lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing yet office in this city, in words and effect as followeth:

"The same day, when bishop Ridley and master Latimer suffered at Oxford (being about the 16th day of October), there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk,¹ with the foresaid master Munday his secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the bishop, being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock, cometh his servant, posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen: of

See Appendix.

(1) Foxe is incautious in relating this from mere "hearsay;" as the incident could not have occurred to the old duke of Norfolk, who died on the 25th of August, 1554.—E.

whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke, "Now," saith he, "let us go to dinner." Whereupon, they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed; where he continued the space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that meanwhile, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid, by urine or otherwise, anything that he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed within (who had inflamed so many good martyrs before), was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burning persecutors.

But to proceed farther in the sequel of our story: I could name the man (but I abstain from names), who, being then present, and a great doer about the said Winchester, reported to us concerning the said bishop, that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Winchester hearing that, "What, my lord," quoth he, "will you open that gap now? then farewell altogether. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether!"

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words passed between them about the time of his extremity;—betwixt Gardiner and him be it. If Bonner did there behold anything which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph which was made of his death, devised of a papist for a popish bishop, but I pretermit it, and instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his sermons, words, and writings; wherein may appear first, what an earnest and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been constant in himself; then how inconstantly he varied from himself; and thirdly, how he, standing upon a singularity of his own wit, varied also from other papists in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be some pains, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to pretermit the same, upon certain considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this day there be, which stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a doughty pillar of the pope's church. To the intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, sermons, writings, disputations; or else will be judged by his own witnesses of his own party produced, we have here collected such manifest probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the pope's supremacy: and likewise afterwards may declare manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said Gardiner, first with

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

*See
Appendix*

Mary. other writers, and lastly with himself: first beginning with his sermon
 A. D. 1555. preached before king Edward, the sum and effect of which sermon,
 briefly collected by master Udall, is before to be seen; and having
 Gardiner agreeing to reformation of religion, how far, and wherein. comprised the sum and chief purpose of his sermon, with other such
 matter above storied (wherein may appear the double-faced doings of
 this bishop in matters of religion), now, for the more fortification of
 that which hath been said, if any shall deny this foresaid sermon, or
 any part thereof to be true, to confirm therefore the same, we will
 here adjoin certain brief notes and specialties in manner of a sum-
 mary table, collected as well out of the testimonies and depositions
 of his own friends and servants, and others who were sworn truly to
 declare their knowledge in this behalf, as also out of his own writings
 and works agreeing with the same. In all which foresaid allegations
 it may remain notorious and famous to all men, how, in what points,
 and how far, the said bishop of Winchester agreed with the reforma-
 tion of religion received, not only in king Henry's, but also in king
 Edward's days.

And because it would be long, and a double labour to repeat all
 the words and testimonial sayings of every witness particularly, the
 same being expressed sufficiently in our first impression before, it
 shall therefore suffice, by quotations, briefly to assign the place to
 the reader, where he may find all those points of reformation,
 whereunto the said bishop Gardiner fully agreed with the doctrine
 now received; and, first, notwithstanding the pope's supremacy, as
 is hereunder noted.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY IMPUGNED BY BISHOP GARDINER IN
 HIS BOOKS AND SERMONS.

First, as touching the confession and judgment of Stephen Gar-
 diner against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, read in his book
 "De verâ Obedientiâ," folio 6.

Item, Concerning the disputations and defensions of bishop Gar-
 diner at Louvain, against the pope's supremacy, read in our first
 impression, page 802;² also in these present volumes.

Item, How the said bishop Gardiner taught, in his sermons and
 preachings; as where he expoundeth the place "Tu es Petrus," nothing
 at all to make for the authority of the Romish bishop, marvelling how

(1) For this sermon, reprinted from the First Edition, see vol. vi. pp. 87—93. A few of the side-
 notes which Foxe added in the later editions, are here preserved. At page 89, line 6, Gardiner
 had said, "But we must confess and believe him thoroughly, I say; for as he was our bishop
 then, so is it he, that still keepeth us in favour with God. And like as his sacrifice, then made,
 was sufficient for us, to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so, to con-
 tinue us in the same favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself." To this
 Foxe says, "Note here Winchester: the sacrament was ordained to keep us in the perpetual favour
 of God." At page 89, line 18, Gardiner had said, "And this daily sacrifice he instituted to be
 continued amongst christian men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the sins of
 the world (for that was sufficiently performed by his sacrifice of his body and blood, done upon the
 cross), neither that he be now our bishop, for need of any further sacrifice to be made for sin, but to
 continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us," etc. To this Foxe says, "Note here
 Winchester, contrary to himself; for before, he had said, 'the sacrament was ordained to keep us in
 the favour of God;' and now he saith 'it is to keep us in remembrance of his passion.'" At page 89,
 line 58, Gardiner had said, "If chaurtries were abused by applying the mass for the satisfaction
 of sin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men, if wicked, just, I like the
 act well, and they might well be dissolved: for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose."
 To this Foxe says, "Note, Winchester doth not allow mass for satisfaction to bring men to heaven,
 to take away sin, or to make men just," etc. And Gardiner having subsequently said of chaurtries,
 "If there were any such abuse in them concerning the mass, it is no matter if they be taken away:"
 Foxe adds, "as there were indeed masses of scala cœli." Foxe presently after has this remark,
 "Winchester craftily speaketh against the abuse of the mass, not against the mass."—Ed.

(2) "Our First Impression," called also "the Old Book," that is, The First Edition of the Acts
 and Monuments; page 802 of which corresponds with Vol. VI. page 138 of this Edition.—Ed.

the pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his church, read in the places in the old book ;¹ and in the depositions of Dr. Redman.²

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Item, How the confession of Peter was the confession of all the apostles, like as the blessing given to Peter pertained as well to all the apostles as to Peter.³

Item, That the place, "Pasee oves meas," was not special to Peter alone, but general to all the apostles. Also that the Greek church did never receive the said bishop of Rome for their universal head, read in the same book.⁴

Item, That the authority of the bishop of Rome was not received of the most part of christian princes, read the depositions of sir Thomas Smith.⁵

Item, How the said bishop Gardiner would not grant that the said authority was received generally.⁶

Item, That the church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter, read the depositions of Robert Willanton.⁷

And that though Peter was called "princeps apostolorum," that was nothing else, but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that company, but because he speaketh first, read in the deposition of master Basset.⁸

The
headman
of in-
quest.

Item, That when the keys were given, they were given generally to all the apostles, read the depositions of Robert Willanton.⁹

Item, How the said bishop taketh away all such scriptures which are thought to serve for the pope's supremacy, as "super hanc petram," "pasee oves meas," "princeps apostolorum," etc., proving that they serve nothing for his authority, read likewise in the same book in the depositions of master Basset, his own servant.¹⁰

Item, How the said bishop in his book "De verâ Obedientiâ," did not only write against the pope's supremacy, but also did defend the same at Louvain.¹¹ And moreover, in his sermons did allege and preach the same, and that also vehemently,¹² pithily,¹³ earnestly,¹⁴ very earnestly,¹⁵ very forwardly.¹⁶

And he not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly, and forwardly preach himself against the pope's supremacy, but also did cause master White (then schoolmaster, afterward bishop of Winchester) to make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy against the usurped power of the pope, encouraging also his scholars to do the like. Read the depositions of John White, schoolmaster of Winchester.¹⁷

Verses
written
against
the pope.

Item, How he, for the space of fourteen years together, preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before king Henry, read the depositions of John Potinger.¹⁸

Win-
chester
against
the pope's
authority.

PLACES NOTED, WHEREIN BISHOP GARDINER IMPUGNED CEREMONIES, MONKERY, IMAGES, CHANTRIES, ETC.

Item, For ceremonies and images which were abused, to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his

- (1) See this Edition, vol. vi. pp. 222, 223, 225.—Ed. (2) Ibid. p. 237.—Ed.
 (3) Ibid. p. 225.—Ed. (4) Ibid. pp. 225, 204.—Ed. (5) Ibid. p. 186.—Ed.
 (6) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed. (7) Ibid. p. 204.—Ed. (8) Ibid. pp. 232, 204.—Ed.
 (9) Ibid. p. 204.—Ed. (10) Ibid. p. 232.—Ed. (11) Ibid. p. 140.—Ed.
 (12) Ibid. p. 232.—Ed. (13) Ibid. p. 223.—Ed. (14) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed.
 (15) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed. (16) Ibid. p. 186.—Ed. (17) Ibid. p. 223.—Ed. (18) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed

Mary. book taken from him, when he abuseth it, or delighteth only in the golden cover. Read in the foresaid old book the depositions of Christopher Malton.¹

A.D.
1555.

Item, The dissolving of monasteries and religious houses, he alloweth and granteth that they were justly suppressed. Read the depositions of Dr. Weston.²

Images
abused.

Concerning images being by king Edward's injunctions abolished, how the said bishop exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith, read the depositions of W. Lorking.³

Monks
and friars.

Monks and friars he calleth flattering knaves. Read the depositions of sir Thomas Smith.⁴

Friars he never liked in all his life.⁵ Monks he counted but belly-gods.⁶

Going
about to
St. Nicholas,
etc.
Chantry
obits.

The going about of St. Nicholas,⁷ St. Katherine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth to be children's toys.⁸

The taking away or transposing of chantry-obits, he referreth to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that if they did dissolve them, it might well be done. Read the depositions of master Basset, his own servant.⁹

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use, and that monasteries were justly taken away. Read the depositions of George Bullock.¹⁰

Days,
hours,
number,
time, and
place, etc.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order: but, if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not available but by observing thereof, it is an error. Read the depositions of Dr. Redman.¹¹

The communion set out by king Edward he liketh well.¹²

The
book of
common
service.

The book of Common Service he was content both to keep himself, and cause it to be kept of others. Read the depositions of the duke of Somerset.¹³

Homilies.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the church to hear them. Read the depositions of master Potinger his own servant.¹⁴

In sum, to all injunctions, statutes, and proclamations set forth by the king and superior powers, he yielded and granted. Read in the depositions of George Bullock.¹⁵

Item, Cardinal Pole coming to the French king, to stir him up against England, Winchester caused him to be expelled out of France. Witness Cutlibert, bishop of Durham.¹⁶

Item, The said Winchester sworn against the pope by express clauses in his proxy. Read in the depositions of John Cook, registrar.¹⁷

(1) See this Edition, vol. vi. pp. 230, 224.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. pp. 222, 205, 233.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. p. 211.—Ed.

(4) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed.

(5) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed.

(6) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed.

(7) St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra in the fourth century, was disposed so early in life to conform to ecclesiastical rule, that when an infant at the breast, he fasted on Wednesday and Friday, and sucked but once on each of those days, and that towards night. (Ribdeneira's Lives of the Saints, vol. ii. p. 503, Edit. 1730.) In the Salisbury Missal of 1534, fol. xxvii., there is an engraving of the bishop with some children rising from a tub, into which their mangled limbs had been thrown, after having been cut up by an innkeeper, who intended to sell them for pickled pork: St. Nicholas brought them all to life again! and hence he became the patron of scholars (for the young gentlemen were on their way to *school*), who represented religious plays, and personated the boy bishop. See Life of St. Nicholas, 3d edit., Naples, 1645, quoted in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlvii. p. 158; Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. i. p. 325; and Hone's "Ancient Mysteries," pp. 193, 194.—Ed.

(8) See this Edition, vol. vi. p. 187.—Ed.

(9) Ibid. p. 232.—Ed.

(10) Ibid. p. 225.—Ed.

(11) Ibid. pp. 238, 239.—Ed.

(12) Ibid. p. 197, 239.—Ed.

(13) Ibid. p. 169.—Ed.

(14) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed.

(15) Ibid. p. 225.—Ed.

(16) Ibid. p. 189.—Ed.

(17) Ibid. p. 251.—Ed.

Now, gentle reader, lay these writings, preachings, and doings of this bishop in the days of king Henry and king Edward, with his doings in queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured and false, and far differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain English book,¹ set out in queen Mary's time, which saith that there were three only in England, whose conscience had been never distained in religion: of whom he falsely saith, the foresaid bishop of Winchester was one.

Although Bishop Gardiner, in granting to these points of religion (as ye have heard) and some others again denying, could not therefore deserve the name and fame of a perfect Christian: yet notwithstanding, if he had continued in his judgment still, and been constant in himself, he might have won more commendation both with God and man. But as soon as the time began to alter, he likewise, altering with the time, was so far changed from that he seemed, that neither he agreed with other papists nor yet with himself, as Dr. Ridley in certain treatises hath noted well of him: wherein, as in a glass may be seen the manifest contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of God's blessed word, but also how the said bishop, standing so much in a singularity by himself, neither agreeth with other his fellow-writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himself in certain cases of the sacrament, as the foresaid Dr. Ridley, in examining his words and works, hath well set out in this table hereunder ensuing.

Mary.
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1555.

Winchester neither agreeth with the Protestants in the gospel, neither in popery with the Papists, neither with himself.

To the Reader.

Forasmuch, good reader, as our adversaries, that is the Romish Catholics, as Lindanus,² Pighius, Gardiner, with others more, are wont so greatly to charge us with dissension and repugnance among ourselves, for the same cause I have thought good, especially having here in hand the story of Winchester, to set forth to the eyes of men a brief treatise of Dr. Ridley, wherein, as in a glass, you may see, and that by his own words and in his own works, the manifest contrariety and repugnance of the said Winchester: first, with other writers; secondly, with himself, in the matter of the sacrament; thirdly, herein thou mayest see and understand how far and wherein not only he disagreeeth from his own profession, but also granteth and agreeth with sundry of our assertions in the said matter; as by reading thereof, thou mayest see and perceive more at large.

CERTAIN MATTERS WHEREIN STEPHEN GARDINER BISHOP OF WINCHESTER VARIETH FROM OTHER OF THE PAPISTS, TOUCHING THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Other Catholics say, that the body of Christ is made of bread. Thomas vult, ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia;³ Winchester saith,

(1) The book of John Elder, sent into Scotland.

(2) The following may be mentioned as a specimen of such writings: "De M. Lutheri et aliorum sectariorum varietate opuscula; item Guil. Lindani hereseon tabulæ;" Coloniae, 1579.--ED.

(3) Quest. 75, art. 8.

See
Appendix

Marg. that the body of Christ is not made of the matter of bread, nor ever was so taught, but is made present of bread.¹

A. D. 1555. Confutation of Winchester against Cranmer.²

2. Winchester saith, that Christ called bread his body, when he said, "This is my body."³ And in the Devil's Sophistry.⁴ Others say contrary.⁵

Winchester saith, that "bread is my body," is as much as to say, "bread is made my body." And so he taketh "*est*" for "*fit*."⁶ Others say that "*est*" is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for "*is*," and not for "*is made*."⁷

Winchester saith, that Christ is present in the sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same signification that he is in heaven.⁸

3. Winchester saith also, that when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body which hath both form and quantity.⁹ Smith saith, that Christ's body in the sacrament hath not its proper form and quantity, fol. 106. And the contrary he saith, fol. 105.¹⁰

4. Winchester saith, we believe simply that Christ is naturally and corporally in the sacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding.¹¹ Smith saith, we say that Christ's body is in the sacrament against nature, with all its qualities and accidents.¹²

5. Winchester saith, that God's works be all seemliness without confusion, although he cannot locally distinguish Christ's head from his feet, nor his legs from his arms.¹³ Others say, that Christ's head and feet, and other parts, be not indeed locally distinct in the sacrament, but be so confounded, that wheresoever one is, there be all the rest.¹⁴

Winchester saith, that Christ's body is in the sacrament sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally.¹⁵ Others say contrary.¹⁶

7. Others say that Christ's feet in the sacrament be there where his head is. Winchester saith, that whosoever saith so, may be called mad.¹⁷

8. Others say, that corporally Christ goeth into the mouth or stomach, and no further.¹⁸ He saith contrary.¹⁹

9. Winchester saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ.²⁰ Others say contrary.²¹

10. Winchester saith, that no creature can eat the body of Christ, but only man.²² Others say clean contrary: Thomas, "*Hoc derogat (inquit) veritati corporis Christi.*"²³ Perin,²⁴ in his sermon of the

(1) Page 89, line 8; p. 228. l. 44.

(2) This Confutation, with leaf and line here assigned, is in Cranmer's book against Winchester.

(3) P. 292, l. 19.

(4) Fol. 27.

(5) See Smith, fol. 53. Marc. Anton. object. 13, 14, 20.

(6) P. 333, l. 25; p. 120, l. 23, 28, 30. Confutation.

(7) Marc. Anton. fol. 171, fac. 2.

(8) P. 161, l. 6. Confutation.

(9) Simpliciter sermonis sequenter, etc. vid. fol. 171: p. 81, l. 5; Marc. Ant. object. 77.

(10) Chedsey in disputatione cum Petro Mart. Foi. 41, fac. 2.

(11) P. 367, l. 41.

(12) Fol. 105.

(13) P. 70, l. 5, 13, 14; p. 69, l. 34. Confutation.

(14) Tert. parte sum. q. 76, art. 3. Inno. iii. lib. 4, cap. 8.

(15) P. 181, l. 13, 22, etc. Confutation.

(16) Smith, fol. 39.

(17) P. 70, l. 13, 14. Confutation.

(18) Bonaventura, Hugo, Innocent 3, lib. 4, cap. 15. [fol. 61. "de Sacro Altaris Mysterio," Lipsia: 1534.] Glos. de consecrat, dist. 2, § 23, cap. "tribus" et in glos. "Miscere." Thom. parte 3, quaest. 80, art. 3. "Tamdiu manet dum est in digestionem." Smith, fol. 64.

(19) P. 59, l. 30, and p. 60, l. 3, 8, 12. Confutation.

(20) P. 64, l. 22. Confutation.

(21) Smith, fol. 64, etc. as before in the seventh line above.

(22) P. 75, l. 24. Confutation.

(23) Part 3, q. 8, art. 3.

(24) "Three godly and notable Sermons, by W. Peryn. Imprinted by Nicolas Hyll;" 8vo. London. 1546. See Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, 4. 230.—Ed.

Sacrament: "What inconvenience is it though the impassible body lie in the mouth or maw of the beast," etc. Magister Sententiarum, qui dicit corpus Christi non posse à mure manducari aut à bruto, is condemned.¹

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

11. Winchester saith, that an unrepentant sinner receiving the sacrament, hath not Christ's body nor spirit within him.² Smith saith, that he hath Christ's body and spirit within him.³

12. Winchester saith, that of the figure it may not be said, "Adore it, worship it;" and that it is not to be adored which the bodily eye seeth:⁴ "Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis." Smith saith contrary.⁵

13. Winchester saith, that reason will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough.⁶ Smith saith that transubstantiation is against reason and natural operation.⁷

14. Others say, that worms in the sacrament be gendered of accidents: "Ex speciebus sacramentalibus generantur vermes."⁸ Winchester saith, that they be wrong borne in hand to say so.⁹

15. Winchester saith, that the accidents of bread and wine do mould, sour, and wax vinegar.¹⁰ But he answereth so confusedly, that the reader cannot understand him, be he never so attentive. Smith saith, "Thus I say, that the consecrated wine turneth not into vinegar, nor the consecrated bread mouldeth, nor engendereth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poison, as long as Christ's body and blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of bread and wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition; and the bread and wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Christ's body and blood, and also as long as the host and consecrated wine are apt to be received of man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by God's power, as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into vinegar, engendereth worms, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth rats and mice, receiveth poison,"¹¹ etc.

16. Winchester saith, "Every 'yea' containeth a 'nay' in it naturally: so as whosoever saith, this is bread, saith it is no wine. For in the rule of common reason, the grant of one substance is the denial of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions thoroughly; whatsoever is bread is no wine; whatsoever is wine, is no milk; and so forth. So Christ saying, 'This is my body, saith, It is no bread.'¹² Smith saith, that a boy which hath only learned sophistry, will not dispute so fondly.¹³

17. Others say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory by the devotion of the priest, and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered.¹⁴ Winchester saith otherwise.¹⁵

18. Winchester saith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross, is the very satisfactory sacrifice for

(1) "A mouse may eat Christ's body," saith the Master of the Sentences. "A mouse cannot eat it," saith Winchester. (2) P. 256, l. 18, 25, 26.

(3) Fol. 136. "Within him," that is, within his soul.

(4) P. 202, l. 38; p. 272, l. 6; Marc. Anton. fol. 175, fac. 2.

(5) Fol. 145, fac. 2.

(6) P. 30, l. 12. Confutation.

(7) Fol. 60.

(8) Thom. par. 3, q. 77, art. 5.

(9) P. 400, l. 1. Confutation.

(10) P. 300, l. 24, and p. 400, l. 6. Confutation, et Marc. Ant. object. 73.

(11) Fol. 64, and fol. 105.

(12) P. 291, l. 22, and p. 300, l. 17.

(14) Thom. par. 3, 9, 79, art. 5.

(15) P. 92, l. 2. Confutation.

(13) Fol. 77.

Mary. the reconciling of mankind unto the favour of God.¹ Smith saith,
 A. D. "What is it to offer Christ's body and blood at mass, to purchase
 1555. thereby everlasting life, if the mass be not a sacrifice to pacify God's
 wrath from sin, and to obtain his mercy?"² Where he saith further,
 "Priests do offer for our salvation to get heaven, and to avoid hell."

Matters wherein Bishop Gardiner varieth from himself.

First Pro- "The body of Christ in the sacrament is not made of bread, but is made pre-
 position. sent of bread."³

Contra- "Of bread is made the body of Christ."⁴

diction. "The catholic faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christ's intent,
 to make bread his body."⁵

"And of many breads is made one body of Christ."⁶

"And faith showeth me, that bread is the body of Christ, that is to say, made
 the body of Christ."⁷

"Christ gave that he made of bread."⁸

Second "Christ spake plainly, 'This is my body,' making demonstration of the bread,
 proposi- when he said, 'This is my body.'"⁹

tion. "The demonstration, 'this,' may be referred to the invisible substance."¹⁰

Contra- "The verb 'is' was of his body and of his blood, and not of the bread and
 diction. wine."¹¹

Third "Illis verbis, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' substantia corporis significatur, nec de
 proposi- pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de substantia sua non aliena prædi-
 tion. cetur."¹² "When Christ said, 'This is my body,' the truth of the literal sense
 hath an absurdity in carnal reason."¹³

Contra- "What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christ's natural body
 diction. and blood in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, than is in these words.
 'This is my body.'"¹⁴

Fourth "Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and Man; and
 proposi- when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath
 tion. both form and quantity."¹⁵

"And he is present in the sacrament, as he is in heaven."¹⁶

"We believe simply the substance of Christ's body to be in the sacrament,
 without drawing away of the accidents, or adding."¹⁷

Contra- "Christ is not present in the sacrament after the manner of quantity, but
 diction. under the form and quantities of bread and wine."¹⁸

Fifth "In such as receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and
 proposi- naturally, and carnally."¹⁹

tion. "The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal, not carnal,
 Contra- not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual."²⁰

diction. "We receive Christ in the sacrament of his flesh and blood, if we receive him
 Sixth worthily."²¹

"When an unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's
 body within him."²²

"He that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ
 is naturally in him."²³

Contra- "An evil man in the sacrament receiveth indeed Christ's very body."²⁴

diction. "Evil men eat verily the flesh of Christ."²⁵

Seventh "Christ giveth us to be eaten the same flesh that he took of the Virgin
 proposi- Mary."²⁶

(1) P. 437, l. 31. (2) Fol. 24, 148, 164.

(3) P. 89, l. 9, etc. and p. 228, l. 44. Confutation against Cranmer.

(4) P. 388, l. 42. (5) P. 29, l. 2. Confutation. (6) P. 167, l. 2. Ibid.

(7) P. 333, l. 23, 25. Confutation. (8) P. 292, l. 34. (9) In the Devil's Sophistry, 27.

(10) P. 120, l. 41. Confutation. (11) P. 284, l. 43. (12) Mar. Anton. fol. 24. fac. 2.

(13) P. 157, l. 34. Confutation. (14) In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 51.

(15) P. 81, l. 5, Mar. Ant. object. 77. Smith, fol. 105. (16) P. 161. l. 4, etc. Confutation.

(17) P. 397, l. 41. Confutation. (18) P. 81, l. 89, and p. 101, l. 22.

(19) P. 190, l. 7; p. 197, l. 27; p. 217, l. 10.

(20) P. 181, l. 18, etc. and l. 25; p. 223, l. 21. Confutation.

(21) P. 190, l. 7; p. 197, l. 27. Confutation.

(22) P. 256, l. 18. Confutation.

(23) P. 18, l. 51. Confutation.

(24) P. 18, l. 24, 25.

(25) P. 261, l. 24, 25, etc. Confutation.

(26) P. 274, l. 25.

" We receive not in the sacrament Christ's flesh that was crucified." ¹	<i>May.</i>
" St. Augustine's rule in his book, ' De Doctrina Christiana, ' pertaineth not to Christ's Supper." ² [Eighth proposition.]	A. D.
" St. Augustine meaneth of the sacrament." ³	1555.
" Reason in the place of service (as being inferior to faith) will agree with the faith of transubstantiation well enough." ⁴	Ninth proposition.
" And as reason received into faith's service doth not strive with transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it, so men's senses be not such direct adversaries to transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the senses cannot skill of substances." ⁵	Contradiction.
" Thine eyes say, there is but bread and wine; thy taste saith the same; thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal man's understanding, which, because it taketh the beginning of the senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually." ⁶	<i>See Appendix.</i>
" The church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confusion of man's senses and understanding." ⁷	
" It is called bread, because of the outward visible matter." ⁸	Tenth.
" When it is called bread, it is meant Christ, the spiritual bread." ⁹	Contra.
" And the catholic faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the body of Christ." ¹⁰	Eleventh proposition.
" That which is broken is the body of Christ." ¹¹	Contra.
" The inward nature of the bread, is the substance." ¹²	Twelfth.
" Substance signifieth in Theodoret," he saith, " the outward nature." ¹³	Contra.
" The substances of bread and wine be visible creatures." ¹⁴	Thirteenth.
" Accidents be the visible natures, and visible elements." ¹⁵	Contra.
" Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father, for the appeasing of his wrath against us." ¹⁶	Fourteenth.
" The act of the priest, done according to God's commandment, must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on, to have a propitiatory effect." ¹⁷	Contra
" The sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never reiterate." ¹⁸	
" Priests do sacrifice Christ." ¹⁹	
" And the catholic doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice to be the same in essence, that was offered on the cross." ²⁰	
" The Nestorians granted both the Godhead and Manhood always to be in Christ continually." ²¹	Fifteenth proposition.
" The Nestorians denied Christ, conceived God, or born God; but that he was afterward God as a man that is not born a bishop, is after made a bishop. So the Nestorians said, that the Godhead was an accession after by merit, and that he was conceived only Man." ²²	Contradiction.
" Christ useth us as familiarly as he did his apostles." ²³	Sixteen.
" Christ is not to be said conversant in earth." ²⁴	Contra.

Certain things that Bishop Gardiner granted unto.

" Christ declared eating of himself to signify believing." ²⁵	Notes declaring wherein Winchester granted to spiritual use of the sacrament.
" Christ must be spiritually in man, before he receive the sacrament; or else he cannot receive the sacrament worthily." ²⁶	
" How Christ is present." ²⁷	
" By faith we know only the being present of Christ's most precious body; not the manner thereof." ²⁸	
" When we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity." ²⁹	
" Although Christ's body have all those truths of form and quantity, yet it is not present after the manner of quantity." ³⁰	

(1) P. 276, l. 1. Confutation. (2) P. 132, l. 40.
 (3) P. 132, l. 40, and p. 10, l. 44. Confutation. (4) P. 300, l. 12. Confutation.
 (5) P. 307, l. 11, etc. (6) In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 6. (7) Fol. 15.
 (8) P. 327. (9) P. 320, l. 41.
 (10) P. 165, l. 1, and p. 392, l. 47, and in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 17.
 (11) P. 392, l. 49. (12) P. 323, l. 14. (13) P. 404, l. 40.
 (14) P. 322, l. 50, and 323, l. 32. (15) P. 406, l. 16, and 25, etc. (16) P. 92, l. 6, 7.
 (17) P. 437, l. 13. (18) P. 416, l. 8. (19) P. 431, l. 16. (20) P. 439, l. 11.
 (21) P. 348, l. 11, 12. (22) P. 347, l. 47, 50, 51, and p. 148, l. 47. (23) P. 93, l. 21.
 (24) P. 114, l. 11, etc. (25) P. 29, l. antepenult. Confutation.
 (26) P. 54, l. 44; p. 160, l. ultima; p. 169, l. 3; p. 105, l. 32.
 (27) P. 69, l. 29, etc.; p. 81, l. 12; p. 181, l. 26; p. 65, l. 15.
 (28) P. 70, l. 15.
 (29) P. 81, l. 5, l. 35. (30) Ibid. l. 8, 9.

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- "The demonstrative 'this' may be referred to the invisible substance."¹
 "All the old prayers and ceremonies sound, as though the people did communicate with the priest."²
 "The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal nor carnal; not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual."³
 "When the unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him."⁴
 "We eat not Christ as he sitteth in heaven reigning."⁵
 "The word 'transubstantiation' was first spoken of in a general council, where the bishop of Rome was present."⁶
 "In the sacrifice of the church, Christ's death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of that death; so as Christ's offering on the cross once done and consummate, is now only remembered."⁷

Transubstantiation first spoken of

To these notes and places of Dr. Ridley, let us also adjoin other twelve places or articles of the like affinity, taken out of his book, called "The Examination of the proud Hunter," noted in the latter end of Dr. Turner's second course. By these articles it may appear how the bishop swerveth no less from the sound truth of Christ's gospel, than he did in the other, both from himself and also from other his fellow brethren of his own catholic mother church of Rome. The articles in sum are these:—

Twelve new found Articles of Stephen Gardiner's Creed, taught in his Book, called "The Examination of the Hunter."⁸

1. "The ceremonies and traditions which the bishop of Rome hath ordained, and are now allowed in England, are the pale of the church of England."⁹
2. "The pope's ceremonies and traditions are good and politic laws, whereby God hath enclosed the king's subjects under his Majesty alone."¹⁰
3. "As king Richard, an evil man, made a good politic law for the body and commonwealth of England: so can the pope, an evil man, make good laws and wholesome doctrine for man's soul, and Christ's church."¹¹
4. "Whatsoever is good, spoken and used by man, is much more of God, than Christ's doctrine is his Father's doctrine."¹²
5. "He that saith, that the law of the gospel ought only to be holden in Christ's church, and is sufficient alone for it, speaketh so far out of reason, that he is not worthy to be reasoned withal."¹³
6. "They that hold, that the cross of silver or gold ought not to be worshipped with kissing of it, and bowing and kneeling to it, are enemies to Christ's true cross, and take away the means that might set out the glory of Christ's cross."¹⁴
7. "Neither Paul nor the cross can be worshipped with godly honour."¹⁵
8. "As Christ used clay for an instrument to heal the blind man's eyes withal, and saved divers by faith, and made it an instrument of salvation; and as God hath ordained Timothy to be an instrument of salvation both to himself, and for others; so may the pope ordain holy water to be an instrument of salvation, both of body and soul, to all them that are sprinkled with it."¹⁶
9. "No man can commit idolatry with his body alone, and in only kissing of an image or idol; and in only kneeling to it can no idolatry be committed."¹⁷
10. "Forasmuch as God understandeth them that sing in Latin, though they understand not themselves, their prayer is acceptable before God."¹⁸

One usurper well compared with another.

Even both alike.

(1) P. 120, l. 42.

(2) P. 165, l. 46.

(3) P. 181, l. 19, etc. l. 25; p. 223, l. 21.

(4) P. 256, l. 18.

(5) P. 276, l. 18.

(6) P. 284, l. 11.

(7) P. 440, l. 40, etc.

(8) Alleged out of the book of Dr. Turner, intituled, "The Rescuynge of the Romish Fox, otherwysse called The Examination of the Hunter, devysed by Steven Gardiner"; with the Colophon, as if imprinted at Winchester, 1545. Herbert's Typog. Antiq. iii. p. 1557.—Ed.

(9) Fol. 7.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Fol. 23.

(12) Fol. 33. Note here blasphemous Winchester, preferring the words spoken by man, before Christ's doctrine.

(13) Fol. 37.

(14) Fol. 49.

(15) Fol. 61.

(16) Fol. 64. Christ never made clay to be an instrument for salvation of man's soul.

(17) Fol. 52.

(18) Fol. 76.

11. "As a father may forbid certain of his children to marry, so may a king in his kingdom forbid certain of his subjects to marry; that is to say, all the priests of this realm."¹

12. "He that would take away the pope's ceremonies out of the church, should drive away all godliness and seemliness, all religious and devout behaviour out of the church."²

Here hast thou, good reader, this stout prelate of Winchester, with all his properties, doings, and qualities, as in a certain anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou mayest boldly judge (and nothing err in thy judgment), what is to be esteemed of him by his fruits, as who neither was true protestant, nor right papist; neither constant in his error, nor yet steadfast in the truth; neither friend to the pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Christ: false in king Henry's time, a dissembler in king Edward's time; double perjured, and a murderer in queen Mary's time;³ mutable and inconstant in all times. And finally, whereas in his letters to the lord protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, read, I beseech thee, and behold in the depositions of the lord Paget, in the Old Book, page 816, fol. 1,⁴ and also in the depositions of the earl of Bedford, page 824,⁵ and there you shall see the king, before his death (both excepting him out of his pardons, and quite striking him out of his last will and testament), so detested and abhorred him, as he did no Englishman more. And whereas the lord Paget being sent in message from the king to the bishop, by other words than the king's mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words, which indeed the king neither knew, nor yet were sent by him: the bishop, persuading himself otherwise of the king's favour towards him, than it was indeed, was therein far deceived, and brought into a fool's paradise; whereof read both in the Old Book before, and also in these present volumes.⁶

To describe and paint out the unstable mutability of this bishop aforesaid, albeit here need no more to be added besides that which is already declared; yet, notwithstanding, seeing the matter is not long, it shall not be out of the way to annex withal unto the premises, a piece of Driander's letter written to one Crispine,⁷ a physician in Oxford, sent from Antwerp, concerning the doings and behaviour of this bishop of Winchester, whose story we have now in hand; the copy of which Driander's letter, written to the said Crispine his friend, beginneth thus:—

"Doctissimo viro Edmundo Crispino, amico integerrimo Oxoniæ.—Ante meam ex Lutetiâ profectioem, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum, communem amicum nostrum," etc.

And this now being sufficient for Gardiner's story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed (by the

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Winchester's manner of ceremonies.

He falsely pretendeth the favour of king Henry towards him.

Winchester unstable in religion.

(1) Fol. 83.

(2) Fol. 94.

(3) Like a person whose common sense is leaving him, Dr. Lingard calls for *more evidence* to substantiate Gardiner's claim to the character here, and at page 592, given: he may find it in Todd's Introduction to his reprint of archbishop Cranmer's "Defence of the Catholic Doctrine of the Sacraments," etc. Lond. 1825, pp. 92—94.—Ed.

(4) "The Old Book," is the First Edition. See vol. vi. p. 162, of this Edition.—Ed.

(5) See vol. vi. p. 180, of this Edition.—Ed.

(6) See vol. vi. p. 162, of this Edition.—Ed.

(7) Read in the First Edition, p. 802. [The whole of this letter in Latin and "the English, as much as to the present purpose pertaineth," may be found in vol. vi. pp. 139, 140, of this Edition.—Ed.]

Mary. grace and leave of the Lord), as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

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The Burning of John Webbe, Gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Santerbury, as followeth.

Next after the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and master Hugh Latimer (of whom ye have heard at large), followed three other stout and bold soldiers; that is to say, John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

The appearance of Webbe before the bishop of Dover.

This John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, long before the other two, videlicet, the 16th day of September; and there had propounded unto him such ordinary articles as (it seemeth) were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. And being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was this: "As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe," quoth he, "it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body; and not by the words of consecration to be made his body really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the virgin Mary—I utterly deny that."

His answer to the bishop's articles.

After this (besides sundry other times) the 3d day of October, the said John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges: who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made before by master Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore, about the end of the same month of October, or else, as I otherwise find, in the latter end of November,¹ they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom; who by the way, going towards the stake, said certain Psalms mournfully.

Roper leapeth at the stake. Roper standeth in the fire like a rood.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns on. Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, fetched a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said Roper put out both his arms from his body like a rood, and so stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

The martyrdom of Webbe, Roper, and Parke at Canterbury.

And thus these aforesaid martyrs of Christ, being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

The Death of William Wiseman, in Lollard's Tower

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Dec. 13.

The 13th of December, in the Lollards' Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God—how and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering papists, he was made away; by reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him; who, although to the outward appearance they were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visitation, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth; I have not to say.

After the said William was departed (as is said) in the Tower, the holy catholic church-men cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him; according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds, *ελώρια κύνεσσι*, as the poet saith.¹ And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good Tobits there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover; and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalms at their burial.

Wiseman's body cast into the fields.

The Death of James Gore, in Colchester Prison.

In the same month, about the 7th day of December, deceased also James Gore in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the right and truth of God's word.

The Process and History of Master John Philpot;

EXAMINED, CONDEMNED, AND MARTYRED FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL'S CAUSE, AGAINST THE ANTICHRISTIAN SEE OF ROME.

Next followeth the constant martyrdom of master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the Convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, etc. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same (which is no small matter in a true divine), of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

Philpot, a knight's son, and a student of law in New College, Oxford.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served

(1) Homer, ll. i. line 4.—Ed.

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1555.Philpot
goeth over
to Italy.
The re-
turn of
Philpot
into Eng-
land.

thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he, coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts¹ with Gardiner the bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examinations; whereof read before.

Philpot
archdea-
con of
Winches-
ter.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet,² who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of king Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

Philpot
sent from
Gardiner
to Bonner.

In the which convocation master Philpot, being present according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited); for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before bishop Gardiner the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

*See
Appendix.*

The first Examination of Master John Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate-Sessions' Hall, October the 2d, 1555.³

Story's
words to
Philpot.

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that there were, and passing by me said, "Ha! master Philpot;" and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot :—"If I be fat, and in good liking, master doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve-month and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me."

Story :—"We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical opinions; and therefore we have sent for thee."

Cause of
Philpot's
imprison-
ment.

Philpot :—"I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspects of setting forth the report thereof."

Story :—"If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?"

Philpot :—"I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary."

Story :—"If thou answerest thus, when thou comest before us anon, thou

(1) See Strype. Memorials under Mary, chap. 33, page 456. Edit. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

(2) This Dr. Poinet, bishop of Winchester, fled afterwards into Germany, and there deceased, anno 1557.

(3) "An Examination of the constante Martir of Christ, John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester," etc. Printed by Henry Sutton, 1559. Dibdin's Amcs's, etc. vol. iv. 487.—Ed.

shalt hear more of our minds:" and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

Mary.

The Scribe :—" Sir, what is your name?"

Philpot :—" My name is John Philpot." And so he intituled my name.

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Story :—" This man was archdeacon of Wiuchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment."

Philpot :—" I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my lord chancellor that now is."

Story :—" Ye may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon."

Roper :—" Come hither to me, master Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour."

Philpot :—" I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, to whom I owe, and will do my due obedience, to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this twelve month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law."

Philpot lying in prison a year and a half before he was called to his answer.

Roper :—" Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may both by our commission and by the law drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and, besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal."

No particular matter but suspicion.

Philpot :—" If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and, if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done."

Cholmley :—" If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done."

Story :—" I perceive whereabouts this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the selfsame allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass. How sayest thou to that?"

Philpot :—" I am no heretic."

Story :—" I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is a heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art a heretic."¹

Philpot :—" That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were proponed by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same."

Story :—" Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art; and answer to the same that thou there didst speak; and be judged by the bishop of London."

Philpot :—" I have already been convented of this matter before my lord chancellor mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison. Therefore, if his lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary."

Philpot appealeth to his ordinary.

Story :—" But sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is of the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the

(1) The major is not universally true; for in the time of King Edward he that spake against the mass, as Philpot did, by those laws, was no heretic, but a perfect Christian.

Mary. Lollards' Tower to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass."¹

A.D. *Philpot* :—" Sir, you know by the law, that I may have 'Exceptionem fori .
1555. and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me."

Roper :—" You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house."

Story :—" Dost thou now deny that which thou spakest there, or no?"

Philpot :—" I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be adjudged unto."

The Scribe :—" This man is led of vain glory."

Cholmley :—" Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good."

Philpot :—" I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was then no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, master doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford), I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity."

Story :—" I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"²

Philpot :—" Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal."

Story :—" Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot :—" Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may, by the virtue thereof, burden me with my conscience."

Roper :—" Let him see the commission: is it here?"

Story :—" Shall we let every vile person see our commission?"

Cholmley :—" Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission."

Story :—" No, let him lie in the meanwhile in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies."

Philpot :—" You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal master doctor is offended."

Story :—" Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him and afterward of your other heretics."

Philpot :—" God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now."

Roper :—" Be content to be ruled by master doctor, and show yourself a catholic man."

Philpot :—" Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?"

Roper :—" We do not require you to dissemble with us, but to be a catholic man."

Philpot :—" If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please."

Story :—" Have we Scripture, Scripture?" and with that he rose up, saying,

(1) Philpot having public leave spake in the convocation. Ergo, he must be committed to Lollards' Tower, by Dr. Story's logic.

(2) Now cometh in the butcher's axe.

Philpot charged further than the law would bear.

Philpot requireth to see their commission.

Philpot will not dissemble against his conscience.

"Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture."

Mary.

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

A. D.
1555

The second Examination of Master Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the Scribe, the 24th of October, 1555, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall.

At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away." After a little consultation had between them, master Cholmley called me unto him, saying :

Cholmley :—" Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man; and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation."

Philpot :—" I shall do as it becometh a christian man to do."

Story :—" This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou; wilt thou recant?"

Philpot :—" I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant."

Story :—" Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the King's Bench, and he hath too much favour there: for his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook :—" This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, as any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained."

Philpot :—" I have maintained no heresies."

Cook :—" No have? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?"

Philpot :—" It was the queen's majesty's pleasure, that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council."

Cook :—" Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you: my lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned."

Philpot :—" My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter; and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living."

Roper :—" You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon."

Philpot :—" I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now."

Cook :—" A meet man, quoth he! he troubled master Roper and the whole country."

Philpot :—" There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me."

Cook :—" Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot :—" I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law."

Cook :—" No sir; that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary, proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation."

Philpot :—" Master doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit

Philpot
deprived
of his
archdea-
conry
without
any law.

Mary. to every person, though he be a heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same."¹

A. D. *Cholmley* :—“ No, there thou art deceived.”

1555. *Philpot* :—“ Upon the living I pass not: but the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law.”

Cholmley :—“ Why, will not you agree that the queen's majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?”

Philpot :—“ Ask you master doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes.”²

Cook :—“ No? may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?”

Philpot :—“ Yea, sir, I deny not that. But you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own authority.”

Cook :—“ Let him be had away.”

Philpot :—“ Your mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your commission by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand.”

Roper :—“ Let him see the commission.”³

Then the scribe exhibited it to master Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cook :—“ No, what will ye do? he shall not see it.”

Philpot :—“ Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf.”

Cook :—“ If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.”

Philpot :—“ Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser.”

Cook :—“ Thou art no gentleman.”

Philpot :—“ Yes, that I am.”

Cook :—“ A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.”

Philpot :—“ The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.”

Story :—“ What! will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?”

Cook :—“ He saith, he is a gentleman.”

Story :—“ A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away.”

The Keeper :—“ Here, sir.”

Story :—“ Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the Bishop's coal-house.”

Philpot :—“ Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you master Cholmley, show me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place.”

And Cholmley called me aside, and said, “ I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws: I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.”

Philpot :—“ I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without any just cause known should thus be entreated.”

Story :—“ Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence.”

Philpot :—“ God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need: ‘ Do quickly that you have in hand.’ ”⁴

(1) That is, whether a heretic suspected, may, without ordinary process, be deprived of his living by his ordinary before his death, and by what law.

(2) “ Divina imperatorie majestati non sunt subjecta.” [Epist. lib. 5. 33.]

(3) Philpot again requireth to see their commission, and yet it could not be seen, and that also against the law.

(4) “ Et quod facis, fac citius.” [Latin Vulg. Joan. 13. 28.]

Com-
manded
to Lol-
lards'
Tower by
Dr. Story.

Cholmley
talketh
with Phil-
pot apart.

Story :—“ Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases ?”

Philpot :—“ That is after your own understanding.”

After this, I, with four others more, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped; and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: “ wherefore I will begin,” said I, “ as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do.” And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us had tried them. And there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's registrar, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after, he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Philpot
laid in
Bonner's
coal-
house.

Examples
what an
unquiet
consci-
ence doth.

Bonner
plucketh
away a
great part
of Whit-
tle's
beard, etc.

The Manner of my Calling first before the Bishop of London, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his Coal-house.

The bishop sent unto me master Johnson his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my lord had no knowledge erst of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

Bonner's
charity
sent to
Philpot.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence. And therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson :—“ My lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof); and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other diocese than his own.”

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire: and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains, waiting upon him, and his registrar.

Bonner
entertain-
ing Phil-
pot.

Bonner :—“ Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.”

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.”

Bonner :—“ I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think, that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters; and I wis men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.”

Bonner
made the
common
inquisitor
against
his will.

I showed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was, against all right, molested.

Bonner :—“ I marvel that you should be troubled there-for, if there was

(1) This godly man was Thomas Whittle, whose story followeth.

Mary. none other cause but this. But, peradventure, you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, 'Yea;' and for this you might be committed to prison."

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Philpot :—" And it shall please your lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners, who have sent me hither, because I would not recant the same."

Bonner :—" A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it; as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen. And so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ."

Philpot :—" I spake nothing which was out of the articles, which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the queen's permission and the council."

Bonner :—" Why, may we dispute of our faith?"

Philpot :—" Yea, that we may."

Bonner :—" Nay, I trow not, by the law."

Philpot :—" Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law, we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, 'Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand you of the same.'"

Bonner :—" Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?"

No man is bound to render account of his faith privately, unless it be to edify.

Philpot :—" My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes, in danger of my life there-for. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so I say to your lordship: "Take away the law, and I shall reason with you." And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you."

Bonner :—" I perceive you are learned: I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church."

One church.

Philpot :—" God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same; for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation,³ out of the which there is no salvation."

Bonner :—" How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?"

Philpot :—" My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God."

Bonner :—" What age are ye of?"

Philpot :—" I am four and forty."

The faith promised by his godfathers was the faith of Christ, after his creed only.

Bonner :—" You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized."

Philpot :—" Yes, that I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold."

Bonner :—" How can that be? there is but one faith."

Philpot :—" I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am."

Bonner :—" You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now."

Philpot :—" Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith,⁴ a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold."

Bonner :—" Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?"

Bishop Bonner offended with John Philpot's singing in prison.

Philpot :—" I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of."

Bonner :—" Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burden you with your conscience as now,⁵ I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the

(1) Or else why were the questions there propounded?

(2) "Tolle legem, et fiet certamen." [Epist. lib. v. 32.]

(3) "Una columba, una sponsa, una dilecta."

(4) "Nullius fidei."

(5) And why then began you so hastily with him in the sacrament of your altars?

prophet saith, 'rejoicing in your naughtiness.'¹ Me thinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry."

Philpot :—"My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be 'merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms:' and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that."

Bonner :—"We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, 'tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis.'"

Here my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philpot :—"We are, my lord, in a dark comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, 'If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing.' And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God (though we be in misery), do sing."

Bonner :—"I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good master Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine."

Thus I departed, and by my lord's registrar I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, master Cousins, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Philpot :—"I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, 'Woe be to him that is alone.'² After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

*Thus for the third Eyt.*³

The Fourth Examination of Master Philpot, had in the Archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner :—"Master Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon; and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list."

Bath :—"My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church."

Worcester :—"Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth."⁴

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight!) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

(1) "Exultantes in rebus pessimis."

(2) "Væ soli."

(3) See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) And why do not you bishops, yourselves, pray also for them that are out of the way?

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

The end
of his first
talk with
Bonner.

The pray-
er of Phil-
pot before
the
bishops.

Mary.

Bonner :—“ Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer : for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing Antelucanos Hymnos,¹ ‘ Praise unto God before dawning of the day.’ ”²

Philpot :—“ My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that song those morning hymns : for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing.”

Bath :—“ Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.”

Bonner :—“ Say on, master Philpot, my lords will gladly hear you.”

Philpot complaineth of his wrongful imprisonment.

Philpot :—“ I have, my lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man’s jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.”

Bonner :—“ There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear.”

Philpot :—“ My lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, in ecclesiâ legitime vocatus, in the congregation being thereto lawfully called : but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer.”

Philpot called in no sufficient assembly, and therefore not bound to answer whereby to put himself in danger.

Bonner :—“ Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people ; where he might speak to vain glory.”

Philpot :—“ My lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put myself further in danger than I need ; and so far am I a lawyer, and no further.”

Bath :—“ If you will not answer to my lord’s request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion.”³

Philpot :—“ My lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as master doctor Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my lord of London wherefore he should call me.”

Bonner :—“ Yes, I have to lay to your charge that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar :⁴ and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.”

Philpot :—“ I have not offended in your diocese : for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul’s Church in the convocation house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of Paul’s, and therefore is counted of your lordship’s diocese, but not in your diocese.”

Bonner :—“ Is not Paul’s Church in my diocese ? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof.”

Bishop Bonner not lawful ordinary to Philpot.

Philpot :—“ That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordship’s jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convicted of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me.”

Bonner :—“ How say you, master doctor Cole ? may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese ?”

(1) “ Antelucanos hymnos.” “ Merito ad honorem majorum nostrorum trahimus, quod ad eorundem opprobrium maledicus Jesuita *Strada* scripsit : (de Bello Belgico, p. 78, edit. Romæ, 1640). *Deserta a catholicis ea* (Maroti nimirum et Bezæ) *hymnorum translatio atque damnata, mansit obfirmato studio apud hæreticos : mosque canendi Psalmos Gallicè linguâ, ad modos Generalium in catibus, in triviis, in officinis, propria exinde nota hæreticorum fuit. Ita papistæ inde hæreticos dignoscunt, unde antiqui Christianos.*” Witsii in Symb. Apost. exercit. xi. § 27.—Ed.

(2) Bishop Bonner here seemeth more skilful in his law than in church stories.

(3) Wilful, because he will not put himself wilfully into the wolf’s mouth.

(4) This offence was for speaking in the convocation house with public liberty in the parliament.

Cole :—“Methinketh master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.” .Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Philpot :—“I would willingly show my mind of the matter; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.”

Cole :—“Why then you may speak by protestation.”

Philpot :—“But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy (as you call it), if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?”

Bonner :—“But master doctor Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?”¹

Cole :—“You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your diocese.”

Philpot :—“But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my lord’s, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know master doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your lordship ought to proceed against me.” And here master doctor would say nothing. Philpot again appealeth from bishop Bonner to his ordinary.

Worcester :—“Do you not think to find before my lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?”

Philpot :—“I cannot blame my lord of London’s equity, with whom (I thank his lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and this half before, who never would call me to answer, as his lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him.² But I ought not to be forestalled of my right; and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations.”

Bonner :—“Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my lords here, and yet you be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.”

Philpot :—“My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me, by this, either obstinate or selfwilled without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your lordships, which seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, into one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.”

Bonner :—“These heretics come always with their ‘ifs,’ as this man doth now, saying, ‘If he can be satisfied by the Scriptures:’ so that he will always have this exception, ‘I am not satisfied,’ although the matter be never so plainly proved against him.³ But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?”

Philpot :—“I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here, before God, and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion, of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God’s word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf.”

Bonner :—“I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.”

Philpot :—“I am about so to do, if it please your lordship to hear me speak.”

Bath :—“Give him leave, my lord, to speak that he hath to say.”

Philpot :—“My lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church: and we say, we are of The chiefest controversy in

(1) Note how these men hunt for innocent blood.

(2) Sed nemo prohibetur uti jure suo.

(3) Nay, rather these catholic prelates will be satisfied with no reasonable offer.

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in the church of Christ now, is to know which is the true church of Christ.

the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is damned : and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordship can bring any better authorities for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation (as you say), and that the same church (as you pretend) have authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only ; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not ; therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this."

Cole :—"If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you list."

Philpot :—"It is the thing that I require, and to this, I have said, I will stand ; and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you ; and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word."

Bonner :—"I pray you, master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith."

Philpot :—"My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith : for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do ; God forgive me."

Bonner :—"No were? that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith."

Philpot :—"My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?"

Bonner :—"Master doctor Cole, I pray you say your mind to him."

Cole :—"What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where."

Philpot :—"If you, master doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto.² But I think you be not able to show any such thing : for Athanasius was president of the Nicene Council,³ and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure."

Cole :—"Though it were not then, it might be at another time."

Philpot :—"I desire to see the proof thereof." And upon this master Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be : the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

Gloucester :—"Take the book, master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men."

I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe ; and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late sprung heretics, etc. ; whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. "The which thing if you, my lords, be able to prove now of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in

Athanasius misalleged.

See Appendix.

A place of Irenæus alleged.

The church of Rome not now as it was in the time of Irenæus.

(1) St. Paul twenty years before his conversion, and St. Peter, before his calling, were of another faith than they were afterwards, and yet it followeth not that they would have every year a new faith.

(2) The determination of the primitive church, and of the church of Rome as it is now, is not all one.

(3) "Athanasius was president of the Nicene Council." [The same statement is made even more circumstantially in the seventh examination ; but incorrectly, as Hosius, bishop of Cordova (if any one) would assume that position, Athanasius being at that time an archdeacon : 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ἐπὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τότε ἀρχidiaκόνῳ ὄντι. *Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic.* lib. ii. cap. 36. Tillemont. *Mémoires Hist. Ecclesiastique*, tom. vii. pt. 2, p. 542. Edit. 12mo. 1715. See infra, p. 642.—Ed.]

See Addenda.

Irenæus's time, and was then uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church."

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Bonner :—"So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied."

Philpot :—"My lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose (as I have already proved), I trust you will receive mine answer."

Worcester :—"It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same."

The church of Rome never deceived!

Philpot :—"Let that be proved, and I have done."

Worcester :—"Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved."

Philpot :—"Ha! my lords, is it now time (think you), for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly. And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more: yet had I liefer perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented."

Cole :—"Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome."

Philpot :—"I know well that Eusebius so writeth:¹ but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians the first, it will manifestly appear the contrary, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than eighteen years."

See Appendix.

Cole :—"What! did Peter write to the Galatians?"

Philpot :—"No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which, they wrote, the primitive church did use according to the gospel: and there needeth none other proof, but compare the one [church] with the other."

Bonner :—"I may compare this man to a certain man I read of² which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, master doctor, go forth with him."

Cole :—"My lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him,³ and I love not to fall in disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had liefer show my mind in writing."

Philpot :—"And I had liefer that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to show that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures, and by a universal council it had been decreed; that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome."

Reason why it is not like that in Athanasius's time all men were bound to abide the determination of Rome.

Cole :—"But I can show that they revoked that error again."

Philpot :—"So you say, master doctor; but I pray you show me where. I

(1) I find not in Eusebius that Peter should be bishop of Rome twenty-five years, but this is in Linus; Hierom. lib. de Viris Illust. and in Abdias lib. i. de Vita Petri.

(2) Hark, my lord's wise parable.

(3) Neither you nor they are able in this case.

Mary. have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority."

A. D. 1555. *Bonner* :—"What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, 'De fide Catholica,' to the contrary."

Not the law but the gospel gathered the church together. *Philpot* :—"I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law; for, as St. Ambrose saith, 'Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together.'"¹

Worcester :—"Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth; leave it for shame."

Philpot :—"Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand in my faith."

Four hundred priests against one Elias. *Gloucester* :—"What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?"

Philpot :—"Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him."

Worcester :—"Oh, you would be counted now for Elias; and yet I tell thee he was deceived, for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him."

Philpot :—"Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were."

Worcester :—"By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity."

Philpot :—"My lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your lordship."

Worcester :—"Indeed I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do."²

Philpot :—"No, my lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book."

Worcester :—"Do you think the universal church may be deceived?"

Philpot :—"St. Paul to the Thessalonians³ prophesied that there should come a universal departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ; saying, 'Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first.'"⁴

Cole :—"Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: for it is in Greek, ἀποστασία."

Philpot :—"Marry indeed you, master doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for 'apostasia' is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh 'apostata,' which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the same place after, speaketh of the decay of the empire."

Cole :—" 'Apostasia' doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to show."

Philpot :—"I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to show it (as you say in words), I will believe it, and not before."

Worcester :—"I am sorry that you should be against the christian world."

Philpot :—"The world commonly, and such as be called Christians for the multitude, hath hated the truth and been enemies to the same."

Gloucester :—"Why, master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?"

Philpot :—"The church that you are of, was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees."

Gloucester :—"Yes, in the Florentine council⁵ they did agree."

(1) 'Non lex, sed fides congregavit ecclesiam.'

(2) A good commendation for Rome by a Romanist.

(3) 2 Thess. iii.

(4) "Non veniet Christus, nisi venerit defectio prius."

(5) Of this Florentine council which was about the year 1432, read before. ["Post multas easque gravissimas Græcorum Latinorumque contentiones, in quibus Josephus patriarcha, et Marcus Eugenius Ephesius, viros atque veritatis vindices se præstiterunt, concordia delis, promissis, atque vi, est inita." Hist. Concertationis Græc. et Lat. de Transubstantione. Anct. Jo. R. Kieslingio, (Leipsiæ, 1754,) p. 155. "Omnia post hanc synodum Græcia illi Synodo (Florent.) et falso nomine dictæ Unioni reclamavit." Spanhemii Hist. Eccles. secul. xv. § 10, 3. This council of Florence

Whether the universal church may be deceived? A defection prophesied of the church.

The pope's church which now is, was never universal.

Philpot :—" It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home : but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary."

Gloucester :—" I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?"

Philpot :—" By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, 'The word that he spake, shall be judge in the latter day.'"

Gloucester :—" What if you take the word one way, and I another way : who shall be judge then?"

Philpot :—" The primitive church."

Gloucester :—" I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof."

Philpot :—" I mean verily so."

Gloucester :—" What, if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another : who shall be judge then?"

Philpot :—" Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word."

Cole :—" My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament; and he, to shift himself off that, brought in another matter."

Philpot :—" This is the matter, master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied."

Worcester :—" It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few, against a great multitude."

Philpot :—" We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary."

Worcester :—" They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew."

Philpot :—" I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship."

Bonner :—" Master Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the meanwhile I can show you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error."

Philpot :—" My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your lordship shall find me, as I have said."

Worcester :—" We wish you as well as ourselves."

Philpot :—" I think the same, my lords; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge."

Worcester :—" God send you more grace."

Philpot :—" And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church."

Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold; and thereto they put to their hands. And after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory, Amen.

John Philpot to certain that required him to write his Examinations.

Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and others, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness

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The word or the church judge in controversies.

Philpot's prophecy of the increase of the gospel.

Philpot put off to another day.

lasted from Feb. 29, 1439, to April 26, 1442. It was a continuation of that of Ferrara, which opened in Jan. 1438. The reunion of the Greek and Latin churches was also one of the chief objects of the Council of Basle. The first session of this latter was held on the 14th of Dec. 1431, and the twenty-ninth and last in May, 1443. See Nicholas's Chronology. Lond. 1833, p. 252.—Ed.]

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1555.

and in privy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening wolves do proceed against the sely and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence.

The Fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph (I trow), and one other, whose See I know not, Dr. Story, Curtop, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of London's Palace.

Bonner :—" Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my lords here, and other learned men to take some pains once again, and to do you good. And because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow (as I am commanded), yet I would you should have as much favour as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men."

Philpot
ready to
yield his
life in
Christ's
cause.

Philpot :—" My lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it."

Bonner :—" Lo what a wilful man this is! By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you."¹

Philpot :—" My lord, you need not to show extremity against me, unless you list: neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison."

Bonner :—" Why the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a christian man."²

Philpot :—" My lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your lordship."

Bonner :—" Why did you not answer them thereto?"

Philpot :—" For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without showing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison."

Bonner :—" Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese: wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for that you have spoken in my diocese."

Philpot's
just de-
fence for
speaking
in the
parlia-
ment.

Philpot :—" My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were as great heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds. And here is present a gentleman of the queen's majesty's that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were there in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house."

The Queen's Gentleman :—" Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown."

(1) Bishop Bonner seeketh cause against him, and yet pretendeth to be sorry of his trouble.

(2) It were the matter of a charitable bishop to make a matter better and not worse.

Philpot :—“ But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I think not.”

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The Queen's Gentleman :—“ You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain.”

St. Asaph :—“ This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς and κατηγορικῶς, which is, earnestly and persuasibly, as ever I heard any.”

See

Appendix.

Philpot :—“ My lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me, contrary to the laws and custom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken.”

Philpot
appealeth
to the
whole
parliament
house.

Rochester :—“ But have you not spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?”

Philpot :—“ If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer.”

Rochester :—“ How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?”

Philpot :—“ My lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands.”¹

St. Asaph :—“ What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that they put off all their caps for reverence of that idol] the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially after the words of consecration?”

Philpot :—“ I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe.”

St. Asaph :—“ I pray you how is that?”

Philpot :—“ As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, ‘All things ought to be done after an order.’”

Another Bishop :—“ This is a froward and vain-glorious man.”

Bonner :—“ It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title ‘De summa Trinitate et fide Catholica.’”

Philpot :—“ My lord, I have answered you to this question before.”

Bonner :—“ Why, I never asked thee of this before now.”

Philpot :—“ Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, ‘That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith.’² And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.”

Bonner :—“ Thou liest, it is not so: and I will show you by the book how ignorant he is.” And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fet his book and openly read the text, and the title of the law; and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, “How sayest thou to this?”

Philpot :—“ My lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon,³ where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon.”

Bonner :—“ Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard; I must needs speak it; thou compellest me thereunto.”

Philpot :—“ Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me: but what is this to the purpose, which your lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith.”

Our faith
not
grounded
upon the
civil law.

Bonner :—“ By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?”

(1) This bishop belike would fain have blood.

(2) “Quòd si fidem repudiat, et legem objicit, injustus est, quia justus ex fide vivet.”—Amb. lib. v. epist. 30. Eodem cont. Auxentium.

(3) Anno 451; apud Labbe, vol. iv. actio 16, col. 812.—Ed.

Mary. Philpot:—"No, my lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man."
A. D. *St. Asaph:*—"He will be judged by no law, but as he listeth himself."
1555. *Worcester:*—"The common laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and doctors."

Philpot:—"Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged."

Bonner:—"I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow."

Philpot:—"If your lordship so do, I will have *exceptionem fori*: for you are not my competent judge."

Bonner:—"By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge?"

Philpot:—"By the civil law, *De competente iudice*."

Bonner:—"There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law: but you drive me to my shifts for my defence. And I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to show what I say."²

Bonner:—"What? *De competente iudice*? I will go fet thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis iudicis Ordinarii*."³

Philpot:—"Verily that is the same *De competente iudice*, which I have alleged." With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

Bonner:—"There be the books: find it now (if thou canst), and I will promise to release thee out of prison."

Philpot:—"My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the same six or seven years: but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence."

Bonner:—"Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being before you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies: the which if your lordships now, or other learned men can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require; the which is to prove that the church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church."

Coventry:—"Why, do you not believe your creed, '*Crede ecclesiam catholicam*?'"

Philpot:—"Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you now burden us) to be the same, neither like to it."

St. Asaph:—"It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome.⁴ And Christ said, '*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*.' Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write."

Philpot:—"That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, '*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church*,' unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

Bonner:—"Is there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized?"

(1) Philpot still standeth to his defence of the law, in refusing the judge not to be competent.

(2) *De Foro competente*, is a title in the second book of the Decretals. [Greg. tit. 2. § 1.]

(3) *De Officio Ordinarii*, is a title in the first book of the Decretals. [tit. 31.]

(4) That Peter did build the church of Rome it is false, for both the Scripture saith, that Peter was set over the circumcised, and not over the Gentiles; and also it is to be proved by Orosius, Suetonius, Tertullian, and other stories, that the faith of Christ was in Rome in Tiberius's time before Peter ever saw Rome.

Philpot returneth again to his question of the church.

Philpot :—" I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member (I praise God), and am of that catholic church of Christ whereinto I was baptized."

Mary.

Coventry :—" I pray you, can you tell what this word 'catholic' doth signify? show, if you can."

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Philpot :—" Yes that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now a days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic faith and the catholic church to be as St. Austen defineth the same: 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.'¹ So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic: otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word compounded of *κατά*, which signifieth *after* or *according*, and *ἄλον*, a *sum*, or *principal*, or *whole*. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith."

The pope's faith hangeth upon the multitude. Fides catholica.

Bonner :—" Doth St. Austen say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean thus as he taketh the same? how say you, master Curtop?"

See Appendix

Curtop :—" Indeed, my lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages; and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess."

Philpot :—" You have said well, master Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Augustine, and do confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic."

Coventry :—" Let the book be seen, my lord."

Bonner :—" I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) hath erred?"

Philpot :—" I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove the church of Rome to be this catholic church."

Curtop :—" I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics,² the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head."

Coventry :—" Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can."

Philpot :—" It is soon answered, my lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I."

St. Asaph :—" You are the more to blame (by the faith of my body), for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus."

Philpot :—" That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head."

Seven general councils in which the bishop of Rome was never taken for supreme head.

The other bishop :—" This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him."

Philpot :—" Oh my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, the first and second Ephesine, the Chalcedonian, the Constantino-politan, the Carthaginian, and that at Aquileia."³

(1) "Æstimamus fidem catholicam à rebus præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris."

(2) Where master Curtop finds this I cannot say; but this I find, that Eusebius doth report that Irenæus did reprove Victor, bishop of Rome, for his rash sentence in excommunicating the churches of Greece concerning the observation of the feast of Easter. Euseb. lib. v. cap. 26.

(3) Socr. lib. v. c. 22.

Mary.

Coventry :—" Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church ?"

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Philpot :—" Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut."

Coventry :—" Wherein doth it dissent ?"

The church of Rome dissenteth from the primitive church.

Philpot :—" It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation."

See
Appendix

Curtop :—" As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church."

Bonner :—" Yea, that it was : very well said of you, master Curtop."

Transubstantiation is but a late plantation.

Philpot :—" Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing : " and with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, " My lords, if you can show me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things ; for I know there is no salvation but within the church."

Philpot returneth again to his issue.

Coventry :—" Can you disprove that the church of Rome is not the catholic church ?"

Rome is not the catholic church, and why.

Philpot :—" Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and school-mistress of the church to the world's end ; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments."

Coventry :—" How prove you that the church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church ?"

Philpot :—" Compare the one with the other, and it will soon appear ; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers."

Coventry :—" What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church ?"

The faith of the pope's church now, was never universal.

Philpot :—" Because it is not (by your own interpretation of 'catholic') universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world, being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe ; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal."

Coventry :—" How prove you that ?"

Philpot :—" All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true, which I say : for at this present the churches of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yea and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome ; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal."

And after this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverson an Englishman, who had proceeded doctor at Bologna, who after began with me in this manner.

Dr. Saverson :—" Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a friar (a notable learned man), coming from Venice to Padua in a barge."

Philpot :—" I cannot forget that ; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar."

Dr. Saverson :—" Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be."

Philpot :—“ I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good master doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation's sake.”

Dr. Saverson :—“ No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me ?”

Philpot :—“ Upon no evil that I do know of you, master doctor ; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion's sake, as many doctors be now-a-days.”

Dr. Saverson :—“ I have heard your argumentations hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the supremacy ; for St. Cyprian (who is an old ancient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church.”

Philpot :—“ That I am sure of he doth not : for he, writing unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and fellow bishop,¹ neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or else of any other usurped terms which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity.”²

Dr. Saverson :—“ You cannot be able to show that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop.”

Philpot :—“ I will wager with you that I am able to make, that I can show it you in Cyprian, as I have said.”

Dr. Saverson :—“ I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so.”

Philpot :—“ I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my lord's chaplains to fet us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof.” And with that one of them went to my lord's study and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle ;³ and there would have seemed to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, “ it goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow bishops and the agreement of the people.”⁴

Dr. Saverson :—“ How can you avoid this place, which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy ?”

Philpot :—“ It maketh not so plain, master doctor, on your side, as you gather ; as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine : for here you may see that he calleth Cornelius, his fellow bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome ; of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he calleth his fellow bishop), findeth himself offended, that certain heretics being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were) did flee from his diocese, who was their chief bishop (refusing to be obedient to him and to be reformed), as to the bishop of Rome, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of congregation ; in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms : and [saith] ‘ that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience is not given to the priest of God, nor one considered to be in the church for the time the priest, and for the time the judge, in Christ's stead ;’ as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed, not meaning the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct ; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of all his fellow bishops, with the consent

Mary.

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Saverson
hath lost
his book
to Phil-
pot.

See
Appendix.

(1) See his Works ; Basil, 1521, lib. i. epist. 1. p. 1. “ Cognovimus frater charissime,” etc.—Ed.

(2) For the further debating of this matter that Cyprian doth allow no such thing, read the answer of master Nowel to master Dorman.

(3) @yp. lib. i. epist. 3. p. 6.—Ed.

(4) Patriarchs only be named, to whom afterward the patriarch of Constantinople was also joined. Cyprian hath also these words following in the same epistle : it was declared amongst us, and it is according to justice and equity, that every man's cause should be heard where the fault was committed ; and to every several pastor there is a portion of the flock appointed to rule and govern, for the which he must make an account before God.

Mary. of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God; and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian."¹

A. D. 1555. *Dr. Saverson* :—" You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise."

Philpot :—" Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight one after another confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only."

Pendleton :—" There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed."

Philpot :—" That is not so, master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers."

A Chaplain :—" Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian saith so."

How St. Cyprian meaneth Christ to build his church upon Peter.

Philpot :—" St. Cyprian 'De simplicitate prælatorum' declareth in what respect he so said: 'God gave, in the person of one man, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men.'² And also St. Augustine saith in the 50th treatise of St. John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole church.'³ And also St. Jerome,⁴ a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches do lean to their own pastors,' where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome. And writing Ad Evagium,⁵ he saith, 'that wheresoever a bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.'"

See Appendix.

Dr. Saverson :—" St. Jerome, 'De cœlesti Hierarchiâ?' It was St. Dionysius you mean."

Philpot :—" I say not that Jerome wrote any book so intituled: but I say, that in the epistle by me alleged, he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regiment."

Dr. Saverson :—" I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error to your own destruction."

Philpot :—" I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?"

False slander.

Dr. Saverson :—" A godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses, and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to fly the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither."

Philpot :—" I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the Scriptures."

(1) Epist. lib. ii. epist. 8; and lib. iv. epist. 2 and 9. This is according to the earlier editions, (namely 1521, etc.); in the later the Epistles are arranged in a different order. See Concil. Nic. canon 6: also the remarkable canon 2 of the first Constantinopolitan Council: Labbe, ii. 948.—Ed.
 (2) "In personâ unius dedit Dominus omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denunciarent." De simplicitate Prælatorum. [This treatise also bears the title, "De unitate Ecclesiæ." "Tractatus utilis et doctus, in quo monarchia illa visibilis a pontifice usurpata radicibus evellitur; quem tamen in ejusdem subsidium obtorto collo trahunt Pontificii, affingentes auctori, quæ nunquam scripsit vel dixit." Rivet. Critici sacri, lib. ii. cap. 14. The Treatise alluded to occupies about nine folio pages of letter press in the Roman edition of Cyprian, 1563.—Ed.]

(3) "Si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ mysterium, non ei diceret Dominus, tibi dabo claves. Si autem hoc Petro dictum est, non habet ecclesiâ; si autem ecclesiâ habet, [Petrus] quando claves accepit ecclesiâ totam designavit." [Tract. 50 in Johan. Evang. cap. 12. § 12. tom. iii. edit. Bened. 1690. See Appendix.—Ed.]

(4) Jerome ad Nepotianum. [Rather 'ad Rusticum'; Hieron. Op. Ed. Bened. tom. iv. col. 775: "omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur." The same words are cited by Calvin, with the same incorrect reference, in his Institutes, iv. 6, § 17.]

(5) Jerome ad Evagium. [Epist. 85. See Jewel's Defence of his Apology, part ii. chap. 3. div. 5. and Hieron. Op. Ed. Bened. tom. iv. col. 803. Ep. 101.—Ed.]

Dr. Saverson :—" Men be able to answer him if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered bishop Fisher's book?"¹

Philpot :—" Yes, master doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him."

And after this, *Dr. Story* came in. To whom I said, " Master doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after."

Story :—" I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a phantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts;² for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that, which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in."

Philpot :—" Master doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet am I no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God otherwise than a christian man ought."

Story :—" The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But as I may reason with thee (not that I have any hope to win thee), whom wilt thou appoint to be judge of the word whereto thou standest?"³

Philpot :—" Verily the word itself."

Story :—" Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willethe word to be judge of the word. Can the word speak?"

Philpot :—" If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person; and further, what you please."

Story :—" Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in."

Philpot :—" It is the saying of Christ in St. John (chap. xii.),⁴ ' The word which I have spoken, ' shall judge in the last day.'⁵ If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you."

Story :—" What! you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?"⁶

Philpot :—" Yea sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

Story :—" I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies, without all learning."

Philpot :—" Sir, I have brought you, for that I have said, good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me, without any cause."

Story :—" I will come to you by and by. When the judge in Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me."

Philpot :—" Civil matters be subject to civil men; and they have authority by the word, to be judge of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto."

Story :—" Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scripture?"

Philpot :—" Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me."

(1) " Fisher's book;" perhaps, " Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio." Coloniae, 1525.—Ed.

(2) " Happy are you when they revile you, and say all evil against you for my name's sake." Matt. v.

(3) The papists will not be ruled by the Scriptures without their own judge.

(4) " Verbum quod locutus sum judicabit in novissimo die."

(5) What say you now, master doctor?

(6) Master doctor, having not to answer, falleth to railing.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Story
cometh
in.

God's
judgment
and civil
judgment
not alike.

The judgment
of the
church
how far it
serveth.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Prescrip-
tion of
time.Prescrip-
tion of
timemaketh
no title
in God's
matters.Dr. Story
con-
fesseth
himselfto be the
chief de-
spatcherof all
God's
saintsthat suf-
fered in
queen
Mary's

time.

Story's
cruelty.Philpot
left alone.The strait
handling
of Philpot
in prison,for all the
bishop's
fair

words.

Story :—“ What a fellow is this ! he will believe nothing but what he listeth himself. Are we not in possession of the church ? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now ? and if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient ; for prescription of time maketh a good title in the law.”

Philpot :—“ You do well, master doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to show for yourselves. But you must understand,¹ that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to show by the testimony of many doctors.”

Story :—“ Well sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Crammer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them ; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch.”

Philpot :—“ You have the more to answer for, master doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings”

Story :—“ I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic away.” And, going away, he said to me, “ I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man for it but me.”

Philpot :—“ I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you.”

Story :—“ What ! dost thou thank me ? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song.”

Philpot :—“ No, master doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now.” And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, saying,

London :—“ Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.”

Philpot :—“ My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest.”

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore, praised be God that hath humbled me and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

The Sixth Examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Riche, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more, whose names I know not, with the Bishop of London and Dr. Chedsey, the 6th day of November, Anno 1555.

*See
Appendix.*

Before that I [Philpot] was called afore the lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whistered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said : and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well ; as I might now do, if I list. And

(1) “ In divinis nulla occurrit præscriptio.”

after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's majesty's servants were set, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak.

*Mary**A. D.*
1555.

London :—“Master Philpot, I have heretofore, both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day (I thank them there-for), to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say, in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you have to say.”

Philpot :—“My lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic,¹ or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness with my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy. God grant I may have, at last, the judgment of God's word concerning the same.”

See
Appendix

London :—“Master Philpot, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison.”

Philpot :—“If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.”

Riche :—“Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my lord or no? can you find any fault since, with his cruel using of you?”

Philpot :—“I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather, for my part I might say that I have found more gentleness at his lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before.”

Bonner
not the
cause of
Philpot's
imprison-
ment.

Riche :—“Well, now go forth to your matter.”

Philpot :—“The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputation had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached there-for, and sustain the loss of my living (as I have done), and moreover of my life, as it is sought.”

Riche :—“You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.”²

Philpot :—“My lord, I have always understood the contrary, by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every

(1) Heretics in the primitive church were only condemned to exile.

(2) “The convocation no part of the parliament-house,” saith the lord Riche.

Mary. act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together."

A. D. *Riche* :—"Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house."

1555. *Windsor* :—"Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot :—"My lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf."

Riche :—"We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry there-for."

London :—"My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and veil their bonnets at that idol as he did], and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same. Yet, my lords, God forbid that I should go about to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and in faith if he will so do, with your lordships' consent he shall be released by and by. Mary, if he will not, he shall look for the extremity of the law, and that shortly."

Chamberlain :—"My lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you."

Riche :—"How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?"

Philpot :—"My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me."

Riche :—"That shall be no otherwise than you list."

London :—"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident, as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread, and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ both God and man.² But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no."

Philpot :—"I do confess that in the Lord's Supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ."³

London :—"You may see how he goeth about the bush (as he hath done before with my lords of the clergy), and dare not utter his mind plainly."

Riche :—"Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament."

Philpot :—"If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein."

Lord Chandos :—"I pray you my lord, let him speak his mind."

Philpot :—"My lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life."

Riche :—"There is none of us here that seeketh thy life,⁴ or mean to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak."

Philpot :—"Although I mistrust not your honourable lordships that be here of the temporality; yet here is one that sitteth against me [pointing to my lord of London] that will lay it to my charge, even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my lord of London will not let me to utter my mind."

(1) Whether the convocation be part of the parliament-house or no, yet free liberty was given by the queen every man to speak his conscience.

(2) How Bonner taketh in the sacrament to be both the sign and the thing signified.

(3) Both the sign and the thing signified, in due respects, be in the sacrament.

(4) Ye say ye seek not his life; and yet ye know to answer to that ye ask, will be his death!

Riche :—“ My lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to show his mind.”

London :—“ I am content, my lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him.”

Philpot :—“ That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it neither of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God’s word, against the which I dare not do, for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, for that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart); but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness. There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ’s presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen’s majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen’s majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: the which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation. And whereas they take on them the name of the catholic church (whereby they blind many folks’ eyes), they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in king Edward’s time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church (as they shall never be able to do), I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a mean for me to the queen’s majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.” And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of my lord bishop of London, as it appeared by his dumps he was in.

London :—“ It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.”

Riche :—“ All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a sevendnight in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my lord of Canterbury and bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning: but she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now.”

Philpot :—“ As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman (I knew her well), and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scripture. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God’s word and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God’s word thoroughly on my side to show for that I stand in.”

London :—“ I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: ‘Pater major me est;’ and ‘Pater et ego unum sumus.’ I must interpret the same, because my lords here understand no Latin, that is to say, ‘The Father is greater than I;’ and ‘I and the Father are one:’ but I cry you mercy, my lords, I have misspoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I spake in consideration of my

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

The protestation
of Philpot
before the
lords.

The pa-
pists have
neither
the sacra-
ment of
the Lord’s
body, nor
the true
church.

Papists
untruly
usurp the
name of
the
church.

Philpot
offereth
himself
to stand
against
ten of the
best
learned
in the
realm, in
the proof
of his
cause.

(1) The pope’s catholics, when they have no just reason wherewith to persuade, they fall to railing, and to charge men with stubbornness.

Mary. lord Chandos and master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can."

A. D.
1555.

Philpot :—" Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, 'The Father is greater than I.' But in respect of his deity he said again, 'The Father and I be one.'"

London :—" But what scripture have you?"

Philpot :—" Yes I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, 'Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels.'¹ It is the 15th Psalm, beginning 'Cœli enarrant.'" And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my lord took me:

London :—" It is in 'Domine Dominus noster.' Ye may see, my lords, how well this man is used to say his matins."

Philpot :—" Though I say not matins in such order as your lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that 'Domine Dominus noster,' and 'Cœli enarrant,' be not far asunder. And albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth of that I have proved."

London :—" What say you then to the second Scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?"

Scripture
alleged.

Philpot :—" The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father: and this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, — by the manifest word of God to expound them."

See
Appendix.

London :—" How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, 'That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life.'"

How the
letter
killeth,
and
whom.

Philpot :—" St. Paul meaneth not that the word of God written in itself killeth (which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord); but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said, 'That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death.'² Also an example hereof we have in John vi., of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, 'The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the Spirit that quickeneth.'³

London :—" What! do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?"

Philpot :—" It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places;⁴ and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, 'The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things.'⁵

London :—" You see, my lords, that this man will have but his own mind; and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him."

Philpot :—" The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but of the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this realm."

Philpot's
request
to the
lords.

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords "to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and to testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can approve that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be."

Riche :—" What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?"

Philpot :—" Yea, my lord; I was sir P. Philpot's son of Hampshire."

Riche :—" He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him."

Philpot :—" I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner."

(1) "Diminuiti cum paulo minus ab angelis." Psalm viii. ["Cœli enarrant" is Ps. xix.—Ed.]

(2) 2 Cor. iii.

(3) John vi.

(4) 1 Cor. vi.

(5) "Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei; spiritualis dijudicat omnia." 1 Cor. ii.

Riche :—" In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet, to do you good." *Mary.*

Chamberlain :—" He may do well enough, if he list."

St. John :—" Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well." A. D
1555.

Riche :—" You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?"

Philpot :—" My lord, your lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility in this realm. It was no part of my mind; but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side."

Riche :—" Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?"

Philpot :—" My lord, it is not meet, that a man should be judged by his adversaries."

Riche :—" By whom then would you be judged?"

Philpot :—" I will make your honours judges, that shall be hearers of us."

Riche :—" I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you; will you promise here, afore my lords, so to do?"

Philpot :—" I will be contented to be judged by them."

Riche :—" Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?"

Philpot :—" There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God."

Riche :—" Oh, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm." *See
Appendix.*

Philpot :—" My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church; which is, first that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality gathered together gave their consents and judgment. And such kind of judgment I will stand to." The true
order of
judgment
used in
the primi-
tive
church.

London :—" My lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of." Bonner
bewareth
his
own igno-
rance.

Philpot :—" In the Epistles of St. Cyprian I am able to show it you."

London :—" Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fet me Cyprian hither."

Philpot :—" You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh." And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain (whom he appointed to fet his book), whispered the bishop in his ear, and fet not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fet. "Well, my lord," quoth I, "master doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fet the book ere this." Bonner
dares not
reach out
his book.

Riche :—" You would have none other judge, I see, but the Word."

Philpot :—" Yes, my lord: I will be tried by the Word, and by such as will judge according to the Word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your lordship and another, upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?"

Riche :—" No marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof."

London :—" He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be." And here the bishop thought he had good handfast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The Lords :—" He hath overthrown himself by his own argument."

Philpot :—" My lords, it seemeth to your honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to express my cause: but, if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my lord Riche here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, Bonner
triumphs
before the
victory.

(1) Philpot will not be judged by his adversaries, but by the hearers, so far as they shall judge by God's word.

Mary. albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?"¹
A. D. *Riche* :—" He cannot so do."
1555.

Philpot :—" Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things." And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Objection of the lord Riche why the words are not to be taken "This is my body."

Riche :—" I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, 'This is my body,' and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?' and was not his very body betrayed for us? therefore it must needs be his body."

London :—" My lord Riche, you have said wonderful well and learnedly; but you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh.'² How can you answer to that?"

Philpot :—" If it please you to give me leave to answer first my lord Riche, I will also answer this objection."

Riche :—" Answer my lord of London first, and after come to me."

John vi. expounded, "The bread that I will give is my flesh," etc. See Appendix.

Philpot :—" My lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual cohabitation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, 'I am the bread that came down from heaven;' but yet he is not material neither natural bread: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

Papists eat-erousins to the Capernaïtes. Transubstantiation hath neither ground of Scripture nor antiquity.

"And now to my lord Riche's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, 'This is my body,' but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken; they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaïtes took carnally, as the Papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught neither declared any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles, and by the decree of the Council of Antioch may appear."³

London :—" No, that is not so; they were only 'catechumeni,' which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other."

Philpot :—" It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive."

London :—" What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my lord Riche hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will."

Bonner's unreverent and blasphemous speaking of God.

Philpot :—" As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willet;⁴ but he willet nothing that is not agreeable to his Word; as that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, 'God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature,'⁵ as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless

(1) As a judge of the law may not discern the meaning of a statute otherwise than agreeable to the words, so hath the church no power to judge the meaning of God's word contrary to itself.

(2) "Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est."

(3) Canon Apost. 9, in Concilia General. studio Labbei, tom i. col. 25; Cone. Antioch. Can. 2, tom. ii. col. 561.—Ed.

(4) Psal. cxxxv.

(5) "Non potest Deus facere quæ sunt naturæ suæ contrariæ."

you can declare by the Word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

London :—" Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?"

The omnipotency pretended in vain.

Philpot :—" I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof, according to Christ's institution."

London :—" What mean you by really present?"

Philpot :—" I mean by really present, present indeed."

London :—" Is God really present everywhere?"

Philpot :—" He is so."

London :—" How prove you that?"

What Philpot calleth really.

Philpot :—" The prophet Isaiah saith, 'that God filleth all places:' and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them."

London :—" What? his humanity?"

Philpot :—" No, my lord, I mean the deity, according to that you demanded."

Riche :—" My lord of London, I pray you let master doctor Chedsey reason with him; and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him."

Bonner too weak for Philpot.

London :—" My lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave master doctor and him reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again." He went (as I suppose), to make room for more drink, after the lords had drunken. My lord Riche said to the lords, " I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty;" and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all. God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

The lords fall to drinking.

Lord Riche bid-deth Philpot drink See Appendix

Chedsey :—" Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation house before your lordships, that he hath lain this long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so;¹ for he had leave to say what he could,² and was answered to as much as he was able to bring;³ and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping.⁴ I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word.⁵ And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will show you the truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the doctors."

Chedsey beginneth to dispute with Philpot.

Philpot :—" It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so manifest untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good meany of noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have. But my weeping was, as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinite more, have felt and shall feel."

Philpot answereth Chedsey.

All these words I did not then speak out, being interrupted by my lord Riche, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the

Philpot interrupted in his answers.

(1) Four untruths of Chedsey at one clap.

(2) First untruth.

(3) Second untruth.

(4) Third untruth.

(5) Fourth untruth.

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Appendix.*

spirituality to his promise, which now rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days, for his elect's sake.¹ And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, as master dean of Rochester, and master Cheyney archdeacon of Hereford (yet being alive, and within the realm), can testify.

Chedsey :—" You have of Scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, 'This is my body.'² They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the body. But specially the sixth of John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.'³

Chedsey
proveth
the sacra-
ment by
John vi.

Philpot :—" My lord Riche, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a litle, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ. For if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needed he not to have died, after he had given the sacrament."

Riche :—" Let master doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can."

Chedsey :—" You must note that there is twice 'dabo'⁴ in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross. And besides these manifest Scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian" [whose authority he recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same].

Riche :—" Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard."

Philpot :—" My lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, 'This is my body,' with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require master doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your honours that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and, contrariwise, it is most discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now-a-days. And now to my question, which is this: Whether these words only, 'This is my body,'⁵ spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose or no?"

Philpot
answer-
eth pro-
testation.

Blasphemy to say that these words only, "This is my body," make a real presence.

These words, "Bless, take, and eat," be as substantial points of the sacrament as "This is my body."

Staggering what he might say, at last Chedsey said, "That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really."

Philpot :—" That is blasphemy to say, and against all the Scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, 'In the sacrifice which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed.'⁶ And by the law it is forbidden to add or take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, 'If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God.' Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, 'This is my body,' do make a presence of Christ, without 'Bless, take, and eat,' which be three as substantial points of the sacrament, as 'This is my body,' he is highly deceived. Therefore St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:'⁷ so that if

(1) Praise be to the Lord, for so he hath.

(2) "Hoc est corpus meum."

(3) "Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita."

(4) So there is twice "ego dabo," and yet but once natural body. (5) "Hoc est corpus meum."

(6) "In sacrificio quod Christus est, non nisi Christus sequendus." Cyp. Opera. lib. ii. epist. 3, p. 56.—E.D.

(7) "Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum." [August. in Joh. Tract. 80. § 3.—E.D.]

the entire words of Christ's institution be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ, and also a showing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified), and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment—except (I say) these three parts be first performed (which is not done in the mass), these words 'This is my body,' which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, 'Take ye, eat ye,' as 'This is my body.'¹

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Chedsey :—" Christ said, 'Take, eat, this is my body,' and not, 'take ye, eat ye.'"

Philpot :—" No did, master doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, 'Accipite, manducate?' and do not these words in the plural number signify, 'Take ye, eat ye;' and not 'take thou, eat thou,' as you would suppose?"

Master doctor taken with the manner.

Chedsey :—" I grant it is as you say."
Philpot :—" Likewise of consequence, you, master doctor, must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, 'This is my body,' being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said."

Then came in the bishop of London again and said, "What is it that you would have master doctor deny?"

Philpot :—" My lord, master doctor hath affirmed that these words, 'This is my body,' spoken by the priest, only do make the sacrament."

London :—" Indeed if master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body."

The words of Christ "This is my body," except a priest speak them make no body.

Philpot :—" Master doctor hath said otherwise."

London :—" I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced."

Philpot :—" Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, 'This is my body,' hath no place, except 'bless, take, and eat,' duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before 'this is my body,' but preposterously follow, in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present."

Chedsey :—" If, 'this is my body' only do not make the sacrament, no more do, 'bless, take, and eat.'"

Philpot :—" I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution."

Chedsey :—" Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?"

Philpot :—" No, verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as congrigly receive the same after his institution."

Sacraments without their use be no sacraments.

London :—" Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, though no body eat thereof?"

Philpot :—" It is not like, my lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table. But so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord."

London :—" I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received, *after the words of consecration spoken? answer me.*"

Philpot :—" It is, my lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution."

The sacrament of the Lord's body with out receiving, is no sacrament.

Windsor :—" There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, 'This is my body?'"

Philpot :—" My lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example; Christ

(1) Hereof read more in the examinations of master Bradford.

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biddeth the church 'to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:' if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, these words only pronounced, do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by."¹

Chamberlain :—"I pray you, my lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?"

Philpot :—"If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him and he to Christ."

Chamberlain :—"I am answered."

London :—"My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, 'Take, eat, this is a fat capon,' although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still?² And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine; if I say, 'Drink, this is a cup of wine,' is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?"

Philpot :—"My lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil; and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, 'Take ye, and eat ye,' be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments. And therefore in Greek, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called *κοινωνία*, i. e. communion, and likewise in the gospel Christ commanded, saying, 'Divide it among you.'³

Chedsey :—"St. Paul calleth it a communication."

Philpot :—"That doth more expressly show, that there must be a participation of the sacrament together."

London :—"My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now."⁴ And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment: God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

The Seventh Examination of John Philpot, had the 19th of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, Dr. Chedsey, Master Dee, and a Bachelor of Divinity.

See
Appendix.

Another
calling of
Philpot
before the
bishop.

London :—"Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make master chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming."

Philpot :—"My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list. But as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately."

London :—"We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass, or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?"

Philpot :—"My lord, that is another manner of question."

London :—"Lo, master chancellor, I told you we should have a froward

(1) As baptism is no baptism but to the child that is baptized, and not to the standers by: so the sacrament of the body is no sacrament but to them that worthily receive.

(2) My lord is better skilled in a fat capon, than in Christ's sacrament!

(3) "Dividite inter vos."

(4) You are too weak, my lord, you may rise when ye will.

fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual lords and temporal, and thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.¹

Philpot :—" I reckon, I answered your lordship before the lords plain enough."

London :—" Why answerest thou not directly whether thou wouldest have gone to mass with us or no, if thou hadst come in time?"

Philpot :—" Mine answer shall be thus; that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will."

London :—" Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not.² By my faith thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

Philpot :—" If to lie in a blind coal-house, may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

London :—" Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a meany of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I shall cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

Philpot :—" My lord, we have no such resort to us as your lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark."

London :—" Nay; now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone,³ that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

Philpot :—" My lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

Chancellor :—" Cast not yourself wilfully away, master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

Philpot :—" My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God cause me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I did lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward to be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure."

Chancellor :—" You are not so sure, but you may be deceived."

London :—" Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by no fair mean, I will proceed against thee *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them." And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles: and when he had done, he bade me answer."

Philpot :—" Your libel, my lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your lordship, upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary-office: the which first is not true, for that I am not of your lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them; the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto."

London :—" What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now I pray you?"

Philpot :—" My lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is in your diocese, yet I am not of your diocese."

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The prisoners charged with that they neither did nor knew of.

Philpot standeth upon his conscience and the fear of God.

Bonner proceedeth *ex officio* with Philpot.

Two untruths in the bishop's articles.

(1) You said before, he was learned.

(2) Note, how substantially bishop Bonner proveth the mass.

(3) He meaneth Stephen Gardiner, who in this month died a little before.

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Philpot challengeth the privilege of his ordinary's right.

London :—" You were sent hither unto me by the queen's majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese : wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary."

Philpot :—" I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither maketh it me unwillingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do ; no more than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought."

Chedsey :—" Hath not the queen's majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will ? and ought you not to obey herein ?"

Philpot :—" I grant that the queen's majesty (of her just power) may trans- pose my body, whither it shall please her grace to command the same. But yet, by your laws, ' spiritual causes be not subject to the temporal power.'¹ As for example ; you, master doctor, if the queen's majesty would to appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your causes ?"²

London :—" Doth not a man, I pray you, ' sortiri forum ratione delicti ?' "

Philpot :—" My lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so, which be otherwise privileged."

London :—" What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other ?"

Philpot :—" My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved."

London :—" Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second—that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church now, as you were baptized in ?"

Philpot :—" I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church which is of Christ, the pillar and stablishment of truth."

London :—" Nay, that you are not."

Philpot :—" Yes, that I am."

London :—" Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now."

Philpot :—" I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ."³

London :—" How know you that ?"

Philpot :—" By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church."

London :—" How long hath your church stand, I pray you ?"

Philpot :—" Even from the beginning ; from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors."

Chancellor :—" He will prove his church to be before Christ !"

Philpot :—" If I did so, I go not amiss : for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church."

Chancellor :—" It is so indeed."

Philpot :—" I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side, to prove both my faith and church catholic ; that is antiquity, universality, and unity."⁴

London :—" Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is ? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church ? Name him, and thou shalt have him."

Philpot :—" My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

London :—" No, that thou shalt not have.⁵ You shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian saith, ' There must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey ;' and they will allow no head, neither vicar general."

(1) " *Spiritualia non sunt subjecta imperatoris potestati.*"

(2) Spiritual things are not subject to temporal powers, and therefore the temporal commissioners had no power to remove him into another man's diocese.

(3) A man is not baptized into his godfathers' faith, nor his godmothers' faith ; but into the faith of Christ's church.

(4) No rule better than antiquity, universality, and unity, to prove the true faith and church of the protestants.

(5) Because you dare not.

Philpot proveth his church to be from Christ.

Philpot :—" St. Cyprian saith not that there should be a vicar-general over all. For in his book 'De Simplicitate Prælatorum,' I am sure he saith the contrary.¹ 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.'²"

London :—" Fet lither the book ; thou shalt see the manifest place against thee."

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum " That it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed,"³ and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

Philpot :—" Master doctor, you misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian : for he meaneth not there by the high priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high priest, himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, ' The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'"

London :—" Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth even from Peter ?"

Philpot :—" No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority than the bishop of London hath."

London :—" Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority ?"

Philpot :—" I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had. But Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had."

Chancellor :—" Yes, that St. Peter had ; for Christ said specially unto him, ' I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ;'⁴ the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him."

Philpot :—" St. Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, ' That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not.'"

London :—" What if I can prove and show you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, ' De catholicâ fide et sanctâ Romanâ ecclesiâ ?'"

Philpot :—" That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws ; and divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man."

* *M. Dee* * :—" What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian ? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church ?"

Philpot :—" I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf ; but he meaneth nothing as you take it."

* *M. Dee* * :—" St. Cyprian hath these words, ' That upon Peter was builded the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.'"⁵

Philpot :—" He declareth that in an example,⁶ that unity must be in the church ; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book ' De Simplicitate Prælato-

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The place of St. Cyprian explained.

Peter had no more authority over the church than every one of the apostles.

Peter beareth but a figure of the church. Bonner's divinity lieth much in the civil law.

Cyprian.

The place of Cyprian expounded.

(1) "Unus episcopatus est, cujus pars in solidum à singulis tenetur."

(2) St. Cyprian meaneth every church to have his own governor, not all churches to be under one.

(3) *Cypr. lib. i. epist. iii.*

(4) "Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum."

(5) "Quod super Petrum fundata fuit ecclesia, tanquam super originem unitatis."

(6) Mr. Dee seems to have quoted from memory : the passage to which he refers stands in connexion with one, which has been shamefully interpolated in what may be truly called the papal edition of Rome, of 1563. Compare p. 139 of this, with pp. 105-6 of the Oxford edition, 1682. It is remarkable that in the splendid Benedictine edition also (Paris, 1726), the text should be retained in its papally corrupted state, contrary to MSS. and editions, and apparently the intentions of the editor, Baluze ; who did not live to complete the work, and whose notes have therefore been curtailed, and the typographical signatures doubled, in order to make them accord with the mangled text. This will be evident upon inspection. Dupin, cent. 3. p. 152, Lond. 1692, is worth consulting. The readings between stars are from the Editions of 1563, 1570 : Foxe changes *M. Dee* into *A Doctor*, in Edition 1576 and the following Editions : and in the passage five lines higher the Latin Edition, p. 586, says *Londinensis*.—Ed.

Mary. rum,' saying, 'In the person of one man, God gave the keys to all, that he, in signification thereby, might declare the unity of all men.'"¹
A. D. **M. Dee**²:—"How! will you understand St. Cyprian so? That were good
1555. indeed!"

Philpot:—"I think you cannot understand St. Cyprian better, than he doth declare himself."

Bonner
goeth to
the par-
liament.

London:—"I will desire you, master chancellor, to take some pains, with master doctor Chedsey *and master Dee*,³ about his examination, for I must go to the parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me."

Then **M. Dee** took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, disgressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabouts he went; and therewithal he laughed. And I said his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

Master
doctor
slippeth
away.

M. Dee:—"Yea? then I have done with you:" and so went away.

Philpot:—"**M. Dee**, you are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you: therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know."

Chancellor:—"Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, 'Feed my sheep.'"⁴

The
words of
Christ to
Peter,
Feed my
sheep,
'Pasce
oves
meas,'
expound-
ed by
'Ite, præ-
dicatè.'

Philpot:—"That is no otherwise to be taken, than 'Go ye and preach,'⁵ which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, 'Feed my sheep,'⁶ it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take 'Pasce oves meas,' for to be Lord of the whole world?" In this meanwhile came in another, a bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help master chancellor.

Scholar:—"What will you say if I can show you a Greek author, called Theophylact,⁷ to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?"

Theophy-
lact of no
great au-
thority.

Philpot:—"Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils."

Scholar:—"In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?"

Council
of Nice.

Philpot:—"In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome."

Scholar:—"Nay, that is not so."

Philpot:—"Then I perceive you are better seen in words, than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so; as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils."⁸

(1) "In personâ unius Christus dedit omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem donaret."

(2) The Latin, and 1563, 1570 Editions, both here and in several ensuing instances, read "M. Deyus" or "M. Dee": the subsequent Editions alter this into "a Doctor."—Ed.

(3) "Una cum hoc D. doctore Chadsio et D. Deyo:" Lat. Ed. p. 586. The English Editions subsequent to that of 1570 suppress the words "and M. Dee." See similar suppressions of John Dee's name at pp. 77, 85, and 681, of this volume.—Ed.

(4) "Pasce oves meas." (5) "Ite, prædicatè."

(6) "Pasce oves meas."

(7) "Theophylactus etiâ τὰ πρωτεία πάντων καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπισκοπίαν, primum omnium et præfecturam orbis, in vigesimum secundum Luca, non secus intellexit quam de Apostolatu; ut evincitur ex ipso orationis contextu. Cum, inquit, Apostolus fueris et negaveris, et iterum receperis primum omnium et præfecturam orbis. Non enim dixit simpliciter accepisse, sed iterum πάλιν accepisse. Quidni? videlicet id ipsum quod ante habuerat, et a quo per negationem videbatur excidisse. Id autem quid erat? Apostolatus; diserte enim Theophylactus, cum Apostolus fueris. Iterum igitur accepit Apostolatum; ac proinde per hæc verba voluit Theophylactus describere non ullum Petro eximium munus, sed eum quem prius nominaverat Apostolatum, Petro cum reliquis communem."—Chamier, *Panstratia Catholica*, tom. ii. lib. xi. cap. 20. § 12.—Ed.

(8) What Epitome *Philpot* here refers to, we cannot discover. There is nothing to support the assertion in Cardinal Contarini's *Summa*, who says merely, p. 17, edit. Venet. 1562, "affinit etiam Athanasius;" nor in Merlin's small collection, Paris, 1535; nor in Carranza's *Summa Conciliorum* (Salmantica, 1551), pp. 51—54. In Calvin's *Institutes* (iv. 7, 1) there is an intimation to that effect—but of course mistakenly; on which Chamier remarks: "Calvinus Athanasium, . . . a nos memoria lapsum Calvinum fatemur, quem Athanasium nominavit, quem certum est interfuisse quidem ei Concilio, sed nondum Episcopum."—*Panstratia Catholica*, lib. xiii. cap. 12, § 11. Grindal in a letter to Foxe (Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 112, Grindal's Remains, Parker Soc. 223) points out this error of *Philpot* (previously committed also at p. 616, see note there), and apologizes for him: certain it is, however, that the pope did not preside.—Ed.

Scholar :—“ I will fet Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of General Councils.” He went into my lord’s closet, and brought Eusebius; but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to show the same, and so shrank away confounded.

Chancellor :—“ The church of Rome hath been always taken for the whole catholic church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you: and why will you be so singular?”

Philpot :—“ I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you do make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be righteous than you.”

Chancellor :—“ Do you hear, master doctor, what he saith, that the church of Rome is the devil?”

Chedsey :—“ I wish you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Austin, in his Epistle written unto pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?”

Philpot :—“ I am sure you can show no such thing.” And with that he fet the book of St. Austin, and turned to the Epistle, but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise :—

Chedsey :—“ Here you may see, that the council of Carthage¹ writing to Innocent the bishop, calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same; which they would not have done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.”

Philpot :—“ Master doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Augustine; and, contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apostolical see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the apostolical see of that true religion and sincerity, as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolical see: otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

“ And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocent,² certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and, agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. The which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

“ And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine,³ it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The scholar of Oxford shrinketh away.

The pope’s side not able to prove their church to be the holy catholic church.

The see of Rome, how apostolical, and not apostolical.

Peter being at Rome, no perpetuity to Rome to be head of the church.

(1) Concil. Carthag. contra Pelagianos, II.; apud Labbe, tom. ii. col. 1534. “Hoc igitur gestum, domine frater” is the style used.—Ed.

(2) The council of Carthage wrote to Innocent bishop of Rome, to confirm their acts with his subscription. Ergo, the bishop of Rome is above all bishops. Argumentum à causa non sufficiente.

(3) Epist. 53, § 2. tom. ii. edit. Benedict.—Ed.

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Appendix.*

the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither no such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the succession of bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory), that no such doctrine hath been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare."¹

Chancellor :—" Well, master doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers."

Philpot
refuseth
the chan-
cellor to
be his or
dinary.

Philpot :—" Master chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop."

Chancellor :—" Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away."

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

The sum of a private Conference or Talk between Master Philpot and the Bishop of London.

The next day, in the morning betimes, the bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his chapel to hear mass.

Bishop's Man :—" Master Philpot, where be you?"

Philpot :—" Who is it that calleth me?"

Bishop's Man :—" My lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass. Will you come or no?"

Philpot :—" My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my lord I am sick." After this the keeper was sent to bring me to my lord.

The Keeper :—" Master Philpot, you must rise and come to my lord."

Philpot :—" I am at your commandment, master keeper, as soon as I can." And going out of the prison, he asked me, saying :

The Keeper :—" Will ye go to mass?"

Philpot :—" My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning."² After this my keeper presented me to the bishop in his hall.

London :—" Master Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain, master Dee, and my registrar have from me to object against you; go and answer them."

Philpot
refuseth
to answer
but in
open
judg-
ment.

Philpot :—" My lord, all judgments ought to be public.³ Therefore, if your lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty: otherwise in corners I will not."

London :—" Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough: thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say."

Philpot :—" I may well go with them at your lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answer than I have said already."

Philpot
com-
manded
to the
stocks of
the coal-
house.

London :—" No wilt thou, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: What, foolish knave!"

Philpot :—" Indeed, my lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and

(1) The scope of St. Augustine's argument is not to prove the church of Rome therefore to be sound in the doctrine, because it hath succession of bishops from the apostles, but to prove the Donatists to be schismatics; for that the church of Rome continuing both sound in the doctrine of the apostles, and also in retaining still succession of bishops from the apostles' time, yet they would forsake the unity of that church, and set up another church of their own.

The argument is this :—

To dissever from that church which by continual succession of bishops descendeth from the apostles and keepeth the same institution still in faith and doctrine, is to break the unity of the church, and to be schismatics. The Donatists do so from the church of Rome, having no just cause of doctrine so to do: Ergo, the Donatists be schismatics.

(2) A marvel how the priests, eating up a whole man, flesh, blood, and bone, to breakfast, can have such a hungry stomach to their dinner afterward, as they have, as if they had eaten never a bit of meat before!

(3) "Omnia judicia debent esse publica."

we must be content to be made fools at your hands; stocks and violence is your bishop-like almose. You go about by force in corners to oppress us, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake!" And I was put by and by into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience.

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Another Conference between Bonner, Bishop of London, and Master Philpot and other Prisoners.

The next day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

Another
day's talk.

The Keeper :—" Master Philpot, arise, you must come to my lord."

Philpot :—" I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him."

Keeper :—" I will go tell my lord what answer you make." And so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying that I must come, whether I would or no."

Philpot :—" If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not." And therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

Philpot
brought
to the
bishop by
violence.

London :—" What? thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fet."

Philpot :—" I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you; and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law."

London :—" I am blamed of the lords the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this.¹ And in faith I made suit to my lord cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my lord of Lincoln² stood up, and said that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of yourself. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if thou wilt not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already said or done."

Philpot :—" My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of master White, bishop of Lincoln, I pass not: who is known to be mine enemy, for that I, being archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my master were called a mad man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic."

Philpot,
being
archdea-
con, ex-
communi-
cated
bishop
White for
preaching
false
doctrine.

London :—" Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me (marry, and I am counselled to take heed of thee), to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst."

Philpot :—" My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came into prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should live until I would go about to kill you: and I confess by violence your lordship is able to overcome me."

Matter
made of a
knife sent
to Philpot
in a pig's
belly.

London :—" I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles, as I shall demand thee of."

Articles
again put
to Philpot.

Philpot :—" I will first know your lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein."

(1) Note here the just dealings of these bishops.

(2) This bishop of Lincoln was Dr. White.

Mary.

London :—"What, we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge!"

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1555.

Philpot :—"My lord, I am no Anabaptist; I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary."

Bonner, of mere power and authority, pronounceth himself to be Philpot's ordinary.

London :—"I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese." [And here he bade call in more to bear him witness.] "And I make thee" [taking one of his servants by the arm] "to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles:" to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fet me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him."

False articles feigned against Philpot.

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, "Master sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain;" and so he read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philpot :—"Hah, my lord! have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me! You might as well have said I had killed your father. The scriptures say, 'that God will destroy all men that speak lies.' And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman (who is unknown to me), that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible."

London :—"I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them."

Bonner taken with an untruth.

Philpot :—"Then it was not justly said of your lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these articles you have read, in form as they are written."

London :—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or no?"

Philpot :—"I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things; and then afterward, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully thereof; and not otherwise."

Other prisoners called in to bear witness against John Philpot.

London :—"Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witness herein against thee. Where are they? Come!"

Keeper :—"They be here, my lord."

London :—"Come hither, sirs: hold them a book. You shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man. And take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors."

The prisoners refuse to be sworn against Philpot.

Prisoners :—"My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him."

Philpot :—"I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses: for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness."

London :—"Yes, one heretic against another may be witness well enough. And, master sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another."

Philpot :—"You have the law in your own hand, and you will do what you list."

Bonner again doeth against the law.

Prisoners :—"No, my lord."

Note how the bishops make Anabaptists.

London :—"No will? I will make you swear whether you will or no. I wene they be Anabaptists, master sheriff: they think it not lawful to swear before a judge."

Philpot :—"We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called; as we are not now, but in a blind corner."

See Appendix.

London :—"Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of master sheriff object

the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined after by my registrar and some of my chaplains."

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Prisoners :—" My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto : otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us ; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

London :—" Master sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with master sheriff.

Philpot :—" Master sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us."

Bonner
seeketh
corners.

And after this were all commanded to be had away. And I was commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night ; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

Another Private Conference between the Bishop of London and Master Philpot in the Coal-house.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before : whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoner, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me ; and therefore, after supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying—

Bonner
viewing
his coal-
house.

London :—" Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty. And besides that, you are yonder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough. I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand despatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man."

Philpot :—" My lord, you have my body in your custody ; you may transport it whither it please you : I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say : I long there-for : and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I."

London :—" Why, you will believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say."

Philpot :—" My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, the which if any can show me, I will be pliant to the same. Otherwise, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain."

London :—" Have you then the truth only ?"

Philpot :—" My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God ; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectation : he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably.¹ I envy not your authority you are in. You that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion ; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can." With this saying he was apoused,² and said at length :—

Good
counsel
given to
Bonner.

London :—" That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper ? Come let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before."

And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me (as the sequel did declare), and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Paul's, up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west

Philpot
conveyed
into a
close
tower
joining to
Paul's
church.

(1) He meaneth Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

(2) " Apoused," i. e. struck.—ED.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*Philpot
searched
for writ-
ings.The copy
of his
examina-
tions by
God's
great
working
preserv-
ed.

side of Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet of breadth, and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many of houses, but see no man passing into them: and whoso walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may see my window and me standing in the same. And as I was come to my place, the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly, and took away pennar, inkhorn, girdle, and knife; but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, full sore against my will, I cast away many a sweet letter and friendly: but that I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my leg, the which he by feeling did soon espy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. "Let me alone," said I, "I will pluck them out." With that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my pocket-hole, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; the which, for to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me; and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

After this he went his way, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. "No did?" quoth he, "I will go search him better:" the which I, hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place beside my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again; and as he came I threw the same out of my window, saying, that I heard what he said: wherefore I did prevent his searching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The Eighth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David's; Master Mordant, and others, in the Bishop's Chapel.

The next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and so was I brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, master Mordant one of the queen's council, master archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Balaamites. And the bishop spake unto me in this wise:—

London:—"Sir, here I object and lay unto you, in the presence of my lord of St. David's, and of master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained."

And openly he read them. To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would, when he had said. "And unto these here I add another schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of king Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely my lord of St. David's, master Mordant, and master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, his stubborn and unreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book!" And receiving one, he opened the same, saying, "I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, by looking on the gospel book, without touching

Articles
objected
and read
to Phil-
pot.Witness-
es sworn
against
Philpot.

of the same."¹ And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and willed them to resort to his registrar to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, "Now sir, you shall answer but in two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?"

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Philpot :—"My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?"

Papists
keep no
promise.

London :—"Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time."

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Philpot :—"Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge."

Philpot
appealeth
from
Bonner.

London :—"Indeed, master Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands."

Philpot :—"You will do what you list, my lord, you have the law in your hands."

London :—"Wilt thou answer or no?"

Philpot :—"I will not answer otherwise than I have said."

London :—"Registrar, note his answer that he maketh."

Philpot :—"Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law: as well you may do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days; God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdom." And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

Bonner
doth
without
order of
law.

St. David's :—"Master Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you."

Philpot :—"My lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law."

After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

The Ninth Examination of Master Philpot, before the Bishop of London, and his Chaplains.

In the morning, the next day, I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the bishop had heard his mass; and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

London :—"I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles; and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?"

Philpot :—"My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is, free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise."

Philpot
still
standeth
to his
former
plea to
answer
before his
own ordi-
nary.

London :—"Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles."

Philpot :—"No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried."

London :—"Well, thou shalt hear them."

(1) "Inspectis evangelis, et non tactis."

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Philpot
will not
hear his
articles
read.

And with that he began to read them. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book. And after he had read them over he said unto me,

London :—“ I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest, to be so wilful and so stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity. Dost thou not see all the realm against thee?”

Philpot :—“ My lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God’s word; and if your lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same.”

London :—“ What! thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire.”

Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, “ My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; or else what will they say, but that either for fear or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I have any kind of learning openly showed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me.”

London :—“ Yea marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house: call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me.”

Philpot :—“ My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament.”

London :—“ What! do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?”

Talk of
the sacra-
ment.

Philpot :—“ No, my lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ’s institution: and first, it must be proved a sacrament, or there can be any kind of presence granted.”

London :—“ Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?”

Philpot :—“ Yes, verily, that it is.”

London :—“ Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the mass is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a sacrament.”¹

Philpot :—“ You must add this to your major, or first proposition, as St. Augustine doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded: for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament.”

London :—“ I grant that: and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ’s institution.”

Philpot :—“ I deny that, my lord.”

London :—“ I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will go show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is without there? Call me master doctor Chedsey, master Archdeacon, master Cosins, and other chaplains hither.”

“ Here, my lord. Master doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and master Archdeacon was here even now.”

London :—“ Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.”

The
bishop,
being
brought
to a nar-
row strait,
is fain to
call for
more
help.

(1) This argument in the second figure concluding affirmatively, doth not hold by logic.

Cosins :—“ I trust, my lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies ! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first ?”

Mary.

Philpot :—“ Master *Cosins*, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me : but, if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.”

A. D.
1555.

Cosins :—“ No will you ? Why, what is that, then, that is in question between my lord and you ?”

Philpot :—“ Whether your mass be a sacrament, or no.”

Cosins :—“ What, the mass to be a sacrament ? who ever doubted thereof ?”

Philpot :—“ If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it ; for I doubt much thereof.”

Whether the mass be a sacrament.

Cosins :—“ Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing : ergo, it is a sacrament.”

Philpot :—“ I deny your antecedent.”

Cosins :—“ What, will you so ? then there is no reasoning with you.”

Thus master *Cosins* gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation ; and with that master *Harfsfield* came out from my lord with *St. Augustine's Epistles*, saying,

Master *Cosins* giveth over in the plain field.

Harfsfield :—“ My lord hath sent you here *St. Augustine* to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth : I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, and [specially] on the Sabbath and holy-days.”

Philpot :—“ I perceive the contents of this Epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither nothing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass.”

See Appendix

Harfsfield :—“ No ! doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof ? what can be spoken more plain ?”

Philpot :—“ *St. Austin* meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have crected in the stead thereof ; for this word ‘ mass ’ hath been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell.”

The Epistle of *St. Augustine* alleged for confirmation of the mass, answered.

Cosins :—“ No can ? That is marvel.”

Philpot :—“ Then tell, if you can.” But master *Cosins* and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon master *Harfsfield* for help ; and at length he spake.

Harfsfield :—“ You think it cometh of the Hebrew word ‘ *massah*, ’ as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you.”

Philpot :—“ I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of ‘ *missa*, ’ which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew : but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called ‘ *missa*, ’ à mittendo, of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters ; and for this cause was it called ‘ *missa*, ’ as learned men do witnes. At the which celebration of the mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in *St. Augustine's* time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as that was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which *St. Augustine* attributed to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary.”

The word *missa*.

Harfsfield :—“ What ! deny you the mass to be a sacrament ? for shame, speak it not.”

Philpot :—“ I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.”

(1) See *Jewel's* “ *Replie to Harding*, ” art. 11, divis. 3 ; and art. 1.—Ed.

*Mary.**Harpfield* :—“ Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament.”¹A. D.
1555.*Philpot* :—“ You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice.”*Harpfield* :—“ Why? doth not Christ say, ‘ This is my body?’ and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?”A sacra-
ment is
no sacra-
ment
without
its use.*Philpot* :—“ The pronounciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a christian person to be baptized.”*Harpfield* :—“ Nay, that is not like; for ‘ Hoc est corpus meum,’ is an indicative proposition, showing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine.”*Philpot* :—“ It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that said, ‘ This is my body;’² said also, ‘ Take ye, eat ye.’³ And except the former part of the institution of Christ’s sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, ‘ This is my body,’ can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.”*Morrow-mass Chaplain* :—“ Why then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament.”Receiv-
ing mak-
eth not
the sacra-
ment, yet
the sacra-
ment of
the Lord’s
Supper,
without it
be receiv-
ed, is no
sacra-
ment.
What the
priests
ought to
do at their
mass.*Philpot* :—“ I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament; because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, ‘ Take ye, eat ye,’ which you do not in your mass according to Christ’s institution. Wherefore it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ’s institution.”*Cosins* :—“ We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it.”*Philpot* :—“ Nay, that they shall not, though they require it; you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ’s institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, for Christ’s passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ’s commandment, saying unto all that be present, ‘ Take ye, eat ye:’ and likewise, by preaching, show forth the Lord’s death, which you do not.”*Cosins* :—“ What and if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a certain hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none hath communicated beside the priest?”*Philpot* :—“ In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God’s word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament.” After this the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:*The Morrow-mass Priest* :—“ If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said ‘ Take ye, eat ye;’ then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, ‘ Go preach the Gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father,’ etc.The sa-
crament
of bap-
tism may
be minist-
ered un-
to any
person.
The sa-
crament
of the
Lord’s
Supper
requireth
a commu-
nion.*Philpot* :—“ In that saying of Christ, ‘ baptizing all nations,’ is a commandment to the apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the Eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but contrariwise, by the express words of St. Paul, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, “ As oft as ye come together to eat [meaning the Lord’s Supper] tarry one for another.”⁴ And also the minister, in the celebration of the sacrament, speaketh unto all that be present in Christ’s behalf, to communicate with him, saying, ‘ Take ye, and eat ye.’ Wherefore, as many as be

(1) The mass is a sacrifice, quoth Harpfield.

(2) “ Hoc est corpus meum.”

(3) “ Accipite, manducate.”

(4) “ Quoties convenitis ad manducandum, alius alium expectate,” 1 Cor. xi.

present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same. And the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament.'

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Harpsfield :—"What! would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?"

At the ministrations of the Supper all that be present ought to communicate.

Philpot :—"I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers; as St. Chrysostome, writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, saith, 'that the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest.' If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?"

Cosins :—"You are such another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the mass to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go [pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain]: we will leave you, master Archdeacon, and him together." And so they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

It is no sacrament without it be a communion.

Harpsfield :—"Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me."

Philpot :—"I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am sure you are), I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you: for, afore God, I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those men you take yourselves for; and, if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time. I give you warning, for else, in the day of judgment, I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together."

Talk between Philpot and Harpsfield.

Harpsfield :—"Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford."

Philpot :—"I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there."

See Appendix.

Harpsfield :—"I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation 'in parvis,' you would not lightly give over; and for that cause I speak what I have said."

Philpot :—"Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now, our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so goodly a show: wherefore I pray you judge not so of me now."

Harpsfield :—"What, will you think yourself better learned, than all the learned men in this realm?"

Philpot :—"My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word."

Harpsfield :—"Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart."

Philpot :—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield :—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

Philpot :—"I pray you, master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun 'hoc' doth demonstrate and show, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' this is my body?"

What this pronoun 'hoc' doth demonstrate.

Harpsfield :—"It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body."¹

Philpot :—"Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body?"

(1) That is against the opinion of Winchester. Read before in the tractation of Winchester's sermon.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Harp-
field in a
double
tale.

Contra-
riety in
Popish
doctrine.
Pre-
tence
of God's
omni-
potence.

The sub-
stantial
parts of
the sacra-
ment tak-
er away
by the
papists.

Harp-
field
giveth
over for
lack of
good
matter.

Harpfield :—" Yea, that it is."

Philpot :—" Why, then Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think."

Then Harpfield fet about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion, of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the omnipotency of God.

Philpot :—" This is another song than you sang first; and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves: for indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated: contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!"

Harpfield :—" Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?"

Philpot :—" But his omnipotency will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings-away of the bread, as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it 'bread' many times after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, 'Take ye, eat ye, Drink ye all of this; Do ye this in remembrance of me:' and to place in their steads, 'Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead?' If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

Harpfield :—" I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together, which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you."

Philpot :—" I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpfield :—" Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

The Tenth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, his Registrar, and others.

The next day after dinner I was brought into my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his registrar, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the presence of two homely gentlemen, and a priest which I knew not: at what time the bishop said,

London :—" I do here lay unto this man in your presence (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them) these articles, this book of the catechism made in king Edward's days, also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also I lay unto him, that he hath despised the censures of the church, and hath standen accursed more than this twelvemonth, and never required absolution thereof. How say you, wast thou not accursed by my lord chancellor?"

Philpot :—" I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law; being never personally cited."

London :—" Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicate?"

Philpot :—" More than a twelvemonth and a half."

London :—" Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it."

Philpot :—" But as you would have written, that I have said I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him write, that I did require of my lord chancellor that did excommunicate me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was 'excommunicatus ipso jure,' because I was a heretic,

Philpot
accused
by Gard-
ner with-
out order
of law.

Philpot
required
absolu-
tion of
Winches-
ter, and
was
denied.

as it pleased him to call me; therefore accursed by your law: and so commanded me to prison, where I remain."

Gentleman:—"Why do you not require absolution at my lord's hands here now?"

Philpot:—"Because he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right."

London:—"What an obstinate fool is this! I tell thee I will be thine ordinary, whether thou wilt or no."

Philpot:—"And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, master registrar, that my appeal may be entered in writing."

London:—"Have you heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my diocese."

Philpot:—"I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese."

London:—"I pray you may not a man be of two dioceses at once?"

Philpot:—"No, that he cannot."

London:—"Lo, will you see what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in the which he would seem to be seen! I tell thee a man may be of three dioceses at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my diocese: or else if thou wert not born here, but hadst a dignity here, also thou art to be counted of my diocese: or else by reason of thy habitation in my diocese."

Philpot:—"In none of these respects I am of your lordship's diocese. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London diocese."

London:—"What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?"

Philpot:—"But what shall I win, if you do not?"

London:—"I will give thee my bishopric, if I prove it not."

Philpot:—"Yea, but who shall deliver it me if I win?"

London:—"Thou art an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must be gone to the parliament-house."

After this spake unto me a priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my lord Riche, or no."

Philpot:—"I said, "He said so himself to me the other day, but how, I know not."

Chedsey:—"I heard him say he was his very nigh kinsman."

Balaamite:—"Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my very nigh kinsman. How chanceth it that you and I be of contrary judgments?"

Philpot:—"It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, that the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, for his truth's sake."

Balaamite:—"You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass."

Philpot:—"If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you."

Balaamite:—"What, prove it a sacrament? quoth he. Doth not St. Paul say, 'That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?'"

Philpot:—"That saying of St. Paul concerneth nothing your sacrament; but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful believers."

Balaamite:—"Why, then I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived."

Philpot:—"You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you; and without disworship of our kindred, I understand St. Paul as well as you, and know what I say." [And with that showed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation,² and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Philpot
appealeth
from Bon-
ner again.

How one
may be of
three
dioceses
at once.

His Balaamite
kinsman.
See
Appendix

Scripture
hand-
somerly
applied.

(1) "Quæ oculus non vidit, et auris non audivit, ea præparavit Deus diligentibus se."

(2) This was no doubt the fourth edition of Stephen's, which is remarkable as being the one in which the text was first divided into verses. It bears the title "Novum Test. cum duplici interpretatione Erasmi et vet. Interpretis, etc.; ex officinâ Roberti Stephani, 1551." In the copy from which this title has been transcribed, it may be remarked, that the words D. Erasmi have been erased, and the preface, consisting of one leaf, torn out, in order to render the volume inoffensively papal. Any curiosity about the edition and its incorrect date of 1541, may be satisfied in Le Long's "Bibliotheca Sacra," vol. i. p. 210, edit. 1723; or in Masch's enlarged republication of it, vol. i. p. 305. The fourth edition of Erasmus's Greek Testament (Basiliæ, 1527) is arranged in the same

Mary. *Balaamite* :—“ I knew Greek too once, as well as you ; I care not which you read.”

A.D. *Philpot* :—“ You know them then all alike ; you understand the one as well as the other.” With this my *Balaamite* kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day's talk with the bishops.

The next day after I was brought down again, after dinner, to the chapel, and there my *Balaamite* kinsman (to verify the Scriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the bishop as a witness against me : and there the bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a priest also ; saying, “ You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man ; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence.”

Witness again sworn against *Philpot*.

Philpot appealeth again from the bishop.

Philpot :—“ My lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me : and require you, master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour.”

Registrar :—“ Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto ? tell me.”

Philpot :—“ I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury ; for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present.” With that the bishop went away, and my *Balaamite* kinsman looked big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribbled out all mine examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

The Eleventh Examination of John *Philpot*, had on St. Andrew's Day, before the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bath, the Bishop of London, the Prolocutor, Master Christopherson, and Dr. Chedsey, Master Morgan of Oxford, Master Hussey of the Arches, Dr. Weston, Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and Master Johnson Registrar to the Bishop of London, in his Palace.

Yet another examination of John *Philpot* before bishops and doctors.

I was coming, being sent for with my keeper ; and the bishop of London met me in his hall-door, and full mannerly he played the gentleman-usher to bring me before the lords, saying, “ My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man ; he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself.”

Durham :—“ Come hither sir ; what is your name ?”

Philpot :—“ My name is *Philpot*.”

Durham :—“ I have heard of that name to be a worshipful stock ; and since you be a gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now ?”

I told him the cause, as in my former examinations is expressed.

Durham :—“ Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new fangled opinions and heresies ? I wis I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth.”

Philpot :—“ My lord, I am of the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in the same. But it is not unknown to your lordship, that I with others these twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto : wherefore it is requisite that we have a time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word. For faith is not at a sudden

manner as this of Stephen's, and is the one alluded to in Foxe (vol. v. p. 117), as containing the first mention of Tonstall's name, by which Tyndale was attracted :—see Russel's edition of Tyndale and Frith's works, vol. i. p. 500. Foxe says, “ in the annotations ;” but it would be more correct to refer to the “ capita argum. contra morosos quosdam ac indoctos,” near the close. These precede the text, and are in the Basle edition unpagged ; and here it is that Tonstall's name appears as bishop of London.—ED.

neither won, neither removed, but, as St. Paul saith, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word.'"¹

Mary.

Chichester :—" And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will show him how he taketh the saying of St. Paul amiss, as many others now-a-days alleging the same do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe: whereas St. Paul meaneth of infidels, and not of the faithful. And so St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, saith, that the faithful may be compelled to believe."²

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Papists will have faith to be compelled. Faith ought not to be compelled.

Philpot :—" St. Bernard (and it please your lordship) doth take that sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined."³ And St. Augustine speaketh of such as were first thoroughly persuaded by manifest scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborn wilfulness."

Chichester :—" So Bernard meaneth of infidels also."

Philpot :—" No, my lord, that he doth not, for he writeth not of the infidels, but he writeth of such as were deceived by errors."

Chichester :—" My lord of Durham, I have been so bold to interrupt your lordship of your tale: I pray you now proceed on."

Durham :—" Master Philpot, will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us [which] you were baptized in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do? and then may you be rid out of trouble." I perceive you are learned, and it is pity but you should do well."

Philpot :—" I am of the same catholic faith and catholic church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and die."

Philpot of what faith.

Durham :—" That is well said: if you hold there, you cannot do but well."

Chichester :—" Yea, my lord, but he meaneth otherwise than you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?"

No man bound to be of the faith of his godfathers in every respect.

Philpot :—" I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptized unto, which is, the faith of Christ: for I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ."

Chichester :—" St. Augustine saith, that infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers."⁴

Philpot :—" St. Augustine yet in so saying meaneth of the faith of Christ, which the godfathers do or ought to believe; and not otherwise."

St. Augustine.

Durham :—" How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no? and be of one church with us?"

Philpot :—" My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there hath been always two churches."

Chichester :—" Nay, that is not so: there is but one catholic church."

Philpot :—" I shall desire your lordships to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the same true church a false church, adversary to the true: and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, who persecuted and slew his brother, in whom (as St. Augustine witnesseth) is represented the false and true church."⁵ And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and showed unto them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, anon after rose the false church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made to themselves at Bethel and set up golden calves; and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them."

The true church and the false church ever joined together. The true and false church declared first in Abel and Cain.

Chichester :—" I will grant you before the coming of Christ, there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot show it to be so by the Scripture."

Dr. Day driven to a strait.

Philpot :—" Yes, my lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ

(1) "Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum."

(2) St. Augustine's sentiments upon this point occasionally seem rather perplexed; but the testimony in favour of lenient measures is clear, and greatly preponderates. In the passage supposed to be here referred to (contra Gaudent. Donatist. lib. i. cap. 25, § 28), the concluding words must have been overlooked: "qui" (Deus) "eos volentes facit, dum cognatur inviti." In a similar way the following passage has been perverted and mutilated in Dens's Theology (vol. li. p. 80), and probably by hundreds of other Romish writers and transcribers: "Non ut homines, quod fieri non potest, nolentes credant, sed ut volentes ex nolentibus fiant." (Aug. contra duas Epist. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 27, tom. x. col. 428, edit. 1688.)—Ed.

(3) "Fides est suadenda, et non imponenda." Bernard. in Cant. Ser. 66. [See his Works. Basil, 1552, p. 1045.—Ed.]

(4) "In fide susceptorum."

(5) Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xv. cap. 15.

Mary. had chosen his twelve apostles was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the false church?"

A. D. 1555. *Chichester* :—"Yea, but I mean after the gospel was written: where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?"

Philpot :—"The gospel was, within eight years after the ascension, written by St. Matthew; and the writing thereof is not material to the declaration of these two churches to have been always from time to time, as by example it may be showed; and yet, as evil as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament is mention made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalypse; and also St. Paul to the Thessalonians maketh mention that Antichrist, with his false generation, shall sit in the temple of God." [To the which Chichester replied not.]

Durham :—"The church in the Scripture is likened to a great fisher's net, which containeth in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth."

Philpot :—"My lord, it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to God's truth."

Durham :—"Do you so, and then shall you do well. It is almost night, my lord of London, I must needs be gone."

The bishops begin to be weary of their part. Bonner would fain pick out matter if he could tell how.

London :—"Nay, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while." And before he had so said, the bishop of Bath went his way without saying any word. "What, my lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel. I pray you sit down again, or else I will. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, 'The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar in earth,'¹ Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine; that the Spirit is Christ's vicar on earth?"

Philpot :—"My lord, it is not my saying, it is a better learned man's than mine; for I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers, as all others be, where ye find the same written. And, as I remember, it is even the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my lord of Durham and my lord of Chichester by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it evil said."

See Appendix.

London :—"No will? Why, take away the first syllable, and it soundeth Arius."

Philpot :—"That is far fetched indeed: if your lordship will scan men's sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list."

Another matter picked against Philpot.

London :—"But to help this, I find moreover written with his own hand in another book, 'In me Johanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit et gratia;' that is, 'In me John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath superabounded.' I pray you what superabundant grace have you more than other men? So said Arius, that he had the abundance of grace above all other."

Philpot :—"My lord, you need not be offended with that saying more than the other, for it is the saying of St. Paul himself; and I did apply it to myself for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all.² And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them, as it is well known I have written against them."

London :—"Also I lay to thy charge, that thou killedst thy father, and was accused of thy mother in her death-bed, as I can bring witness thereof."

Philpot, falsely charged with untruth, when no truth can be found against him.

Philpot :—"O Lord, what blasphemy is this! Hath your lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your honours) such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at Paul's Cross, what you will have me: I am so sure they are as great blasphemies as may be objected against any man. Hah, my lords! I pray you consider how my lord of London hath hitherto proceeded against me: for indeed he hath none other but such pretended slanderous lies."

Chichester :—"They be 'πάρεργα;' that is, matters beside the purpose."

Durham :—"My lord, I must needs bid you farewell."

London :—"Nay my lord, here is a letter which I shall desire your lordship to hear ere you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to

(1) "Quod Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terrâ."

(2) Rom. v. 1 Tim. i.

write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman, called master Green, in my house (Call him hither!) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He all-to tare the letter when he saw my man went about to search him;¹ but yet I have pieced it again together, and caused a copy to be written thereof." [And he read the torn letter, bidding master Christopherson and Doctor Morgan to mark the copy thereof.]

The contents of the letter were the examination of master Green before the bishop of London in the presence of master Fecknam, dean of Paul's, and of divers others; whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at of the dean himself, and of many others, as Fecknam did report; and that he was first committed to Dr. Chedsey, *and after to Dr. Dee the great conjurer,* and to have his meat from the bishop's own table. "How say you, my lords, was this well done of him, being my prisoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a shameful lie, that he was in Dr. Chedsey's keeping. How say you, master doctor Chedsey, is it not a shameful lie?"

Chedsey :—"Yes, my lord, he was never in my keeping."

London :—"Art thou not ashamed, to write such shameful lies? Come hither, master Green, Did not I show you this letter?"

Green :—"Yea forsooth, my lord; you showed it me."

London :—"How think you, my lords, is not this an honest man to belie me, and to call my chaplain a great conjuror?" [My lord of Durham smiled thereat.]

Philpot :—"Your lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your lordship may perceive, and all others that have heard the same) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how master Green sped at the bishop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report."

London :—"Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare."

Philpot :—"No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend; and specially seeing you will take all things to the worst: neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for."

London :—"I would see any so hardy to put up thine appeal."

Philpot :—"My lord, I cannot tell what God will work: I have written it, speed it as it may."

London :—"My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How sayest thou; have I not?"

Philpot :—"If to lie in the vilest prison in this town (being a gentleman and an archdeacon), and in a coal-house, by the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, be to be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness.² But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are at these days."

London :—"Lo, what a varlet is this! Besides this, my lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose, I."

Philpot :—"Your lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal, for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's Bench, when my keeper took away my inkhorn."

London :—"And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknown unto me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this house, I tell thee."

Philpot :—"My lord, because you have caused my pennar and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet fain that my friends might understand what I lack: not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight."

London :—"More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife be put between the skin and the flesh; for what purpose judge you. How sayest thou, didst thou not so?"

Philpot :—"I cannot deny but there was half a pig sent me, and under the same a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know: your lord-

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Philpot charged with a letter written to master Green. The contents of Philpot's letter to Green.

Green called.

Philpot again charged with an untruth.

See Appendix.

Black powder sent to Philpot to make ink.

False surmises against Philpot.

(1) This letter torn in the Blind Tower, read before.

(2) Note what great gentleness this bishop showed to Philpot, and compare the same with the hauling now of him in his imprisonment.

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ship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife, since I came to prison. Therefore all these be but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal."

London :—"I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all) his book of the report of the disputation had in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be, against the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, master doctor Weston? did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?"

Weston :—"Yea, my lord, that he did, and would never be answered. And it is pity that the same worshipful congregation should be slandered with such untrue reports."

Dr. Weston's chief arguments in the convocation-house.

See Appendix.

Philpot :—"You answered me indeed, master doctor (being then prolocutor) goodly, with 'Hold thy peace,' and 'Have him to prison,' and 'Put him out of the house.' I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, because it setteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did use me, being an archdeacon, and not of the worst of the house."

Weston :—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot :—"Indeed, master doctor, ye have amongst you unarchdeaoned me as now (I thank God of it), and that without all order of law."

London :—"I pray you, my lords, hearken what he writeth of himself, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He saith, that Dr. Weston called him frantic and madman, and said he should go to Bethlehem."

Philpot :—"Indeed my lord, so it pleased Dr. Weston to taunt at me, and say his shameful pleasure; but yet I was no whit the more so for all his sayings, than Christ was when the Scribes and the Pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was possessed of a devil, most blasphemously."

Bishop Tonstal and master Weston give over the matter.

Durham :—"My lord of London! I can tarry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Master Philpot, me thinketh you have said well, that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church: I pray you so do, and you shall do right well." [And so he departed with master Weston and master Hussey.]

Philpot :—"I have purposed so to do, howsoever I speed, by God's grace."

London :—"I pray you my lord of Chichester, and master prolocutor, and master doctor Morgan, to commune with him whiles I bring my lord of Durham going."

Christopherson :—"Master Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you be remembered (but you have forgotten me), and talked somewhat with you of these matters; and I find you now the same man that you were then, I wish it were otherwise. For God's sake be conformable to men that be better learned than you, and stand not in your own conceit."

Wisdom in God's matters consisteth not in man's learning.

Philpot :—"Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was so, though it were but very strange on your part, to meward, being driven to necessity."

Christopherson :—"You know the world was dangerous at that time."

Philpot :—"Nothing so dangerous as it is now; but let that pass. Whereas you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God for that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myself: indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whose books, in respect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you. But faith and the wisdom of God consist not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul willet that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can show by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatsoever he be."

Christopherson :—"I marvel why you should dissent from the catholic church, since it hath thus long universally been received, except within this five or six years here in England."

Philpot :—"I do not dissent from the true catholic church; I do only dissent from the bishop of Rome, where if you can prove to be the catholic church of Christ, I will be of the same also with you."

Christopherson :—"Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can show out of him, "that the church of Rome is such a one, unto the which misbelief cannot approach.""

Philpot :—“ I am sure you cannot show any such saying out of St. Cyprian.”

Christopherson :—“ What will you lay thereon?”

Philpot :—“ I will lay as much as I am able to make.”

Morgan :—“ Will you promise to recant, if he show his saying to be true?”

Philpot :—“ My faith shall not hang upon any doctor's saying, further than he shall be able to prove the same by God's word.”

Christopherson :—“ I will go fet the book, and show it him by and by.” And therewithal he went into the bishop's study, and fet Cyprian, and appointed out these words in one of his epistles, “ But unto the Romans, whose faith by the testimony of the apostle is praised, misbelief can have no access.”¹

Philpot :—“ These words of Cyprian do nothing prove your pretended assertion, which is, that to the church of Rome there could come no misbelief.”

Christopherson :—“ Good Lord, no doth? What can be said more plainly?”

Philpot :—“ He speaketh not of the church of Rome absolutely.”

Christopherson :—“ By God, a child that can but his grammar, will not deny that you do, the words be so plain.”

Philpot :—“ Swear not, master doctor, but weigh Cyprian's words with me, and I shall make you to say as I have said.”

Christopherson :—“ I am no doctor, but I perceive it is but labour lost to reason with you.”

And with that the bishop of London came in blowing again, and said, “ What! is my lord of Chichester gone away also?” [for he even a little before departed also without saying any other word, but he must needs be gone.] “ What is the matter you now stand upon?”

Morgan :—“ Master Christopherson hath showed master Philpot a notable place of the authority of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.”

Bonner :—“ Where is the place? Let me see. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, sir, what say you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with St. Paul's own testimony, the first to the Romans, where he saith, that their faith is preached throughout the world. How can you be able to answer to this?”

Philpot :—“ Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you well consider all the words of Cyprian: for he speaketh of such as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world by an epistle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. ‘ With such as are praised of St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, misbelief can have no place.’² And now if you can show that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is the faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans in his time, then will I say that St. Cyprian then said, and with you, ‘ that infidelity can have no place there:’ but otherwise it maketh not absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do mistake it.”

Christopherson :—“ You understand Cyprian well indeed: I think you never read him in your life!”

Philpot :—“ Yes, master doctor, that I have; I can show you a book, noted with mine own hand: though I have not read so much as you, yet I have read somewhat. It is a shame for you to wrest and writhe the doctors as you do, to maintain a false religion, which be altogether against you, if you take them aright. And indeed your false packing of doctors together hath given me and others occasion to look upon them, whereby we find you shameful liars, and misreporters of the ancient doctors.”

Morgan :—“ What! will you be in hand to allow doctors now? they of your sect do not so: I marvel therefore you will allow them.”

Philpot :—“ I do allow them inasmuch as they do agree with the Scriptures, and so do all they which be of the truth, howsoever you term us: and I praise God for that good understanding I have received by them.”

Christopherson :—“ What! you understand not the doctors: you may be ashamed to say it.”

Philpot :—“ I thank God I understand them better than you: for you have the blindness of heart;³ so that you understand not truly what you read, no

Mary.

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Dr. Day shrinketh alsoaway.

A place of Cyprian expounded.

Papists wresters and misreporters of the doctors.

(1) “ Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, non potest accedere perfidia.” Cyprian. ad Cornel. [Opera, 1521. Basil: lib. i. Epist. iii. p. 14.—Ed.]

(2) “ Ad Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, perfidia accedere non potest.”

(3) “ Execrationem cordis.”

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more than the wall here, as the taking of Cyprian doth well declare. And, afore God, you are but deceivers of the people, for all your brag you make of learning; neither have ye scripture or ancient doctor on your side, being truly taken."

Doctors
make
against
the pa-
pists, if
they be
rightly
taken.

Morgan :—"Why, all the doctors be on our side, and against you altogether."

Philpot :—"Yea, so you say when you be in your pulpits alone, and none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little sight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my side, than you shall be able for yours; and he that can bring most, to him let the other side yield. Are ye so content herewith?"

Christopherson :—"It is but folly to reason with you: you will believe no man but yourself."

Philpot :—"I will believe you, or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God, there is no truth in you."

Morgan :—"What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot :—"Except the articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and sound in nothing."

Morgan :—"What say you, do we not believe well on the sacrament?"

Philpot :—"It is the thing which, among all others, you do most abuse."

Morgan :—"Wherein I pray you? tell us."

Philpot :—"I have told you before, master doctor, in the convocation-house."

Morgan :—"Yes, marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping; ha, ha, ha!"

Morgan
here be-
ginneth
to play
the εἰρωνῶν.

Philpot :—"I did weep indeed, and so did Christ upon Jerusalem, and am not to be blamed there-for, if you consider the cause of my weeping."

Morgan :—"What, make you yourself Christ? ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot :—"No, sir, I make not myself Christ: but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foresaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare."

Morgan :—"That is your argument."

Christopherson :—"Wherein do we abuse the sacrament? tell us."

The sac-
rament
abused by
the pa-
pists, how
and
wherein.
Sacra-
ment in
one kind.

Philpot :—"As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution."

Christopherson :—"Why, is not there as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?"

Philpot :—"I believe not so; for, if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only, for he instituted nothing superfluous; and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind, as in both, since the Scripture teacheth otherwise."

Christopherson :—"What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles in one or two places, where it is written that the apostles continued, 'In prayers and in breaking of bread,'¹ which is meant of the sacrament."

Philpot :—"Why, master doctor, do you not know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole use of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, 'synecdoche,'² where part is mentioned, and the whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded it?"

Christopherson :—"Nay, that is not so. For I can show you out of Euseb. in Eccl. Hist., that there was a man of God (whom he named) that sent the sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was sick."³

Philpot :—"I have read indeed that they did use to give that was left of the communion bread to children, to mariners, and to women; and so peradventure the boy might carry a piece of that was left to the sick man."

(1) "In orationibus et fractione panis."

(2) Synecdoche is a figure, when by one thing or by part the whole is understood.

(3) Eusebius hath these words: "Parum Eucharistiæ puero dedit," i. e. "He gave a little of the sacrament to the boy;" which words may very well comprehend both parts. And it seemeth by the words that follow, that that part of it was liquor, for it is written in the same place, "Jussit ut id infunderet, et in os senis instillaret." 1. "He commanded that he should pour it and drop it into the man's mouth, and so he did."—Euseb. in Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 44.

Christopherson :—" Nay, as a sacrament it was purposely sent unto him."

Mary.

Philpot :—" If it were so, yet can you not precisely say that he had not the cup ministered unto him, also, by some other sent unto him. But though one man did use it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian noteth many abuses of the sacrament in his time, which rose upon singular men's examples, as using of water instead of wine: therefore he saith, 'We must not look what any man hath done before us, but what Christ first of all men did and commanded.'" 1

A. D.
1555.

Christopherson :—" Hath not the church taught us so to use the sacrament? and how do we know that Christ is 'homousios,' that is, of one substance with the Father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prove that otherwise by express words of Scripture; and where find you 'homousios' in all the Scripture?"

Philpot :—" Yes, that I do in the first of the Hebrews, where it is written that Christ is the express image of God's own substance, 'ejusdem substantiæ.'" 2

Christopherson :—" Nay, that is not so. It is there no more but 'expressa imago substantiæ,' the express image of God's substance; and image is accident."

Philpot :—" It is in the text, 'of his substance,' 'substantiæ illius,' or of his own substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besides this, that which Christ spake of himself in St. John manifesteth the same, saying, 'I and the Father be one thing,' 'Ego et pater unum sumus.' And whereas you say, 'imago' here is accident, the ancient fathers use this for a strong argument, to prove Christ to be God, because he is the very image of God."

Christopherson :—" Yea do? is this a good argument, because we are the image of God, ergo, we are God?"

See
Appendix.

Philpot :—" We are not called the express image of God, as it is written of Christ, and we are but the image of God by participation; and, as it is written in Genesis, we are made to the likeness and similitude of God. But you ought to know, master Christopherson, that there is no accident in God: and therefore Christ cannot be the image of God; but he must be of the same substance with God."

The
image of
God, is
not like
in Christ,
and in us.

Christopherson :—" Tush!"

Morgan :—" How say you to the presence of the sacrament? Will you stand to the judgment here of your book, or no? or will you recant?"

Presence
of the sa-
crament.

Philpot :—" I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be of my setting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment."

Morgan :—" Speak, be you of the same mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unless you are become another manner of man than you were."

Philpot :—" What I was, you know: what I am, I will not tell you now. But this I will say to you, by the way, that if you can prove the sacrament of the mass, as you now use it, to be a sacrament, I will then grant you a presence; but first you must prove the same a sacrament, and afterward entreat of the presence."

The sa-
crament
of the
mass as it
is used, is
no sacra-
ment.

Morgan :—" Ho! do you doubt that it is a sacrament?"

Philpot :—" I am past doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a sacrament."

Christopherson :—" Yea do? good Lord, doth not St. Augustine call it the sacrament of the altar? How say you to that?"

Philpot :—" That maketh nothing for the probation of your sacrament. For so he, with other ancient writers, do call the Holy Communion or the Supper of the Lord, in respect that it is the sacrament of the sacrifice which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, the which sacrifice all the altars and sacrifices done upon the altars in the old law did prefigure and shadow; the which pertaineth nothing to your sacrament, hanging upon your altars made of lime and stone."

Christopherson :—" No doth? I pray you what signifieth 'altar?'"

Philpot :—" Not as you falsely take it, materially, but for the sacrifice of the altar of the cross."

Altar,
what it
signifieth.

Christopherson :—" Where find you it ever so taken?"

(1) "Non respiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, sed quid Christus qui omnium primus ante nos fecerit et mandavit."

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Christopherson,
for lack
of better
proof,
falseth to
exclaim-
ing.Wran-
gling
matter
against
Philpot.Scoffing
Morgan

Philpot :—“ Yes that I do in St. Paul to the Hebrews, where he saith, “ We have an altar, of the which it is not lawful for them to eat that serve the tabernacle.”¹ Is not altar in this place taken for the sacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and stone?”

Christopherson :—“ Well! God bless me out of your company. You are such an obstinate heretic, as I have not heard the like.”

Philpot :—“ I pray God keep me from such blind doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they say, then they fall to blaspheming (as you now do) for lack of better proof.” In the mean while the bishop of London was talking with some other by, and at length came in to supply his part, and said :

London :—“ I pray you masters, hearken what I shall say to this man. Come hither, master Green. And now sir [pointing to me], you cannot think it sufficient to be naught yourself, but must go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like.”

Philpot :—“ My lord, he cannot say, that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any such matter, as he here can testify.”

Green :—“ No, you never wrote unto me.”

Bonner :—“ Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him?”

Philpot :—“ I have showed your lordship my mind concerning that letter already: it was not written to master Green, neither was he privy to the writing thereof.”

London :—“ How say you then, If a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in such a case?”

Philpot :—“ I am bound to do the best I can to bring him out of it.”

London :—“ If master Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof, if you can?”

Philpot :—“ Yes that I am, and will do the uttermost of my power therein.”

The bishop remembering himself, thinking that he would but shrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceased to go any further in his demand, and called master Green aside, and, before his registrar, read him a letter; I know not the contents thereof. And therewithal he gave master Green the book of my disputation in the convocation-house; and afterward went aside, communing with master Christopherson, leaving master Morgan, master Harpsfield, and master Cosins to reason with me in the hearing of master Green.

Morgan :—“ Master Philpot, I would ask you how old your religion is?”

Philpot :—“ It is older than yours by a thousand years and more.”²

Morgan :—“ I pray you where was it fifty years ago?”

Philpot :—“ It was in Germany apparent, by the testimony of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliff, whom your generation a hundred years ago and more, did burn for preaching the truth unto you; and before their time and since hath been, although under persecution it hath been put to silence.”

Morgan :—“ That is a marvellous strange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it.”

Philpot :—“ It ought to be no marvel unto you to see God’s truth through violence oppressed; for so it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by stories, and as Christ’s true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Apocalypse you may see it was prophesied, that the true church should be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions.”

Morgan :—“ Ah! are you seen in the Apocalypse? there are many strange things.”

Philpot :—“ If I tell you the truth, which you are not able to refel, believe it, and dally not out so earnest matters. Methinketh you are liker a scoffer in a play, than a reasonable doctor to instruct a man: you are bare-arsed, and dance naked in a net, and yet you see not your own nakedness.”

Morgan :—“ What! I pray you, be not so quick with me, let us talk a little more coldly together.”

Philpot :—“ I will talk with you as mildly as you can desire, if you will speak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.”

(1) “ Habemus altare de quo non est fas edere his qui tabernaculo deserviunt.” Heb. xiii.

(2) Philpot’s religion elder than popery by a thousand years. This religion was not seen openly a hundred years ago: ergo, this religion was not. The antecedent is true, and the consequence false!

Morgan :—" Why will not you submit your judgment to the learned men of this realm?" *Mary.*

Philpot :—" Because I see they can bring no good ground whereupon I may, with a good conscience, settle my faith more surely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifest word." A. D.
1555.

Morgan :—" No do? that is marvel that so many learned men should be deceived."

Philpot :—" It is no marvel by St. Paul, for he saith, 'that not many wise, neither many learned after the world, be called to the knowledge of the gospel.'"

Morgan :—" Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?"

Philpot :—" I say not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ, have the Spirit of God, as well as I."

Morgan :—" How know you that you have the Spirit of God?"

Philpot :—" By the faith of Christ which is in me."

Morgan :—" Ah! by faith do you so? I ween it be the spirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I ween went drunken unto it." Morgan
falleth to
scuffling
and rail-
ing at the
good mar-
tyrs of
God.

Philpot :—" It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the spirit of the buttery² than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I must now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite! in the name of the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such scornors of his word, and blasphemers of his people, as thou art."

Morgan :—" What, you rage now."

Philpot :—" Thy foolish blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to speak that which I have said to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness!"

Morgan :—" Why do ye judge me so?"

Philpot :—" By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blasphemous doctor! for as it is written, 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' I have spoken on God's behalf, and now I have done with thee."

Morgan :—" Why, then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell-fire."

Philpot :—" I tell thee, thou hypocrite! that I pass not this for thy fire and faggots; neither, I thank God my lord, stand in fear of the same: my faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the hell-fire which thou threatenest me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (unless thou speedily repent), and for such hypocrites as thou art." Philpot,
with great
zeal, de-
nounceth
hell fire
to Morgan
unless he
repent.

Morgan :—" What, thou speakest upon wine; thou hast tippled well to-day, by likelihood."

Philpot :—" So said the cursed generation, of the apostles being replenished with the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God. They said, they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say, as thou dost now."

Morgan :—" Why, I am able to answer thee ywis, I trow."

Philpot :—" So it seemeth, with blasphemies and lies."

Morgan :—" Nay, even with learning, say what thou canst."

Philpot :—" That appeared well at my disputation in the convocation-house, where thou tookest upon thee to answer those few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wast not able to answer one, but in thine answers didst fumble and stammer, that the whole house was ashamed of thee: and the final conclusion of all thine answers was, that thou couldst answer me, if I were in the schools at Oxford!" Morgan
fumbling
and stam-
mering in
the con-
vocation-
house.

Morgan :—" What, did I so? thou beliest me."

Philpot :—" I do not belie thee; the book of the report of the disputation beareth record thereto, and all that were present then can tell, if they list, thou saidst so. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to answer that Spirit of Truth which speaketh in me for the defence of Christ's true religion. I am able by the might thereof to drive thee round about this gallery before me: and if it would please the queen's majesty and her council to hear thee and me, I would make thee for shame shrink behind the door."

Morgan :—" Yea, would you so? lo!"

(1) 1 Cor. i.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Morgan
taken up
for halt-
ing.

Philpot :—“Thou hast the spirit of illusion and sophistry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of Truth. Thou art but an ass in the true understanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee ass, not in respect of malice, but in that thou kickest against the truth, and art void of all godly understanding, not able to answer to that thou braggest in.”

Morgan :—“Why! have I not answered thee in all things thou hast said unto me? I take them to record.”

Philpot :—“Ask of my fellow whether I be a thief!”

Cosins :—“Hark, he maketh us all thieves.”

Philpot :—“You know that phrase of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am sure you will not judge with me, against him, speak I never so true; and in this sense I speak it. The strongest answer that he hath made against me is, that you will burn me.”

Morgan :—“Why, we do not burn you; it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we!”

Philpot :—“Thus you would, as Pilate did, wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, call upon the secular power,² to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, ‘to burn heretics?’”³

Harpfield :—“I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout a heretic as you are, master Philpot.”

Cosins :—“Neither I, in all my life.”

Philpot :—“You are not able to prove me a heretic, by one jot of God’s word.”

Harp-
field and
Cosins
depart.

Harpfield :—“You have the spirit of arrogance; I will reason with you no more.” And so he was departing, and master Cosins also. And with that the bishop and Christopherson came in again, and said:

Bonner :—“Master doctor, how do this man and you agree?”

Morgan :—“My lord, I do ask him where his church was fifty years ago?”

Bonner :—“Are you not half agreed? as one man said once to twaye parties, of whom the one was equally disagreeing from the other.”

Christopherson :—“My lord, it is but folly to reason with him any further, your lordship shall but lose time, for he is incurable.”

Bonner :—“Well then, let his keeper have him away.” And with that Dr. Chedsey led me a way by the which we could not pass, and therefore came back again through the bishop’s chamber, where all these doctors were clustered together; and, as I was passing by, the bishop took me by the gown and said, “Wot you what master Christopherson telleth me? I pray you, master Christopherson, rebarse the sentence in Latin.” And so he did: the contents whereof were, that a heretic would not be won.

Christopherson :—“St. Paul saith, ‘Flee a heretic after once or twice warning.’”⁴

Christian
truth
called
heresy.

All the Doctors :—“Yea, my lord, it is best you so do, and trouble your lordship no more with him.”

Philpot :—“You must first prove me justly to be a heretic, before you use the judgment of St. Paul against me; for he speaketh of such as hold opinion against the manifest word, the which you cannot prove by me: and because you want in your proof, and be able to prove nothing against me, therefore you go about falsely to suppose me to be a heretic, for the safeguard of your own counterfeit honesties. But afore God, you are the heretics which so stoutly and stubbornly maintain so many things directly against God’s word, as God in his time shall reveal.” As I went out of his chamber the bishop called me aside, and said,

Bonner :—“I pray thee in good sadness, what meanest thou by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, ‘The Spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth?’⁵ I wis you have some special meaning thereof.”

The Holy
Ghost is
Christ’s
vicar up-
on earth,
and how.

Philpot :—“My lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, that Christ, since his ascension, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my lord, let me have my Bible,

See
Appendix.

(1) This is mere delusion. In the “*Lucerna Inquisitorum*” (Romæ, 1584), it is stated that the secular powers are to be *excommunicated*, unless they act within a year; page 38. The Aphorismi Inquisitorum, Auct. Ant. de Sousa (Turnoni, 1633), support this representation; lib. 3. cap. 6.—Ed.

(2) “*Invocate secularium brachium.*”

(3) “*De hæreticis comburendis.*”

(4) “*Hæreticum hominem post unam atque alteram admonitionem devita.*”

(5) “*Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terris.*”

with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends."

Mary.

Bonner :—"Your Bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another; and after I have perused the rest, you shall have such as I think good."

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Philpot :—"I pray your lordship then, that you would let me have candle-light."

John
Philpot
denied to
have can-
dle-light.

Bonner :—"To what purpose, I pray you?"

Philpot :—"The nights be long, and I would fain occupy myself about some-what, and not spend my time idly."

Bonner :—"You may then pray."

Philpot :—"I cannot well say my prayers without light."

Bonner :—"Can you not say your Pater-noster without a candle? I tell you, sir, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candle you get none."

Philpot :—"I had liefer have a candle, than your meat and drink: but, seeing I shall not have my request, the Lord shall be my light."

Bonner :—"Have him down."

Chedsey :—"I will bring him to his keeper, my lord. Master Philpot, I wonder all these learned men whom you have talked withal this day, can nothing at all persuade you."

Philpot :—"Why, master doctor, would you have me to be persuaded with nothing? or would you have me build my faith upon sand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any sufficient authority to be persuaded to you?"

Chedsey :—"I am sorry you will so wilfully cast away yourself, whereas you might live worshipfully: do you not think others have souls to save as well as you have?"

Philpot :—"Every man shall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am, you are deceived, and maintain a false religion; and as for my casting away, I would my burning day were to-morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead."

Chedsey :—"You are not like to die yet, I can tell you."

Philpot :—"I am the more sorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory. Amen."

The Twelfth Examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday, the 4th of December, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Bishop of Bangor.

In the morning I was fet down to the wardrobe adjoining to the chapel, and within a while after came three of the bishop's chaplains unto me, saying, "Master Philpot, my lord hath sent us unto you, to desire you to come to mass, certifying you that there is a doctor of divinity, a chaplain of my lord's, a notable learned man called Dr. Chedsey, going to mass. Therefore we also pray you, good master Philpot, be content to come: it is even hard hereby."

Philpot :—"I wonder my lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing he knoweth I am a man, by your law, that cannot hear mass, because I stand excommunicate."

Philpot,
sent for
to mass,
refuseth
to come.

Bishop's Chaplain :—"Your excommunication is but upon a contumacy; and my lord will dispense with you, if you will come."

Philpot :—"My lord cannot, for he is not mine ordinary, and I will not seek any such thing at his hands."

With this answer they went their way; and after mass the bishop called me before him into his chapel, and there, in the presence of his registrar (after he had said his mind, because I would not come to mass), recited the articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with the depositions of the witnesses, of whom some were not examined. "Sir," said Bonner, "what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give sentence against thee as a heretic?"

The
bishop
layeth out
his ar-
ticles
again.

Philpot :—"Why, my lord, will you proceed to give sentence against me before your witnesses be examined? That is plain against your own law, as all your doings have been hitherto."

The
bishop's
doings
against
the law.

Bonner :—"See what a fool thou art in the law. I need not to recite the depositions of the witnesses, but if I list; for I know them well enough already."

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.*Philpot* :—“ It appeareth indeed you may do what you list.”*Bonner* :—“ Tell me, I say, whether thou wilt answer, or no: and whether, if thou wert absolved of thine excommunication, thou wouldst come to mass or no?”*Philpot* :—“ I have answered as much as I intended to do until I be called to lawful judgment: and as concerning my conscience, I will not make you God, to sit there as yet; it is God’s part only, to be searcher of the heart.”*Bonner* :—“ Look how foolishly he speaks. Art thou God? and yet dost thou not sit in thine own conscience?”*Philpot* :—“ I sit not in mine own conscience; but I know it, and God there only ought to sit, and no man else.”

Philpot is rebuked for singing.

Bonner :—“ Thou art a naughty fellow, and hast done much hurt, and hast seduced other poor fellows here in prison with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, and hast made them rejoice and sing with thee.”*Philpot* :—“ Yea, my lord, we shall sing, when you and such others as you are shall cry, ‘ Væ, væ,’ ‘ Wo, wo,’ except you repent.”*Bonner* :—“ What an arrogant fool is this! I will handle thee like a heretic, and that shortly.”*Philpot* :—“ I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do to me. But God shall destroy such as thou art, and that shortly, as I trust.”*Bonner* :—“ Have him away: this is a knave indeed.”

And I was had into the wardrobe again by my keeper; and, within an hour after, was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

Bonner :—“ Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to be talked with of many learned men, yea and honourable, both temporal and spiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee afore so many: for they say thou gloriest to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lieth upon thee to look to thyself; for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this present we are sent from the synod to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar with us, all that is past shall be forgiven, and you received to favour.”

Talk between Philpot and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

Worcester :—“ Master Philpot, we are sent (as you here have heard by my lord of London) from the synod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it; and, of good-will I bear you, I wish you to take it, whilst it is offered; and be not a singular man against a whole multitude of learned men, which now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. There have many very learned men talked with you. Why should you think yourself better learned than them all? Be not of such arrogancy, but have humility: and remember there is no salvation but in the church.”*Bangor* :—“ Me thinketh my lord hath said wonderfully well unto you, that you should not think yourself so well learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of so good wit, but others be as wise as you, neither of so good memory, but others have as good memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come home to us again. I wis I never liked your religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion.¹ And I was the same manner of man then, that I am now, and a great many more. Marry, for fear we held our peace, and bare with that time. Wherefore master Philpot, I would you did well, for I love you: and therefore be content to come home with us again into the catholic church of Rome.”

The pope’s religion hath no other ground to stand upon but violence. Where this religion was one hundred years ago.

Philpot :—“ Whereas, my lord (as I may begin first to answer you), you say, that religion is to be misliked, which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not men occasion to think the same by yours at this day, which have none other argument to stand by, but violence. If you can show me by any good sufficient ground, whereby to ground my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the same: otherwise I cannot so soon change the religion I have learned these many years.”*Bangor* :—“ Where was your religion to be found (I pray you) a hundred years ago, that any man knew of it?”

(1) If violence and tyranny be no token of true religion: what may men judge then of the pope’s religion, pray you?

Philpot :—" It was in Germany, and in divers other places apparent."

Worcester :—" Jesus! will you be still so singular a man? What is Germany to the whole world?"

Bonner :—" My lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you; that I sent for him to hear mass this morning. And wot you what excuse he made unto me? forsooth, that he was accursed, alleging his own shame. He playeth as that varlet Latimer did at Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor sent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for some of his heresies), and the chancellor was coming to his chamber: who, hearing that the chancellor was coming, made answer that he was sick of the plague, and so deluded the chancellor. Even so this man saith, he is accursed, because he will not come to mass."

Worcester :—" My lord, I am sure, here doth behave himself like a father unto you; therefore be admonished by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your fathers before you."

Philpot :—" It is forbidden us of God by the prophet Ezekiel, to follow our fathers, or to walk in their commandments."

Worcester :—" It is written also in another place, 'Ask of your fathers.'"¹

Philpot :—" We ought to ask indeed our fathers that have more experience and knowledge than we, of God's will; but no more to allow them, than we perceive they agree with the Scripture."

Worcester :—" You will be a contentious man, I see well; and St. Paul saith, that we, neither the church of God, have no such custom."

Philpot :—" I am not contentious but for the verity of my faith, in the which I ought to contend with all such as do impugn the same without any just objection."

Worcester :—" Let us rise, my lord, for I see we shall do no good."

Bonner :—" Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the articles I lay to his charge." And after he had recited them, they arose, and after standing, they reasoned with me awhile.

Worcester :—" Master Philpot, I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with none yet in my diocese, but after once communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good—as you may if you list. For as I understand you were archdeacon of Winchester (which is the eye of the bishop); and you may do much good in that country, if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholic church."

Philpot :—" Wherewithal you so soon persuaded them to your will, I see not. Error, that I know, I hold none: of the catholic church I am sure I am."

Worcester :—" The catholic church doth acknowledge a real presence of Christ in the sacrament,² and so will not you."

Philpot :—" That is not so: for I acknowledge a very essential presence in the duly using of the sacrament."

Worcester :—" What? a real presence?"

Philpot :—" Yea, a real presence by the Spirit of God in the right administration."

Worcester :—" That is well said: and do you agree with the catholic church also?"

Philpot :—" I do agree with the true catholic church."

Worcester :—" My lord of London, this man speaketh reasonably now."

Bonner :—" You do agree in generalities; but when it shall come to the particularities, you will far disagree."

Worcester :—" Well, keep yourself here, and you shall have other learned bishops to commune further with you, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chichester, whom, I hear say, you do like well."

Philpot :—" I do like them as I do all others that speak the truth. I have once already spoken with them, and they found no fault with me."

Worcester :—" Pray, in the mean season, for grace to God."

Philpot :—" Prayer is the comfortablest exercise I feel in my trouble, and my conscience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of heresy."

Worcester :—" We will bid you farewell for this time."

(1) "Interroga patres."

(2) Note, he saith not 'in the sacrament,' but 'in the administration' of the sacrament.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Bonner
raileth at
Latimer
See
Appendix.

Fathers
may be
asked,
but not
followed
further
than they
follow the
Scriptures.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

After dinner Philpot called again.

Another Talk the same day.

After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I answered, that I would not go from that I had said.

Worcester:—"You said, at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burn you, we should burn a catholic man. Will you be a catholic man? and stand to the catholic church?"

Philpot:—"I will stand to the true catholic church."

Worcester:—"Will you stand to the catholic church of Rome?"¹

Philpot:—"If you can prove the same to be the catholic church, I will be one thereof."

Worcester:—"Did not Christ say unto Peter, and to all his successors of Rome, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lambs?'" which doth signify that he gave him a more authority than the rest."

The words of Christ, "Feed my sheep," opened. The pope is no feeder.

Philpot:—"That saying pertaineth nothing to the authority of Peter above others, but declareth what Christ requireth of his beloved apostles, that they should with all diligence preach to the flock of Christ the way of salvation; and that doth the iteration of feeding, spoken to Peter, only signify. But the bishop of Rome little regardeth this spiritual feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an easier way to make himself lord of the whole world, yea and of God's word too, and doth not feed Christ's flock, as Peter did."

Worcester:—"How can you tell that?"

Philpot:—"Yes, I have been there, and I could not learn of all his countrymen, that ever he preacheth."

Worcester:—"Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth another, by procuring good order for the church to be kept in."

Philpot:—"I am sure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaveth that he is commanded of Christ, and setteth forth his own decrees to deface the gospel."

Worcester:—"It is the evil living that you have seen at Rome, that causeth you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further of the matter. How say you to the real presence of the sacrament? will you stand to that?"

Philpot:—"I do acknowledge (as I have said) a real² presence of the sacrament, in the due administration thereof, to the worthy receivers by the Spirit of God."

Worcester:—"You add now a great many more words than you did before: and yet you say more of the sacrament, than a great many will do."

Talk with Dr. Chedsey, and Dr. Wright and others.

Thus they departed, and after them came in to me Dr. Chedsey, and Dr. Wright archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more. "Master Philpot," said Chedsey, "here is master archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counsel, I pray hear him."

Philpot:—"I will refuse to hear none, that will counsel me any good; and if any can bring any matter better than I have, I will stick thereunto."

Wright:—"I would wish you, master Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own conceit. You see a great many of learned men against you."

Philpot:—"I am, master doctor, of the unfeigned catholic church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of the same."

Wright:—"I came not to dispute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I, that can inform you better than I."

Chedsey:—"What proof would you have? I will prove unto you, our church to have its being and foundation by the Scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors."⁴

Philpot:—"Give me your hand, master doctor; prove that, and have with you."

(1) To stand to the catholic church, is not enough with these men, except you be in the church of Rome.

(2) "Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos."

(3) By "really" he meaneth "truly."

(4) You promise more, Chedsey, than you can prove.

Chedsey:—"If I had my books here, I could soon prove it. I will go fet some." And with that he went and fet his book of Annotations, saying, "I cannot bring my books well, therefore I have brought my book of Annotations;" and turned there to a commonplace of the sacrament, asking me whether the catholic church did not allow the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or no? "I hear say you do confess a real presence: but I will be hauged, if you will abide by it: you will deny it by and by."

Philpot:—"That I have said, I cannot deny; neither intend, whatsoever you say."

Chedsey:—"If there be a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ; which thing you will not grant, I am sure."

Philpot:—"I deny the argument, for I do not grant in the sacrament, by transubstantiation, any real presence, as you falsely imagine, but in the due administration to the worthy receivers."

Chedsey:—"I will prove that the evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as the good men, by St. Austin here."—And in the beginning of his text St. Austin seemeth to approve his assertion; but I hade him read out to the end, and there St. Austin declareth most evidently that it was "quodammodo,"¹ after a certain manner, the evil men received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer signs, and not really, or in deed, as the good do. "And thus all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, be quite against you, if ye did rightly weigh them."

Chedsey:—"By God, you are a subtle fellow. See how he would writhe St. Augustine's words."

Philpot:—"See who of us writeth St. Austin more, you, or I which take his meaning by his own express words. And seeing you charge me of subtlety, what subtlety is this of you, to say that you will prove your matter of the church, even from the beginning, promising to show your books therein; and, when it cometh to the showing, you are able to show none, and, for want of proof, slip into a by matter, and yet faint in the proof thereof? Afore God you are here arst in all your religion."

Chedsey:—"You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no."

Philpot:—"Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence."

The Thirteenth Examination of Master Philpot, before the Archbishop of York, and divers other Bishops.

The Thursday after, I was called in the morning before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester, being first come, began to talk with me.

Chichester:—"I am come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the catholic church, and to will you to mistrust your own judgment, and to learn first to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them."

Philpot:—"We must all be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that both for your years and great exercise do excel therein. But faith consisteth not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which God's word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear both of your lordship, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his word), the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you that it doth please you to take pains herein."

Chichester:—"You take the first alleged amiss, as though all men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the gospel, but by the authority of the church, and because the same hath allowed it?"

Philpot:—"St. Paul saith, 'he learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ:' which is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel taketh not its authority of man, but of God only."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Dr. Chedsey fetcheth his book of Annotations.

Whether evil men receive the body of Christ. "Quodammodo."

Dr. Chedsey fainteth in his proof.

See Appendix.

Faith consists not in learning but in believing.

The authority of the church.

(1) See Birkbeck's "Protestant's Evidence," London, 1657, p. 174.—Ed.

Mary. *Chichester* :—"St. Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto."

A. D. 1555. *Philpot* :—"Nay he speaketh of the gospel generally, 'which cometh not from man but from God;' and that the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts."

The place of Augustine. *Chichester* :—"Doth not St. Augustine say, 'I would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move me thereto?'"

The word is the foundation of the church, and not the church of the word. *Philpot* :—"I grant that the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe: but yet the church giveth not the word his authority; for the word hath his authority only from God, and not of men; men be but disposers thereof. For first, the word hath his being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church; and first is the foundation sure, before the building thereon can be stedfast."

Chichester :—"I perceive you mistake me; I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church, we have all knowledge of the gospel."

Philpot :—"I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation."

Talk between the archbishop of York and Philpot. Here came in the bishop of York and the bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and communed awhile together, the archbishop of York called me unto them, saying, "Sir, we, hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters; for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his prophet, 'On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my word?' Now if you will so be, we will be glad to travail with you."

Philpot :—"I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me."

York :—"What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?"

Philpot :—"My lord, and it shall please your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we should know the truth but by the church."

York :—"Indeed that is the head we need to begin at; for the church being truly known, we shall sooner agree in the particular things."

Philpot :—"If your lordships can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it shall do much to persuade me toward that you would have me incline unto."

York :—"Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?"

The church defined. *Philpot* :—"It is a congregation of people dispersed through the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments and all other things according to the same."

York :—"This definition is of many words to no purpose."

Philpot :—"I do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is."

York :—"Is the church visible or invisible?"

The church both visible and invisible. *Philpot* :—"It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists of both good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God's word."

York :—"The church is a universal congregation of faithful people in Christ through the world, which this word catholic doth well express; for what is catholic else? doth it not signify universal?"

Catholic defined by St. Augustine. Catholic defined by the papists. *Philpot* :—"The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this wise: 'The church is called therefore catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.'"

York :—"Nay, it is called catholic, because it is universally received of all christian nations for the most part."

Philpot :—"The church was catholic in the apostles' time, yet was it not

universally received of the world. But because their doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all persons receiving the same be to be counted the catholic church. And St. Augustine in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright."

Mary.
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1555.

York :—" If you will learn, I will show you St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists,¹ that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points, which are, universality and succession of bishops in one apostolical see from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument.

Universality and succession.

"The church of Rome is universal and hath her succession of bishops from time to time. Ergo, It is the catholic church. How answer you to this argument?"²

Philpot :—" I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops."

York :—" I will prove it." And with that he brought forth a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his commonplaces therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St. Augustine, and specially out of his epistle written against the Donatists; where St. Augustine manifestly proveth, that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they had no succession of bishops in their opinion, neither universality; "and the same force hath St. Augustine's argument against you."³

Philpot :—" My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against me, neither cometh it to your purpose; for I will stand to the trial of St. Augustine for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For St. Augustine speaketh of universality joined with verity, and of faithful successors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And so if you can deduce your argument for the see of Rome now, as St. Augustine might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force: otherwise not."

Universality always to be joined with verity.

York :—" St. Augustine proveth the catholic church principally⁴ by succession of bishops, and therefore you understand not St. Augustine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists, against whom he wrote? can you tell? What country were they of?"

Philpot :—" They were a certain sect of men, affirming among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacraments depended upon the worthiness of the minister; so that if the minister were good, the sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not."

Chichester :—" That was their error, and they had none other but that." The error of the Donatists.
And he read another authority of St. Augustine out of a book which he brought, even to the same purpose that the other was.

Philpot :—" I challenge St. Augustine to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to his judgment, taking one place with another."

Chichester :—" If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?"

Philpot :—" I do not deny the church to be certain; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word; and for all manner of controversies the word ought to be judge."

The church may be certain, and yet not tied to one place.

Chichester :—" But what if I take it one way, and you another; how then?"

Philpot :—" St. Augustine showeth a remedy for that, and willeth, 'that one place of the Scripture ought to be understood by the more.'"⁵

York :—" How answer you to this argument?"

'Rome hath a known succession of bishops; which your church hath not. Ergo, That is the catholic church, and yours is not, because there is no such succession can be proved in your church.'"⁶

Philpot :—" I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point

(1) "Contra Don. Epist. vulgo De Unitate Ecclesie," cap. 18. "Contra Crescon." lib. iii. cap. 18, tom. 9, Edit. Benedict; and tom. 2. Epist. 53. col. 121. "Contra Faust. Man." lib. xiii. § 5.—Ed.

(2) This consequence being reduced into a syllogism of the first figure, will ground upon a false major.

Da- Universality and succession make a true church.

ri- The church of Rome hath unlvnsal succession.

i. Ergo, The church of Rome is the true church.

(3) To this he sufficiently answereth before: look in the latter end of the seventh examination.

(4) Not principally, by your leave, my lord.

(5) "Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debebat." August. de Doctrinâ Christianâ.

(6) Argument. A causâ non sufficiente et non totali.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The argu-
ment
denied.

Local suc-
cession
without
succe-
sion of
doctrine
nothing
avails.

The mo-
ther
church of
Rome
compared
to the wo-
man in
Solomon's
time, that
falsely
challeng-
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true mo-
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child from
her.

to know the church by: for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But, if you put to the succession of bishops, succession of doctrine withal (as St. Augustine doth), I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church: but a local succession only is nothing available."

York :—" You will have no church then, I see well."

Philpot :—" Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true."

Chichester :—" Why, are there two catholic churches then?"

Philpot :—" No. I know there is but one catholic church, but there have been, and be at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ and of his church, which be not so indeed, as it is written, 'There be they that call themselves apostles, and be not so indeed, but the synagogue of Satan and liars.'¹ And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one suppressed her child, and afterward went about to challenge the true mother's child."²

Chichester :—" What a babbling is here with you now? I see you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn."

Philpot :—" My lords, I must desire you to bear with my hasty speech; it is my infirmity of nature. All that I speak is to learn by. I would you did understand all my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through better authority."

Chichester :—" My lord, and it please your grace, turn the argument upon him, which you have made, and let him show the succession of the bishops of his church, as we can do. How say you, can you show the succession of bishops in your church from time to time? I tell you, this argument troubled Dr. Ridley so sore,³ that he could never answer it: yet he was a man well learned; I dare say you will say so."

Philpot :—" He was a man so learned, that I was not worthy to carry his books for learning."

Chichester :—" I promise you he was never able to answer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in prison, and conferred with me."

Succe-
sion of
bishops
alone is
no suffi-
cient
point
to prove
the catho-
lic
church.

Philpot :—" I wonder, my lord, you should make this argument which you would turn upon me, for the trial of my church whereof I am, or that you would make bishop Ridley so ignorant that he was not able to answer it, since it is of no force. For behold, first I denied you, that local succession of bishops in one place is a necessary point alone to prove the catholic church by, and that which I have denied you cannot prove: and is it then reason that you should put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude against me?"

Chichester :—" I see, my lords, we do but lose our labours to reason with him; he taketh himself to be better learned than we."

Philpot :—" I take upon me the name of no learning. I boast of no knowledge, but of faith and of Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do."

Chichester :—" These heretics take upon them to be sure of all things they stand in.⁴ You should say rather with humility, I trust I know Christ; than that you be sure thereof."

Philpot :—" Let him doubt of his faith that listeth; God give me always grace to believe that I am sure of true faith and favour in Christ."

Bath :—" How will you be able to answer heretics, but by the determination of the known catholic church?"⁵

Philpot :—" I am able to answer all heretics by the word of God, and convince them by the same."

Chichester :—" How arrogantly is that spoken! I dare not say so."

Philpot :—" My lord, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the truth's

(1) Rev. ii.

(2) 1 Kings iii.

(3) So ye say now, when ye would give him no leave nor time when he was alive,³ to make his answers.

(4) Leave your reviling terms, my lord, and go to the matter.

(5) Note how these men ground their faith, not upon God's word, but upon the determination of their own church.

side, and I speak somewhat by experience that I have had with heretics; and I know the Arians be the subtlest that ever were, and yet I have manifest scriptures to beat them down withal."

Chichester :—"I perceive now you are the same manner of man I have heard of, which will not be satisfied by learning."

Philpot :—"Alas, my lord! why do you say so? I do desire most humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I should learn, and hitherto you have showed me no better: therefore I pray your lordship not to mis-judge without a cause."

Bath :—"If you be the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the true church hath ever maintained."

Philpot :—"And I, my lord, with the true church do hold the same in the due ministration of the sacrament. But I desire you, my lord, there may be a better conclusion in our first matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest." In the mean while my lord of York was turning his book for more places to help forth his cause.¹

York :—"I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Augustine, 'De simplicitate credendi.'" ²

Chichester :—"It is but folly, my lord, that your grace do read him any more places, for he esteemeth them not."

Philpot :—"I esteem them, inasmuch as they be of force, as your lordship doth hear me deny no doctors you bring, but only require the true application of them, according to the writer's meaning, and as by his own words may be proved." Philpot falsely reported to deny doctors.

York :—"I will read him the place, and so make an end." After he had read the sentence, he said, that by four special points here St. Augustine proveth the catholic church. The first is, by the consent of all nations; the second, by the apostolic see; the third, by universality; and the fourth, by this word catholic. Four points out of St Augustine.

Chichester :—"That is a notable place indeed, and it please your grace."

Philpot :—"I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St. Augustine write the same? of Rome, or not?"

York :—"Yea, he writeth it of the church of Rome."

Philpot :—"I will lay with your lordship as much as I can make, it is not so; and let the book be seen."

Bath :—"What art thou able to lay, that hast nothing?"

York :—"Doth he not make mention here of the apostolic see, whereby he meaneth Rome?"

Philpot :—"That is very straitly interpreted, my lord, as though the apostolic see had been nowhere else but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all the other conditions do go therewith, as St. Augustine doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the apostolic see, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that see now maintaineth, hath not the consent of all nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, because it differeth from the catholic churches, which the apostles planted, almost in all things." Answer to the archbishop's four points.

York :—"Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by universality; and how can you show your church to be universal fifty or a hundred years ago?"

Philpot :—"That is not material, neither any thing against St. Augustine: for my church (whereof I am) should be accounted universal, though it were but in ten persons, because it agreeth with the same that the apostles did universally plant."³

York :—"I perceive you are an obstinate man in your opinion, and will not be taught:⁴ wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer. You are a member to be cut off."

(1) My lord of York is here driven to seek his books.

(2) As there is no treatise of Augustine with this title, it is probable that the bishop meant to refer to the "Liber contra Epist. Fundament." § 5, where these reasons for attachment to the catholic church occur.—ED.

(3) Christ's church ceaseth not to be his church, albeit in time of persecution it be hid sometimes in corners.

(4) First answer to his reason, and call him obstinate afterward.

Mary.

Chichester :—“ I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you that I have heard.”

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Philpot :—“ I trust you see no evil in me by this; I desire of you a sure ground to build my faith on, and if you show me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well.”

Chichester :—“ Thou art as impudent a fellow as I have communed withal.”¹

Philpot :—“ That is spoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove.”

Chichester :—“ Why? thou art not God: blasphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.”

Philpot :—“ Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to a man, speaking in God's cause, as you now do lay it unto me, for speaking freely the truth afore God. To maintain your vain religion, you are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannously persecuting the truth, which otherwise by just order you are able to convince by no means. Your own doctors, and testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not see the truth.”

Chichester :—“ Have we this thank for our good will, in coming to instruct thee?”

“ Veritas
odium
parit.”
The free
heart of
Philpot in
telling
truth.

Philpot :—“ My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause: and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonour of God, and to hypocrisy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands, in the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sin, and not I: I pass not, I thank God, of all your cruelty. God forgive it you, and give you grace to repent.” And so they departed.

Another Talk the same Day.

Another
calling of
Philpot
before the
bishop.

The same day at night before supper, the bishop sent for me into his chapel, in the presence of the archdeacon Harpsfield, Dr. Chedsey, and other his chaplains, and his servants; at what time he said, “ Master Philpot, I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you. Tell me directly, whether you will be a conformable man, or no; and whereupon you chiefly stand.”

Philpot :—“ I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, whereon I stand chiefly, requiring a sure probation of the church wherunto you call me.”

Harpsfield :—“ St. Austin writing against the Donatists, declareth four special notes² to know the church by: the consent of many nations, the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity, succession of bishops, and universality.”

London :—“ I pray you, master archdeacon, fet the book hither: it is a notable place, let him see it.” And the book was brought, and the bishop read it, demanding how I could answer the same.

Philpot :—“ My lord, I like St. Augustine's four points for the trial of the catholic church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together; which yours cannot do.”

Harpsfield :—“ Have not we succession of bishops in the see and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?”

Philpot :—“ St. Augustine doth not put succession of bishops only to be sufficient, but he addeth the use of the sacraments according to antiquity and doctrine universally taught and received of most nations from the beginning of the primitive church, the which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all these better than yours; therefore, by St. Augustine's judgment, which you here bring, mine is the catholic church, and not yours.”

Harpsfield and Chedsey :—“ It is but folly, my lord, for you to reason with him, for he is irrecuperable.”³

Philpot :—“ That is a good shift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not see it when it is laid to your face.”

(1) Because, my lord, you be not able to answer him.

(2) Concerning these four points, he answered sufficiently before.

(3) It is best for you to say so, when you have no other way to shift off his arguments.

Thus have I at large set forth as many of the said John Philpot's examinations and privy conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was divers other times after this examined, both openly in the consistory at Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's house; yet what was there said is not yet sufficiently known, either because master Philpot was not himself suffered to write, or else for that his writings are by some kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise than as the bishop's registrar hath noted, whose handling of such matters because it is (either for fear or favour of his Lord and Master) very slender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, especially in the behalf of the answerer: howbeit, such as it is, such thought I good to put forth; requiring the reader to judge hereof according to his answers in his former examinations.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

THE EXAMINATIONS OF MASTER PHILPOT IN OPEN JUDGMENT,
BY BISHOP BONNER, IN THE CONSISTORY AT PAUL'S,
ON THE 13TH AND 14TH OF DECEMBER.

The bishop, having sufficiently taken his pleasure with master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the 13th and 14th days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other, had the 11th day of the same month in his chapel, appears in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore first speaking to master Philpot, said:—

Philpot called into open judgment.

“Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft and many times by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?”

Three special articles laid to master Philpot.

Philpot:—“Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against the same.¹ And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, as in the reign of good king Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, ‘quia tencor reddere Domino jura-

(1) Here either the registrar belieth master Philpot, or else he meant as not offending the law, thereby to be accused: for, otherwise, all his former examinations do declare that he spake against the sacrament of the altar.

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mentum.' But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you; otherwise not."

Bonner with all his doctors not able to satisfy Philpot.

Bonner then, not able with all his learned doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church: to the which Philpot answered, "You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Upon these words, the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the 16th day of the same month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

The last Examination of Master John Philpot; Dec. 16th.

At which day and time, master Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner bishop of London began to talk in this manner.

Bishop Stokesley's prayer when he gave sentence upon any.

London:—"My lord Stokesley, my predecessor, when he went about to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer: 'Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire justitiæ, veritatis tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christianâ professione censentur, et illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' Which I will follow." And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which master Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

Bishop Bonner prayeth against himself.

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to his name;" Philpot said, "Then they all must run away from you; for you are enemies to that name (meaning Christ's name), and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand."

London:—"Whom do you mean?"

Philpot:—"You, and all other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men (meaning the bishops), and all their doings, which be contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

London:—"Because I am bishop of London."

Bonner hath no authority to proceed against master Philpot.

Philpot:—"Well, then ye are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese. And moreover I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence."

London:—"Why, who sent you hither to me?"

Philpot:—"That did Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other the king and queen's commissioners. And, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but ye must also meddle with other men's sheep?"

Then the bishop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the civil law, and the other of the canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Master Philpot then, perusing the same, and belike seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said unto the bishop, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At last Bonner spake unto him, and said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case: for it is written in the law, 'A iudice dispositionem juris exequente non est appellandum.'" ¹

(1) The law seemeth either blindly compared of the bishop, or else not rightly collected of his registrar.

Philpot :—“ My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the law : for, if ye did, ye would not bring in that text.”

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge, that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered, “ No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew; for you profess Christ, and maintain antichrist: you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition, and ye be able to charge me with nothing.”

London and other Bishops :—“ With what can you charge us?”

Philpot :—“ You are enemies to all truth; and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, saving in the article of the Trinity.”

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither sir William Garret knight, then mayor of London, sir Martin Bowes knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriff of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said consistory; where and what time bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth: “ Philpot, before the coming of my lord mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which bishop Stokesley, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against a heretic.”

And here Bonner did again read the said prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said, “ Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things. First, whereas you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could show unto you. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination. And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.”

This being spoken, the bisop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Bonner's Exhortation to John Philpot.

“ Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ; if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic (as ye be indeed). Now do you choose what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably.” “ *Ita est,*” quod *Edm. Bonner Episc. London.*

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, master Philpot turned himself unto the lord mayor, and said; “ To you, my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I speak: I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that that authority

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Bonner noted to be ignorant in the law.

The lord mayor, with the sheriff, assistant to bishop Bonner against master Philpot. See Appendix.

The three articles against John Philpot again repeated.

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Philpot is of the catholic, not of the Baby-
lonical, church.
Philpot speaketh not against the true sacrifice, but against the sacrifice set upon the altar, used in private masses.
Philpot denieth not the sacrament of the stone he de-
fieth.

which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and ye" [speaking to the bishops] "pretend to be the fellows of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. And I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ. Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the catholic church) is the church of Rome, and so the Baby-
lonical, and not the catholic church: of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masquing. Thirdly, whereas you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope.

"Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church (which ye shall never do), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail upon good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen."

Dr. Banes
bishop of
Coventry
speaketh.

Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, saying, "The true catholic church is set upon a high hill."

Philpot :—"Yea, at Rome, which is the Baby-
lonical church."

Coventry :—"No, in our true catholic church are the apostles,¹ evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church."

Philpot :—"Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be."

Coventry :—"Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."

The
church of
England
in king
Edward's
time.

Philpot :—"I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is una, catholica, et apostolica, and doth follow the doctrine that the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edward's days, was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Baby-
lonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?"

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore, turning himself unto the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and said:

Bonner
chargeth
him with
false sur-
mises.

"My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal; for when his keeper did perceive it, he took it

(1) How can the apostles be of that church where their doctrine is against it!

and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is."

Philpot :—" Ah, my lord! have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be a catholic church?" etc. ¹

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the catechism made in king Edward's days, anno 1552, the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to master Philpot's charge two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts, which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

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Articles concluded in Oxford and Cambridge. The catechism. The book of report of the disputation in the convocation-house.

A Letter exhibited by Bonner, written by some Friend of Master Philpot's, and sent to him, concerning the handling of Master Green in Bishop Bonner's House at London.

You shall understand that master Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received: for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men (who were suitors for him, but to him unknown), that he in no case should be examined; before which, master Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against him singularity and obstinacy, his answer thereunto was thus: "To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young, and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord), yet let me have such books as I shall require; and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you." Whereunto the bishop, and his, assented, permitting him at the first to have such books: who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and rife in the Scripture and godly fathers, that since, they have not only taken from him such liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the New Testament, *and have sythens committed him in chamber to Doctour Dee the great conjurer; whereunto—conjecture you.* Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This master Fecknam reported, saying further, that he never heard the like young man, so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill,² I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his.

Your own, etc.

Bonner breaketh promise.

Master Green strong in Scriptures and doctors. Fecknam's report of Green.

See Appendix.

The Copy of another Letter written by the faithful and christian-hearted Lady, the Lady Vane, to Master Philpot, exhibited likewise by Bishop Bonner.

Heartly thanks rendered unto you my well-beloved in Christ, for the book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and, according to the doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the

(1) Philpot had a knife brought him under a pig: ergo, the church of Rome is a catholic church!
(2) This bill was a supplication to be offered up in the parliament.

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burdens of reproof. And so, in the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall; for his sweetness overcometh me daily, and maketh all these apothecary drugs of the world even medicine-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee, my dear fellow-soldier, make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon saith, "All things here have their time;" you to-day, and I to-morrow, and so the end of Adam's line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness! Because you desire to show yourself a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offereth for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and souls.

Your own in the Lord,

F. E.

Over and besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by master Philpot unto the high court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof doth here ensue as followeth:

To the King and Queen's Majesty's Highnesses, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled.

In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament John Philpot clerk, that whereas there was by the queen's highness a parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the clergy, your suppliant then being one of the said convocation-house, and matters there rising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken: and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said parliament, your said suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to prison to the King's Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath remained ever since, until now of late that my lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliant to examine him (being none of his diocese) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your orator to declare his conscience, which, the said bishop saith, he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen's majesties' reigns, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every ordinary may, *ex officio*, examine every man's conscience. And for that your said orator hath and doth refuse, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said orator, for that he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the catholic faith (notwithstanding the said bishop of London detaineth him in the coal-house, in the stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw), and for that your said orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the said bishop, to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act; therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop nor ordinary shall commit or detain in prison any suspected person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or

The strait handling of Philpot in the bishop's coal-house.

offences; the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers others now remaining in prison; but also the blood of divers of the queen's majesty's true and faithful subjects preserved.

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THE CONDEMNATION OF THE WORTHY MARTYR OF GOD,
JOHN PHILPOT.

These books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, If the book intituled, "The true Report of the Disputation,"¹ etc. were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting-forth.

The bishops, waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of master Philpot (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you), whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as a heretic.² "Well," quoth master Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but ye cannot, nor ever shall."

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmovable stedfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, "Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impenitentem," etc. master Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic, out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

Sentence of condemnation read against Philpot.

His words in reading it.

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said (full like himself), "O let him alone;" and so read forth the sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him he said, "Ah! dear master."

Philpot delivered to the sheriffs.

Then master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah! good people; blessed be God for this day." And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would go speak with my master." Master

Philpot brought to Newgate: his man permitted to enter with him.

(1) Of this book of Disputation in the convocation, read before. [Vol. vi. p. 395. Ed.]

(2) Ah, my lord, what needed this question, when no reasonable answer could be allowed?

Mary. Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

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1555.

Talk between Philpot and Alexander the keeper.

Then the under-keeper said to master Philpot, "Is this your man?" and he said, "Yea." So he did license his man to go in with him; and master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words; "Ah!" said he, "hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said master Philpot, "I pray you show me what you would have me to do." He said, "If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said master Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Good Philpot laden with irons because he would not recant at Alexander's bidding.

Alexander taketh Philpot's tokens from his man.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none." "No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know, for I will search thee." "Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant: "he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, as to his brother and sisters." "Ah!" said Alexander unto master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics: thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity; but he shall be known well enough." "Nay," said master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends: there he is, let him make answer to it. But good master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still." Then said master Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said four pound was his fees. "Ah," said master Philpot, "I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me then," said Alexander? "Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay my gown to gage. For the time is not long (I am sure), that I shall be with you; for the bishop said I should be soon dispatched."

Alexander the cruel keeper requireth four pounds of Philpot for his irons.

Philpot had into limbo.

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that to me?" And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo. And so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore master Philpot said to his man, "Go to master sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire master sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to master sheriff (which was master Macham), and showed him how master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah! I perceive that master sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters."¹ Yet at ten of the clock he went in to master Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah! dear master, farewell." His master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first, coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, the 107th, and the 108th Psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written; for the which cause he was many times stripped and

*Mary.*A. D.
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Master Macham, sheriff, a good man, sendeth his ring to take off Philpot's irons, and to restore the man's tokens.

Philpot warned by the sheriffs to prepare him against the next day to the fire.

Philpot brought to the place of martyrdom.

Philpot's words going to the stake.

Philpot's prayers. He giveth the officers money.

The writings and examinations of John Philpot, by the Providence of Almighty God, preserved.

(1) Note the spitefulness of this keeper.

Mary. searched in the prison, of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A. D.
1555.

A Prayer to be said at the Stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

A godly prayer to be said at the time of martyrdom.

Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign Holy Spirit! which in the midst of all crosses and death didst comfort the apostle St. Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known. O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins), that now thou shouldst not hear me,—measuring me in the same measure with which I have measured thy Majesty, condemning thy daily calls—yet let thy mercy which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life there-for (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no not the thief that hanged with him on the cross): I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy Name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy Name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted; and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, where-through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plenteously endure me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight, dear Father! whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea even before the world was made; to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father! now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore world without end, Amen.

He prayeth for restoring of the gospel and peace in England.

LETTERS OF MASTER PHILPOT.

A Letter which he sent to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists, and to serve God after his Word.

It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their

own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof.¹ If that earth be cursed of God, which, oftsoons, receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not show forth God's worship after the same? If the Lord will require in the day of judgment a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life), if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession?² God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name.³

It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare, what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul writeth to the Romans,⁴ "The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe." It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to show forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, "Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or else make the tree evil and the fruits evil: because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits."⁵ So that the person which knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.⁶ And "Not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father."⁷ And "Whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me," saith Christ, "and of my words, of him the Son of Man will be ashamed before his Father."⁸ After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God, upon the rock and not on the sand;⁹ and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us,¹⁰ "The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome."

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for ensample aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.¹¹

Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, "Go behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things of God."¹² "Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me?"¹³ For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion.¹⁴ Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity: we were born into this world to be witness unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

Now since the time is come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught,

(1) Heb. vi.

(2) Matt. xxv.

(3) Matt. v.

(4) Rom. x.

(5) Matt. xii.

(6) Luke xii.

(7) Matt. vii.

(8) Luke ix.

(9) Matt. vii.

(10) Haggai ii.

(11) Rom. viii. 1 Cor. vi. Matt. xvi.

(12) Matt. xvi.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Heb. xi. Psal. xvi.

Marty.

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Appendix.Wisdom
of the
flesh not
to be
hearken-
ed unto.Death for
right-
eousness
bringeth
felicity.

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counsel.God will
not be
served
after
man's
imagina-
tion, but
as himself
prescrib-
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ful for a
true
Christian
to come
to the
massNot
enough
to confess
God in
heart, but
in mouth
also.

and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in the which, through knowledge, we are ingrafted; from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him.¹ For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength. But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not.² As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions;³ for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians.⁴ Therefore wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church.⁵ But if we behold, through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, "I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked."⁶ In the Apocalypse the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos.⁷ Also we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy.⁸ May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God, than the adulterous abuse of the body. Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, be said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ), and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and advoury?

Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul. Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that

(1) Luke xviii. 1 Kings xviii.
(5) Psal. xxii. (6) Psal. xxvi.(2) Rev. iii.
(7) Rev. ii.(3) 2 Kings xxxi.
(8) Amos v.(4) Eph. ii.
(9) 1 Cor. iii.

we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance,¹ against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unseparably to the Gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

St. Paul to the Hebrews² saith, If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, "that we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life."³ St. John in the Apocalypse,⁴ telleth us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands; that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians⁵ affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing;⁶ which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward; that with a clean spirit and rectified body, we might serve God justly, in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

Finally in the Apocalypse,⁷ God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians⁸ commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the papists in their phantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean the word of God), which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is to the devil; and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites,) with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end.⁹ But yet many will say, for their vain excuse, "God is merciful, and his mercy is over all."¹⁰ But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, "The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him."¹¹ Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that serve him; and to fear God is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for the rain, under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God,¹² and with St. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word;¹³ otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death there-for, as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates, as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, "Judge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey man rather than God."¹³

Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured,

Marg.

A. D.
1555.

A lesson for large consciences. Reasons proving that true Christians ought in no wise to participate with Papists.

See Appendix

The place of Matthew expounded.

A cursed thing to sin upon hope of forgiveness.

Obedience to magistrates what and how far.

(1) Mark viii. (2) Heb. x. (3) Ephes. v. (4) Rev. xiii. (5) Phil. ii. Ephe. v. (6) 2 Cor. vi. (7) Rev. xviii. (8) 2 Thess. iii. (9) Matt. xxiv. (10) Psal. ciii. cxlvi. (11) Luke xx. (12) 1 Pet. ii. (13) Acts iv.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Against
such as
sin wil-
lingly up-
on hope
of elec-
tion.See
Appendix.

than to obey the king's wicked commandments.¹ If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.² There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntarily or at commandment; although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith.³ God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation, according to God's word, and not set cock in the hoop, and put all on God's back, to do wickedly at large. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness after that they be once called to true knowledge: for so saith St. Paul to the Ephesians, "that God hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight."⁴

Therefore St. Peter willeth us, through good works, to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves,⁵ which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel: and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.⁶

Let all vain excusations be set apart, and while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares.⁷ The light is come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light.⁸ God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. Oh! that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.⁹

Large
con-
science.

But what! said I 'conscience'? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling of mind is called "conscientia," which soundeth by interpretation, as much as, with knowledge.

Charity.
Pure
heart.
Faith un-
feigned.
Good con-
science.

And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness saying, "Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified." And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments: a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby.¹⁰ The Lord, which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation, Amen.

John Philpot, prisoner in the King's Bench,

For the testimony of the truth. 1555.

(1) Daniel vi.

(5) 2 Pet. i.

(9) Heb. vi. x.

(2) Matt. xv.

(6) Prov. xxiv.

(10) 1 Cor. iv. 1 Tim. i.

(3) Rom. iii.

(7) John xii.

(4) Ephes. i.

(8) John iii.

To his dear Friend in the Lord, John Careless, Prisoner in the
King's Bench.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

My dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters full of love and compassion, insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been and am in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you cease not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears: and praise God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament. God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation! Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deserts down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

Experi-
ence of
the Lord's
comfort
in trou-
ble.

You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you, in these cruel days, in which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ: but in vain (I trust) against any of us, who be persuaded that neither life, neither death is able to separate us from the love of Christ's gospel, which is God's high treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the same. God, of his mercy, make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing, whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same. That I have not written unto you erst, the cause is our strait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to scribble it out in haste.

Example
of Christ's
comfort,
to be
taken by
Philpot.

Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his prest money a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse the fearful be excluded the kingdom.¹ Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation! Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and desire him to love and continue in the unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, master Mering, master Crooch, with the rest, and specially master Marshal and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness showed unto me. Farewell my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but now I am over the shoes: God send me well out.

Out of the coal-house, by your brother,

John Philpot.

Another Letter to John Careless, profitable to be read of all them
which mourn in repentance for their sins.²

The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all

(1) Rev. xxi.

(2) To this letter Careless maketh a very godly answer, which you shall see afterward in his story. [This letter Philpot wrote to Careless "out of the coal-hole of darkness; whereby he giveth light and heavenly comfort to his heavy and troubled mind." See Letters of the Martyrs. Edit. 1837, p. 173.—Ed.]

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the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil, Amen.

That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice, to behold the lively mark of the children of God whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any others, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalen wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her seven-fold sins?

Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow, laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: "Blessed be they," saith Christ, "that mourn, for they shall be comforted." "They went forth and wept," saith the prophet: "such shall come again, having their gripes full of gladness." And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of his sins, be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much sorrow. St. Paul would not the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no hope. Such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For God, to this end, by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound; and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is sorry for his sins.

But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit, to do that is good, the evil spirit, Satan, layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mix the detestable darnel of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good, which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours; yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

Be not discomfited that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares, but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever; and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God. for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliath hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth; and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's

Sorrow in a christian man ought to be moderate.

Satan's practice to bring the godly repentance of a sinner to desperation.

God's children fall. The devil's children lie still.

Strife against sin is a token of God's child.

(1) Psalm li (2) Matt. v. (3) "Gripes" or grasp.—Ed. (4) Psalm cxxvi.
(5) Psalm li. (6) Luke vii. (7) 1 Thess. iv. (8) 2 Cor. vii.
(9) Rom. v. (10) Luke xi.

promises smite him on the scalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, "Resist the devil, and he will fly from thee."¹ It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet; or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults which be occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they be forgiven.² Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? first, your vocation to the gospel, and after your vocation the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are God's own dearing, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require.

Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be *Careless*, why do you make yourself *careful*? Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side, that you should not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his Name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to master F., and thank him for his law books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would for your sake the unjust dealing were noted unto the parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop meetly plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in higger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by
thine own in Christ, John Philpot.

Another Letter, to certain godly Women, forsaking their own Country for the Gospel, full of fruitful Precepts and Lessons for all good Women.

The Spirit of Truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

I read in the Evangelists, of certain godly women, that ministered unto Christ; following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had showed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them show unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and

(1) James iv.

(2) Ezek. iii.

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True
Christi-
ans, how
they
ought to
be care-
less in
their
careful
estate.

See
Appendix.

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that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you, my loving sisters in Christ, who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death. And now, since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he willethe you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity; and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways which he, with his holy martyrs, hath gone on before.

Whole-
some and
godly pre-
cepts of
life.

God therefore, entire sisters, direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias, unto a strange land! God give you health both of body and soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Zion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continual ascensions unto heaven in your hearts: let there be no decrease of any virtue which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven, may be glorified by you to the end.

This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same), but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ! and take me with you where-soever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter; and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours for ever, John Philpot.

An Exhortation to his own Sister, constantly to stick to the truth, which she had fruitfully professed.

God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, he sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

Spiritual
consanguinity
and natural, com-
pared.

I have occasion, mine own dear sister, to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to show yourself a natural loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have oftsoons testified being absent, as also by presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other; and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea to Christ himself, who voucheth you in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you, than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in no wise you do show yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of worldly respect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted,¹ that through fear of sharp troubles, we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which are prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, "To prepare themselves to suffer temptations."²

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The sieve of afflictions.

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand, this, Christ our first-begotten Brother looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith, through afflictions, to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number; and the universal church, here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, whom all, by the contrary, we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God), ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh, and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our salvation.

Christ our first-born brother.

A christian man's back should always be ready to bear Christ's cross.

You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David,³ "Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience: but, because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort and stir up one another, I am bold to put you, my good sister, in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally, with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory.⁴ None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins, that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth;⁵ the which Christ grant both you and me. Amen.

Ungodly fellowship to be eschewed

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel! That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you, by all means you can to accomplish my request, that my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged:⁶ therefore I pray you help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look

(1) Luke xxii.

(2) Eccles. ii.

(3) Psalm xxxv.

(4) 2 Tim. ii.

(5) Rev. iv.

(6) This was for the first-fruits of his archdeaconry, whereof all the time of his imprisonment he had no commodity, and yet his sureties were compelled to pay the same.

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for daily ; but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live.

The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother as well in faith as in body, John Philpot.

Another Letter of Exhortation to certain godly Brethren.

The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end. Amen.

He commendeth their faithful zeal to God's word.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received ; who do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby ; for the which I praise God most heartily : and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church.

He exhorteth them to continue and to stand fast.

Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days ; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wise man, to prepare yourselves to temptations ; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel : " Blessed are they that persevere to the end."

Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise merchantman, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same.¹ God, in the Apocalypse, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth ;² from the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word : which word there is called the word of patience ; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

The word of patience.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory ; and St. Peter telleth us,³ now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might rebound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews showeth us,⁴ that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we, being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said epistle is written, " My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him : for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth," etc. Christ, in the Gospel of St. John, biddeth his disciples to look after afflictions, saying, " In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy."⁵ And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St. Luke he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, " for your redemption," saith he, " is at hand." And in the twenty-second, he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, " You are those that have abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom."

The fruit that cometh by bearing of the cross.

Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end ! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame

(1) Matt. x.

(2) Rev. iii.

(3) 1 Pet. i.

(4) Heb. ii.

(5) John xvi.

as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly! Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, "It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness." Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly ensamples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the rewards of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be showed unto us.

Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to haste the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rove which came to apprehend him, saying, "I am he whom ye seek." It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we may fear God more than man! The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him! Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth a hundred-fold more in this life (as our Saviour said to Peter), and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this life receiveth a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompense here, I could be glad to forsake all: but where is this hundred-fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God,¹ as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than a hundred-fold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), ten-thousand-fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent balances! Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to

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The delights of the world nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Consideration of joys to come.

The note of a true Christian.

How a christian man gaineth a hundred-fold in this life.

A comparison between the loss and gain that cometh by following of Christ.

Peace with God a thing incomparable.

The lack of God's peace a thing most miserable.

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make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory; for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy, "If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ: and if we deny him, he will deny us."¹

O that we would enter into the veil of God's promises. Then should we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ.² God, which is the lightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies; and then death shall be as great a gain to us, as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which, by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job horribly afflicted, cause us to say, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord!"³ Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass." If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now, as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signify mirth and joy;⁴ who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample; that if the devil himself, or any other by him, wilth you to make stones bread (that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands and goods, to live on still), ye must say, that man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counselth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content herewith; ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

He exhorteth to be joyful in afflictions.

To be patient, and not to murmur in affliction.

How to sacrifice our Isaac to God.

Remedies against the temptations of the devil and the world.

Christ's temptations mystically applied.

(1) 2 Tim. ii.

(2) Phil. v

(3) Job i.

(4) Gen. xxii.

Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, "Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only."

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will, the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity.

John Philpot, Anno 1555.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

To his Friend and faithful Brother in the Lord, Master Robert Harrington.

Gentle master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of others our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God, for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

Me thinketh I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not.¹ Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to show himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified. I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. O what unspeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

Reward
greater
than the
price.

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore, dearly beloved in the Lord, let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thousand fold greater than the price.

Godly
matri-
mony
how to be
used.

Since you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this mart, but you must bring your wife for an usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end!

Commend me to master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own: commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall,

(1) John xxi.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in prison; and tell them that though my lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful, than the queen's palace. God make her a joyfull mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother.—Written in post-haste because of strait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen.

John Philpot.

Here followeth another letter of master Philpot to the lady Vane: which, because for the length, I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialties thereout as followeth.

The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart, worshipful and dear sister in the Lord, may attain and taste with all the saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet cross of Christ, Amen.

O happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospel; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy), by this shall ye see whatever your heart can desire; by this ye shall have a full sight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celestial paradise. By this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end!

Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that after so great light, is stepped into so huge darkness again. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea though the gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England. O that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nebuchadnezzar was), that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only. Ah, Lord! take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies (those hypocrites) as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

Thus, dear heart, you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks' calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me

He bewaileth the state of England. Plagues prophesied to England though the gospel be restored again. Good luck fore-shewed in restoring again the gospel.

to so good and gracious a general of the field, to so victorious a captain, and to so favourable a marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no sparkle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to show our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren, seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen!

The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery; but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you: for when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same! Let us rejoice in nothing with St. Paul, but in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever! While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate tediousness: but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms. Therefore, though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord! to the comfort of his afflicted flock: farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully; and, until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, "Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world," etc.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ! until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect, in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy, because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of our merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort; hold out your buckler of faith—for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring both us, Amen, Amen!—The 10th of December, 1555.

Death! why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the virtue of the gospel for ever.

John Philpot.

Another Letter written to the same Lady, being a great supporter of him.

I cannot but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding, that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition), condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Philpot's
scarf.

Experi-
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God's
comfort in
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Perse-
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son men's
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their
souls at
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Against
faint-
hearted
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*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world (wherewithal you are sufficiently indued above a great many), can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you: whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, a hundred fold, to the glory of God and the increase of his church. In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." I that am under the cross with you (thanks be given to God therefore), have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before: for the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, "In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction." Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him! For this cause, in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the twenty-first of Luke prophesied to come, he willett us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Perfect
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O that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, no body can take it away from us; to the which joy all other joys, being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I. Ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil?

God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light; God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation! Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's silly people, according to his expectation:

Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have, through fire, rendered to the truth of the gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray.—The last of May, 1555. Captive in the King's Bench.

Yours, with heart in Christ,

John Philpot.

Another Letter to the godly Lady Vane.

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, increase in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly, my dear and faithful lady, for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom: for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plentifully in well doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star! I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice of the verity of his word, for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer; and indeed who that giveth "a draught of water in the name of a disciple," as Christ promised, "shall lose his reward?"¹ Therefore what your gentleness doth in the name of him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly.

Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

I would I were able to do any thing that might show condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and my fellow-prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ; and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St. Paul, "I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes, nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."² This faith God plant both in you and in me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them that here do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength of him that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity, of our faint gossellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to show our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed: if we lose all that we have, we are blessed a hundred fold: if we die,

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Lady
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(1) Mark vii.

(2) Rom. viii.

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A. D.

1555.

we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore, O elect lady, of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul; and my prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before have a convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The 20th day of August.

By yours, with all his power in the Lord,

John Philpot.

Another Letter full of Spiritual Consolation to the said Lady.

The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen!

As your good ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so I am desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's Bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any is about London (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness), where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my master, was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust, to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master! I have been already this seven-night in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment awhile, in the which God's will be done.

Pray, dear lady, that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; for you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not, dear heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you; for it hath added, and daily doth, unto my joy: but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear sister! I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. Oh how do I rejoice, your ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Me thinketh I see you to mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitacle¹ of this body. Oh how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle!

Experi-
ence of
Christ,
comfort-
ing his
saints in
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secution.

(1) "Habitacle," i. e. "habitaculum," a dwelling place.—Ed.

Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us : let us haste and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord! be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now, dear mother, you need not to burden so much yourself (as my last letters did signify), for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me : wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Out of my lord of London's coal-house, the last of October,
Your own, John Philpot.

Another Letter to the said Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the Dissimulation and Perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the Pope, and partly he expresseth his Joy in his Afflictions.

I cannot but joy with you, my heartily beloved in Christ, of the fall of Sennacherib :¹ since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, "The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked." God make this your joy perfect ; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation (and that of such as do know the truth) do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here or else in another world, he will punish this gross infidelity of the world : but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest-penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him : if we die with him, we shall live with him."

*See
Appendix.*

Wherefore, mine own dear bowels ! praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God ! what am I, on whom he should show this great mercy ? To Him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory there-for, Amen.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof ! God forgive me mine unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall eternally be comforted ! God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament ; but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all : yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised there-for for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness ! Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation. And it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God ; it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

He ex-
presseth
the great
joy which
God's pris-
soners
feel in
their suf-
ferings.

Philpot
never so
merry in
all his life
before.

(1) By this Sennacherib, he meaneth the death of the bishop of Winchester.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Be thankful unto God, mine own dear helper, for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But, touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift, to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God! I trust my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations, as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come.

Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

Your own lover, John Philpot.

A Letter to a Friend of his, Prisoner the same time in Newgate; wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of Infants to be Baptized.

The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yesternight from you, dear brother, saint, and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel, a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; what is the effect thereof. And before I do show you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night, while musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

A vision revealed to Philpot upon a letter to be answered. See Appendix.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure, and white, four square, in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and while they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it vaded away.

The vision expounded.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that, according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth; for as the prophet David saith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God."¹ And, the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the prophet affirmeth, saying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house." And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms: "As of joyful persons, is the dwelling of all them that be in thee." And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by

The primitive example for us to follow.

(1) Psalm lxxxvii.

the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and establishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments, and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves: for there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers: for we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, "and they shall teach thee," saith the Lord, "and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts."¹ And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother.² The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her; for as St. Paul writeth, "if any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."³

Hitherto I have showed you, good brother S., my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Arians' seet, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others there were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the devil, to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized, as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that

Mary.
A. D.
1555

Proof by testimonies and Scriptures.

Baptism of infants of old antiquity in the church. Every thing abused in the pope's church is not to be rejected, but the antiquity thereof to be searched and to be reduced again to the same.

(1) Job viii.

(2) Prov. vi.
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(3) 1 Cor. xi.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: "I will set my covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord), and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee."¹ To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws: for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them.² Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants (that is, of such as yet believed not), "Let thy little ones come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."³ Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish."⁴ Also, "He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me."⁵ "Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face."⁶ And what may be said more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

Argu-
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the bap-
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children
to be of
God, and
that the
apostles
baptized
children.
Another
argu-
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Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations:⁷ therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, "all nations." Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, "That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean."⁸ But God doth repute children among the faithful: ergo, they be faithful—except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he. And without all doubt the apostles baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized,⁹ among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

Another
argu-
ment.

The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul said, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize:"¹⁰ not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded. Who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water? St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, "May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?"¹¹ Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants, for he knew certainly, both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

In sacra-
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Another
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None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with his Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?¹²

Another
reason.

Another
reason.

The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, "Let the babes come unto me."¹³ Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they

(1) Gen. xvii.

(2) Matt. v.

(3) Matt. x.

(4) Matt. xix.

(5) Matt. xviii.

(6) Matt. xxviii.

(7) Acts x.

(8) 1 Cor. i.

(9) 1 Cor. i.

(10) Acts x.

(11) Rom. viii.

(12) Matt. x.

now-a-days else, that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past, which brought their children to the Lord; and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, "Why then did not Christ baptize them?" because it is written, "Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples."¹

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

Objection.

Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, "By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; being buried together with him through baptism."² Behold Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised; albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people. To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise;³ but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision? Item, the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament; therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children: because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women in the holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same. Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants or children; and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the seventeenth of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Another reason.

Another reason.

Another reason.

Another reason.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the apostles themselves. Origen,⁴ upon the declaration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter, saith, "that the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles." St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his Epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople,⁵ in his first book against Julian, chap. 6.; and he again, writing to St. Jerome,⁶ saith, "that St. Cyprian⁷, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized." The place of Cyprian⁸ is to be seen in his Epistle to Fidus. Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists,⁹ saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

Arguments of example and of antiquity.

Augustine.

Cyprian.

Cyril, upon Leviticus,¹⁰ approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

Cyril.

(1) John iv. (2) Col. ii. (3) Josh. v. (4) Origen was two hundred years after Christ.

(5) St. Augustine and St. Jerome were four hundred years after Christ. Verba Johannis Constantinopol. Heb. xi.: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ παιδία βαπτίζομεν, καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήματά οὐκ ἔχοντα.

(6) Epist. 28. [now 166. chap. 8. § 23.]

(7) Cyprian was two hundred and fifty years after Christ.

(8) Cyp. ad Fidum Epist. edit. Pam. No. 59; edit. Oxon. 64.—Ed.

(9) In book iv. chap. 23 and 24.

(10) Levit. viii.

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After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned," etc.

To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by the baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require; for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea."¹ Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in 1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us; for in St. Mark we read,² that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after. And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise: "All power is given me," saith the Lord, "in heaven and in earth, therefore, going forth, μαθητεύσατε,"³ that is, "disciple ye" (as I may express the signification of the word), that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, "baptizing them and teaching:" by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."⁴ Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather that the Gentiles, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end; but this I have declared to show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught; neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized: but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion. Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess, that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism. It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour must not eat;" but who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up of his true religion, unto all nations—unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God: and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that

(1) Matt. xviii.

(2) Mark i.

(3) Matt. xxviii.

(4) Ibid.

Righteousness and acceptation, is only by imputation and mere grace.

"He that believeth and is baptized" opened.

was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.¹

Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized: when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house." Semblably we read in the acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called 'catechumeni,'² they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles into the church, whom being yet rude of faith they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them: but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's true primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called), to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days, might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christ's true church. I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets.³ One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so, with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace. To the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory! Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.⁴

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith. John Philpot.

Divers other letters were written by master Philpot to divers, but these as most principal I have excerpted and inserted: amongst which I thought here, not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous gospeller (whose name in her writing doth not appear), who, in defending and commending the quarrel of this master John Philpot, Christ's most famous and

(1) In the first converting of infidels, believing ought to go before baptizing: but where faith is received, God's grace and sacraments go not by age, but as well be children of the faithful received, as the fathers.

(2) "Catechumeni," is as much to say, as young novices and beginners in Christ's faith.

(3) 1 Cor. xiv.

(4) Concerning the party to whom this letter was written, note that he was converted, and afterward died in the same faith as this letter did persuade him.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Why children of christian parents be received to baptism.

*Mary*A. D.
1556.

worthy martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before bishop Bonner; and therefore being appointed by the said bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for herself, indeed kept not her day with the bishop, but instead of her appearance sent him this letter here following.

A godly Letter addressed to Bishop Bonner, reproving his cruelty.

‘Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds’ of England, “that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? But ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool. The best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished; the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have you not healed, the broken have you not bound together, the out-casts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye ruled them.” Ezek. xxxiv.

Forasmuch, my lord, as my business is such that I cannot come to your lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your lordship’s demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you, in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod, according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my lord, I perceiving your lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, who, to destroy Christ, killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel’s counsel, and to come no more at you: for I see that you are set all in a rage, like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher’s stall as long as we can; especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly: and therefore let them lie still, and die for hunger. Therefore, my lord, I thought it good to tarry a time until your lordship’s stomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb’s flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows. But yet, my lord, it were a great deal more for your lordship’s honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea, and when it is something fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choaked; and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my lord, that some of the butcherly curs came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning, and grudging that they have not meat enough: therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and sisters that have lain so long upon the butcherly stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more. Therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promise, your lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your hell-hounds, would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank Him for my deliverance, with continual songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse; and not doubting but your lordship would have done the like, if you had been in my case.

Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle, or rather cruel, demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good master John Philpot, I will answer your lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall

come thereof. Truly, my lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he, as a very man of God, died a true martyr and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my lord, I do verily believe and know that your lordship hath committed a horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him; and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather cruel Cain did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your lordship doth believe,¹ and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did rebound to your lordship's dishonour and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your diocese, nor had offended any of your lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say in all places where I come, that your lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellow bite-sheeps (bishops, I would say); yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me my lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, "Bloody Bonner is bishop of London;" and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Pater-noster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire, and famished in prison: they say, the whole sum surmounteth to a forty persons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long ago, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most; yea, even your old friends, the rankest papists that be. For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than a heathen, Turk, or infidel. This is men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and the common talk they have of your lordship; therefore I thought to be bold so with your lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for.

Finally, my lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious nard contained therein is so notably therewithal shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your lordship's Judases do set them to sale every where to fill your bags. I put your lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popish pedlary wares.

Thus have I (according to your lordship's commandments) showed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of hosts, who will shortly avenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of all your poll-shorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great anti-christ of Rome. The measure of your iniquity is filled up to the brim, and therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I,

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.*See
Appendix.*

(1) Your deeds declare and bear witness to the same.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.

when your new-made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with cowdung (saving your lordship's reverence, I should have said first)—Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion; the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory. Amen.

I signify also unto your lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher showed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday against the dear servant of God, good master Philpot, do greatly redound to your lordship's dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him. now he is dead? O viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil! Full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder. For those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof; yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ, for he hath said, "Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my name's sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubtless great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and succase from shedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse than he did; for verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long. Therefore say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do: for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months.

It is found very true that one holy doctor saith, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand do rise for him." And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people showed unto good master Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adder's brood would bear men in hand: but they worshipped God, which gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish men in prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own tormentors, that the six prisoners that you have in your prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the country, and yet all will not help your lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same; for Zerubbabel will be found no liar, which said, "The truth shall have victory." You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the prick. The Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought (as knoweth the Lord God), who of his great mercy shortly convert your lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you. Amen!

Your lordship's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556.

The Story of Seven Martyrs suffering together at London, for the
Testimony of Christ's Gospel. Jan. 27, Anno 1556.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

The catholic prelates of the pope's band, being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church (whereof there were now very few which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for the avoiding of their popish rage, compelled to fly their natural country), continued still this next year also, which was anno 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people (I mean in degree, though God be praised, not in steadfastness), having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this story shall appear. Wherefore, as the first fruits thereof, to begin this year withal, about the 27th day of January were burned in Smithfield at London these seven persons hereafter following, to wit: Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster, wife; Joan Warne, alias Lashford, maid.

All which seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one sort and form of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverse (some more abounding in knowledge than others), their dealings withal were also diverse, as shall be more plainly perceived in the discoursing of their several processes hereafter following. And therefore, for the better understanding hereof, I will first (by the leave of the Lord), passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house, set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles there ministered unto them; with their answers also unto the same, according as they all agreed after one manner and sort together, as here by the words both of the articles, and their answers underwritten, may appear.

THE FORM AND WORDS OF BONNER'S ARTICLES MINISTERED
TO THE SEVEN PERSONS ABOVE-MENTIONED IN HIS
CONSISTORY, WITH THEIR ANSWERS.

And first, to behold the manner of speech in these bishops, sitting in their majesty to terrify the ears of the simple withal, let us hear the pontifical phrase of this bishop, beginning in this sort:—

* The within written articles, all and everich of them, and every part and parce of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God Bishop of London, do object and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, etc. of our mere office, for thy soul's health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdemeanours, monishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under the pains of both censures of the church, and also of other pains of the law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

*See
Appendix.*

1. First, that thou, N., hast firmly, steadfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here in earth a catholic church; in the which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained, of all faithful and true christian people.

- Mary.* 2. Item, That thou, the said N., in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept and retained.
- A. D. 1556.* 3. Item, That thou, the said N., wast in times past baptized in the faith and belief of the said catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmother, the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works; and was then and there by the said sacrament of baptism incorporate to the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof, and wast in the unity and fellowship of the said catholic church.
- Seven sacraments. The godfathers.* 4. Item, That thou, the said N., coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said profession, religion, and faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same faith or doings; but didst, like a faithful christian person, abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying, allowing, and confirming all the same.
- Faith.* 5. Item, That thou, the said N., notwithstanding the premises, hast of late (that is to say, within these two years last past), within the city and diocese of London, swerved and gone away at the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion: and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed and kept in the same, and hast not been penitent and sorry for thine offenses therein.
- Sacrifice of the mass.* 6. Item, That thou, the said N., hast heretofore refused, and so dost refuse at this present, to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, knowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful and good, and likewise the faith and the religion that hath been and is allowed, observed, and kept in the same.
- See of Rome.* 7. Item, That thou, the said N., misliking and not allowing the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of the altar, hast both refused to come to thy parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament; and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly; but hast affirmed expressly that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the sacrament of the altar there is none other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in nowise in the said sacrament of the altar.
- The sacrament of the altar.* 8. Item, That thou, the said N., being convented and called before certain judges or commissioners appointed by the King and Queen's Majesties for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.
9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London; and before me, accordingly to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, art to be convented: and also by me to be punished and reformed.*
- Here follow likewise their answers, in general, made to the articles above rehearsed.

Answers to Bonner's Articles.

- Answer to the first article.* And first, concerning the first article, on believing there is a catholic church—to the *first* article they, altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true: John Tudson, and Thomas Browne, further adding, that the church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true catholic church.
- Second article.* Concerning the *second* article, that there be in the church seven sacraments—they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord: John Went and Tudson affirming, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no sacrament at all.
- Third article.* Concerning the *third* article, that they were first baptized in the faith of the catholic church, professing by their godfathers the profession of the same, &c.—they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward, during the time of king Edward the sixth, they, hearing the gospel preached, and the truth

opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said king Edward. Mary.

Concerning the *fourth* article, that they for the space of certain years did ratify or allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same church—to this fourth article they granted also and agreed: John Went adding moreover, that about seven years past, he (then being about twenty years of age) began to mislike certain things used in the church of England, as the ministracion of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church: and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his godfathers and godmother promised for him the contrary. A.D.
1556.

John Tudson added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past (being about eighteen years of age), he did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, saving in king Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth. And further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true catholic church that Christ speaketh of. Fourth
article

Isabel Foster with other granted, adding likewise, and saying to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptized in, after she came to the years of discretion, as other common people did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of king Edward the sixth: at which time she, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth.¹

Concerning the *fifth* article, that they of late years have swerved and gone away, misliked and spoken against the profession of the same church, at least some part thereof, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the church of Rome—they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome. Fifth
article.

Joan Lashford (alias Joan Warne), granting with the other to the said article, addeth moreover, that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion. But saith, that from the time she was eleven years of age, she hath misliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

Bartlet Green, answering with the other to this article, addeth and saith, that he swerved not from the catholic faith, but only from the church of Rome, &c.²

Concerning the *sixth* article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of the said church of Rome—they answer and confess the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same church and doctrine, therein set forth and taught, disagreeeth from the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, etc. Sixth
article.
The catholic
church,
and the
church of
Rome,
are two
things.

Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not of the church of Rome.

In like manner added also John Went.

Concerning the *seventh* article, that they refuse to come to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, calling it an idol, etc.—they answer, and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing: for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, is dissonant to the word and teaching of the people, etc. Seventh
article.
The mass
dissonant
from the
word of
the gos-
pel, and
full of
idolatry.

John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believeth no less but the mass which he calleth the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far

(1) The faith which they were baptized in, was in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, believing the articles of the creed, with promise made to abrenounce the devil, the flesh, and the world, of the which faith their godfathers and godmothers were sureties for them, and in this faith they continue still. As for other ceremonies and abuses of the church, they never made any promise in their baptism.

(2) To swerve from the corruptions of the see of Rome, and sacrifice of the mass, is not to go from the catholic church of Christ.

Mary. as he seeth it. Howbeit, he saith that since the queen's coronation, by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

A. D. 1556. Isabel Foster also, answering to the said articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since queen Mary's reign she hath not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministered: for she knoweth no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she saith, that there is but only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament: for so she hath been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of king Edward, whom she believeth to have preached the truth in that behalf.

Eighth article.

Concerning the *eighth* article, that they were sent by the commissioners to the bishop to be examined and imprisoned—they grant the same and the contents thereof to be so: Thomas Whittle adding and affirming, that the lord chancellor that then was, sent him up to the bishop there present.

Bartlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said bishop, but for no offence herein articulate.

John Went said, that Dr. Story, queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament; and because he denied the real presence, he [Dr. Story] presented this examine to the bishop.

John Tudson likewise examined by master Cholmley and Dr. Story, upon the same matters, and for not coming to the church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the bishop.

Thomas Brown also said, that he, for not coming to the church of St. Bride's, was brought by the constable to the bishop, etc.

Joan Warne¹ confessed that she was sent by Dr. Story to the bishop of London, about twelve weeks ago; since which time she hath continued with the said bishop.

Ninth article.

Concerning the *ninth* article—they confess and say, that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they be of the jurisdiction of London.²

And thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly made unto the same, it remaineth further more fully to discourse the stories and handling of all the seven aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with Thomas Whittle.

The Story of all these seven Martyrs, particularly described, in order here followeth;

AND FIRST OF THOMAS WHITTLE, WHO, FIRST RECONTING, THEN RETURNING AGAIN, WITH GREAT CONSTANCY AND FORTITUDE STOOD TO THE DEFENCE OF CHRIST'S DOCTRINE AGAINST THE PAPISTS, TO THE FIRE.

Thomas Whittle, martyr.

Edmund Alabaster, after a promoter and persecutor.

In the story of master Philpot, mention was made before, of a married priest, whom he found in the coal-house at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in king Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle of Essex; and thus lieth his story. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion was ministered, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alabaster, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was fallen lately sick of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender for his proffered service was highly checked and rated of the bishop, asking if there were no man

(1) Of this Joan Warne read before. (2) See Appendix.

unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him: "Hence," quoth he, "out of my sight, thou varlet! what dost thou trouble me with such matters?" The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, with whom what an evil mess of handling this Whittle had, and how he was by the bishop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a letter sent unto his friend, manifestly may appear:—

*Mary.*A.D.
1556.

"Upon Thursday, which was the 10th of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, upon a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning, if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, 'but to your mass,' said I, 'I have small affection.' At which answer he was displeas'd sore, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear.¹ And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

Whittle
reporteth
of the
manner
of his
handling
with
bishop
Bonner.Beaten on
the face
by Bon-
ner.

"Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he, going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon should commune together, and drew out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very sore to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the registrar pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly."

Convent-
ed before
Dr.
Harps-
field.

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it please the gentle reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands we have hereunto adjoined; written and conceived in their own words, as followeth to be seen.

The Bill of Submission, offered to Thomas Whittle to subscribe unto.

I, Thomas Whittle, priest, of the diocese of London, knowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you, reverend father in God, Edmund bishop of London, my ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar, or any of the sacraments of the church, which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wise by the catholic church: and I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, and also intend by God's grace always hereafter to hold, observe, and keep, in all points the catholic faith and belief of Christ's church, according as this church of England, being a member of the said catholic church, doth now profess and keep; and in no wise to swerve, decline, or go from the said faith, during my natural life, submitting myself fully and wholly to you, reverend father, my said ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times.—In witness whereof I the said Thomas Whittle, priest, have hereunto subscribed my name, written, etc.

Through
infirmity,
subscrib-
eth to the
bill.

"To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do;² and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respite I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had little joy thereof: for by and by my mind and conscience told me

Com-
puncted
in con-
science,
for for-
saking of
the cross
of Christ.

(1) "Episcopum non percussorem esse oportet." Tit. i.

(2) A good warning for all faithful Christians not to fall into the crafty hands of the papists.

*Mary.*A.D.
1556.Comfort
against
despair.
He re-
penteth
his re-
ca-
tion.

by God's word that I had done evil, by such a sleighty means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ: and yet it was not my seeking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave fast to Christ; for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith, 'A righteous man though he fall, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.' For I, for my part, have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's present help and comfort in time of need, I thank him there-for.

"The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more; being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I, through evil counsel and advisement, had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

Experi-
ence of
God's pro-
vidence,
suffering
his people
to fall,
but not
to be lost.

"And when he came, and the registrar with him, I told him that I was not well at ease; but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me: 'and therefore I pray you, master Harpsfield,' said I, 'let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it.' So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to pul out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

Peace of
consci-
ence a
great
treasure.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand; of the which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, which shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ; and I, by his grace, am very well willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

"By me, Thomas Whittle, minister."

Concerning the troubled mind of this godly man, and the tearing of his name out of the bill, here followeth the report of the same, written in the letters both of the said Harpsfield, and also of Johnson the registrar, being then present thereat, and reporters of the same unto the bishop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be seen.

The Copy of John Harpsfield's Letter, written to Bonner, Bishop of London, declaring how Thomas Whittle rent his Subscription out of the Bishop's Register.

Pleaseth your good lordship to understand, that yesterday I dined with my lord of Exeter, who soon after my first coming to him, asked me what news? I answered, none but good, that I had heard. "No!" saith he: "why, it is a rumour in the city, that to-morrow the queen's grace will take her journey towards the king." I answered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of heretics. "Yea, and further," saith he, "there is a report made abroad of my lord your master, that he is in discomfort, and therefore will suffer no man to come unto him." When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: so that my lord (who before was

very sad) afterward knowing the truth, rejoiced much to hear that all was well with your lordship, and desired me to have his hearty commendations to your lordship.

One of my lord of Pembroke's retinue, a very handsome man, and as far as I can yet learn a catholic, is a suitor to your lordship to have license to erect a school; and the order which he intendeth to use, is contained in this printed paper, which I send herein enclosed to your lordship. I would be glad, for my lord of Pembroke's sake, that he understood, that upon my motion your lordship were content he should teach as he intendeth. Master Johnson and I have travailed with the priest, and he hath subscribed his name to this draft which is herein enclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the same before your lordship.

When I had written thus much, suddenly came tidings to me, that Jordanis conversus est retrorsum.¹ Cluney coming to the priest, found him lying prostrate, and groaning as though he should have died forthwith. Then Cluney took him up, and set him upon a stool, and came to me, and told me of this revel. It chanced that master Johnson was with me, and we went to this fond heretic, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards heaven. I caused Thomas More and Cluney to set him on the stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned; and weeping he prayed master Johnson and me, to see the bill whereunto he subscribed; and when he saw it, he tare out his name, *è libro scilicet viventium*. Me thinketh by him, he will needs burn a faggot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman.²

I have inquired of the two persons which sue to have a license to eat flesh. And the woman of Christ's church is indeed very much diseased, and hath been long diseased, and she and her husband both catholic: of the other, yet, I can learn nothing.—Thus Jesus evermore preserve your good lordship, and my mistress your lordship's sister, with all yours.—This present Saturday.

Your lordship's most bounden servant,

John Harpsfield.

Here followeth another letter of Robert Johnson, registrar, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Bonner bishop of London.

My bounden duty premised, pleaseth your lordship to understand, that this last Friday in the afternoon, master archdeacon of London did diligently travail with sir Thomas Whittle. I being present, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, devised this submission, and he being content therewith did subscribe the same. But now, this Saturday morning, master archdeacon and I, upon Cluney's report, declaring that he feigned himself to be distracted of his senses, went unto him, to whom he declared that Satan in the night time appeared unto him, and said that he was damned, for that he had done against his conscience in subscribing to the said submission; with other like words, etc. And then master archdeacon, at his earnest request, delivered unto him the submission. And thereupon the said Whittle did tear out his subscription, made in the foot of the same, as your lordship shall perceive by the submission sent now unto your lordship by master archdeacon; wherewith the said Whittle was somewhat quieted.

And as touching Joan Lashford, master archdeacon did likewise travail with her, and showing her sir Thomas's submission, which I read unto her two times, demanded if she could be content to make the like submission, and she desired respite until this morning. And being now eftsoons demanded, in like wise saith, that she will not make any thing in writing, nor put any sign thereunto. Master archdeacon and I intend this afternoon to examine the said sir Thomas upon articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing against him, as knoweth almighty God, who preserve your good lordship in prosperity long with honour to endure! From London this Saturday,

By your lordship's daily beads-man, and bounden servant,

Robert Johnson.

(1) He meaneth of the return again of T. Whittle. [From the Vulgate of Psalm cxiii. (Heb. cxiv.) 3.]

(2) This young woman was Joan Warue, otherwise named Joan Lashford, who was burned also with the same Whittle.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.

THE CONDEMNATION, MARTYRDOM, AND DEATH OF THOMAS WHITTLE.

Concerning the words and answers of the said Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, upon the 14th day of January,¹ the year above-expressed, Bonner, with other his fellow Bonnerlings, sitting in his consistory at afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: "Because ye be a priest," saith he, "as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the right and form of the catholic church, ye shall not think but I will minister justice as well unto you as unto others." And then the said Bonner in further communication did charge him, that whereas in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again said, that at such time as he so said mass, he was then ignorant, etc.: adding moreover, that the elevation of the sacrament at the mass, giveth occasion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

Elevation of the sacrament cause of idolatry.

After this the bishop, making haste to the articles (which in all his examinations ever he harped upon, came to this article, "That thou wast in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church."²

To this the said Whittle inferred again, "I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forsake the church of Rome. And ye, my lord, do call these heresies, that be no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies; and ye ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God's word," etc.

Then the said victorious soldier and servant of our Saviour, constant in the verity received and professed, was again admonished, and with persuasions entreated by the bishop; who because he would not agree unto the same, the bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and clerky habit. The order and manner of which their popish and most vain degradation, before, in the story of bishop Hooper, is to be seen. Then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him after their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said unto them, "Paul and Titus had not so much ado with their priests and bishops." And further, speaking to the bishop, he said unto him, "My lord, your religion standeth most with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ."

Whittle degraded.

Whittle's words to Bonner.

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed and formal proceedings, assayed him yet again with words, rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion: who then denying so to do, said, "As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word."

The bishop then asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle answered and said, "It is not used according to Christ's

(1) The "Letters of the Martyrs," edit. 1837, p. 376, state that he "stood to the defence of the truth unto the fire, the 12th of January."—Ed.

(2) Bonner's argument: He was baptized in the faith of the catholic church: ergo, he was baptized in the faith of Rome!

institution, in that it is privately and not openly done : and also for that it is ministered but in one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Further, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored : for the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture."

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" Well," quoth Bonner, " my lords here and other learned men have showed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the secular power," etc. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and unmovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so, in few days after, brought to the fire with the other six aforementioned, sealing up the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for the witness of the truth.

Jan. 27.

LETTERS OF THOMAS WHITTLE.

A Letter to John Careless, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

The peace of God in Christ be with you continually, dearly beloved brother in Christ, with the assistance of God's grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of those things which may comfort and edify his church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his name, and the increase of your joy and solace of soul in this life, and also your reward in heaven with Christ our captain, whose faithful soldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

I have greatly rejoiced, my dear heart, with thanks to God for you, since I have heard of your faith and love which you bear towards God and his saints, with a most godly ardent zeal to the virtue of Christ's doctrine and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but specially by the declaring of that valiant captain in Christ's church, that stout champion in God's cause, that spectacle to the world, I mean our good brother Philpot, who now lieth under the altar, and sweetly enjoyeth the promised reward. And specially I and my condemned fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable letter in the deepness of our trouble (after the flesh) sent unto us to the consolation of us all, but most specially to me, most sinful miser, on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through God's loving kindness in Christ showed unto me ; who suffered me to faint and fail through human infirmity, by the working of the arch-enemy in his sworn soldiers the bishops and priests. In whom so lively appeareth the very visage and shape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to God's word) might well affirm them to be devils incarnate, as I by experience do speak. Wherefore, whoso shall for conscience-matters come in their hands, had need of the wiliness of the serpent to save his head, though it be with the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heed how he consenteth to their wicked writings, or setteth his hand to their conveyances.

His judgment and experience of popish prelates.

Sore did they assault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at least to a denegation of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And, alas, something they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their opinions and false papistical religion, or else doubted of the truth wherein I stand, but only the infirmity of the flesh beguiled me, desiring liberty by an unlawful means : God lay it not to my charge at that day ! and so I heartily desire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby : profit to me, in that God suffered Satan to buffet me by his foresaid minister of mischief, showing me mine infirmity, that I should not boast nor rejoice in myself, but only in the Lord ; who when he had led me to hell in my conscience, through the respect of his fearful judgments against me for my fearfulness, mistrust, and crafty cloaking in such spiritual and weighty matters (in the which agony and distress I found this old verse true, " Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus"), yet he brought me from

*Mary.*A. D.
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den of a
troubled
consci-
ence.

thence again to the magnifying of his name, suspecting of flesh and blood, and consolation of mine own soul; or else that I might feel disprofit in offending the congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulness in my doctrine and religion, than of human imbecility.

Well, of the impertune burden of a troubled conscience for denying or dissembling the known verity, I by experience could say very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time: for now am I and my fellows ready to go hence even for Christ's cause: God's name be praised, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our course with joy, and at your appointed time you shall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, so will he preserve your life still, to the intent you should labour (as you do) to appease and convince these ungodly contentions and controversies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is dishonoured, the church disquieted, and occasion to speak evil of the gospel ministered to our adversaries. But such is the subtlety of Satan, that whom he cannot win with gross idolatry in open religion, them he seeketh to corrupt and deceive in opinions, in a private profession. But here I will abruptly leave, lest with my rude and simple vein I should be tedious unto you, desiring you, my loving brother, if it shall not seem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my fellows yet once again, if you have leisure, and we time to the same.

He writ-
eth for
the exa-
mina-
tions of
Phi.pot.

Provide me master Philpot's nine examinations for a friend of mine, and I shall pay you there-for, by the leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear children in this world, that they should not be damned with the world, and trieth the faith of his saints through many tribulations, that being found constant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in heaven highly reward them; whither I trust to go before, looking for you to follow, my faithful friend, that we may sing perpetual praise to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and sin, won for us by Jesus Christ, God and Man, our only and sufficient Saviour and Advocate, Amen. Farewell, and pray in faith.

Yours, Thomas Whittle, minister, and now condemned to die for the gospel's sake, 1556, Jan. 21.

All my fellows salute you. Salute all our faithful brethren with you.

To my dear Friend and Brother John Went,¹ and other his Prison-fellows in Lollards' Tower.

He that preserved Joseph prisoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the lions' den, and delivered Paul, Peter, and the apostles out of prison,² vouchsafe of his goodness to keep, feed, and deliver you, my good brother Went, with the other our fellow-soldiers your prison-fellows, as may be most to his glory, to your consolation, and the edification of his church.

I cannot but praise God most earnestly, when I hear of your constancy in the faith, and joy in the cross of Christ, which you now bear and suffer together, with many other good members of Christ, which is a token that by Christ you are counted worthy the kingdom of God, as Paul saith.³ And though the world counteth the yoke and cross of Christ as a most pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have tasted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoice in this persecution as touching ourselves;⁴ inasmuch as the cause for the which we suffer is the Lord's cause and not ours, at whose hand if we endure to the end, we shall receive, through his liberal promise in Christ, not only a great reward in heaven, but also the kingdom of heaven itself, and also in the mean season be sure to be defended and cared for, so that we shall lack no necessary things, neither a hair of our heads shall perish without his knowledge.⁵ O what is he that would mistrust, or not gladly serve so loving a Father? O how unhappy are they that forsake him and put their trust in man! But how blessed are they that for his love and for his holy word's sake, in these troublesome days, do commit their souls and bodies into his hands with well doing,⁶ counting it greater happiness and riches to suffer rebuke with Christ and his church, than to enjoy the pleasures of this life for a little short season!⁷ This cross that we

(1) He is called also Thomas Went in the Letters of the Martyrs.—E.D.

(3) 2 Thess. i.

(1) 1 Pet. ii.

(5) Matt. x.

(6) 1 Pet. iv.

(2) Acts xvi.

(7) Heb. xi

now bear, hath been common to all the faithful from Abel hitherto, and shall be to the end; because the devil, having great wrath against God and his Christ,¹ cannot abide that he should for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Christ to be taken and believed upon for our only sufficient Redeemer, Saviour, and Advocate: and therefore, because we will not deny Christ, nor dissemble with our faith, but openly protest and profess the same before the world, he seeketh by all means to stir up his wicked members, to persecute and kill the bodies of the true Christians; as St. John saith, "The devil shall cast some of you into prison."² And David saith, "I believed, and therefore have I spoken, but I was sore troubled."³ This notwithstanding, go forward, dear brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lord's battle, considering Christ the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and also highly reward your pains. Consider to your comfort the notable and chief shepherds and soldiers of Christ, which are gone before us in these days; I mean those learned and godly bishops, doctors, and other ministers of God's word, whose faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as St. Paul saith: "Remember them that have declared unto you the word of God, the end of whose conversation see that ye look upon, and follow their faith."⁴ The grace and blessing of God, with the ministry of his holy angels, be with you for ever; Amen. All my prison-fellows greet you.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.

Satan cannot abide Christ to be received for our only Saviour, and thereof ariseth all this persecution.

From the Coal-house,⁵ this 4th of December; by your poor brother Thomas Whittle, an unworthy minister of Christ, now his prisoner for the gospel's sake. Amen.

To all the true professors and lovers of God's holy Gospel within the City of London.

The same faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary blessed, the Lord God increase and make stable in your hearts, my dear and faithful brethren and sisters of London, for ever and ever; Amen.⁶

Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's passion; that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, etc. Out of these words of St. Peter, I gather most specially these four notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christ's church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole world through persecution; that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a church and people upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death, shall be able to separate them from the love of him.⁷ And thus was Abraham tried and Job tempted,⁸ that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be so steadfast and strong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy, could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he assisted Lot, and delivered him out of his enemies' hands; Joseph out of the hands of his brethren and out of prison: Paul from his enemies in Damascus; and the apostles out of the stocks and prison.⁹

Four notes.

These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen, and John Baptist, with many others by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good presidents, and examples to us and

(1) Rev. xii.

(2) Rev. ii.

(3) Psalm cxv.

(4) Heb. xiii.

(5) In reference to this "Coal-house," it may be remarked, that this abode of so much misery, and the scene of so many prayers, formed part of the palace of the bishop of London, which stood at the north-west corner of the church-yard, the present site of London-House Yard, and extended itself to the walls of the old cathedral. Along the north side of the church-yard were a cloister, a burying-ground, a library, a charnel-house, and several chapels which had been partly destroyed in King Edward's days. Between Cannon-alee and Cheapside stood Paul's Cross; the Convocation House stood on the south side, and Lollards' Tower was over St. Gregory's church, which was attached to the cathedral on the south-west corner, about the place where the clock tower now stands. The "Coal-house" was at the back of the palace in Paternoster Row, near the alley which passes from thence to St. Paul's Churchyard.—Ed.

(6) Rom. iv. Luke i.

(7) Rom. viii.

(8) Gen. xxii. Job i.

(9) Rom. ix. 2 Cor. xi. Acts xvi. Gen. iv. 2 Macc. vi. Acts vi. Matt. xvii.

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all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause; as St. James saith, "Take, my brethren," saith he, "the prophets for an ensample of suffering adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the name of the Lord. Behold we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful.¹ Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrisy nor ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with Peter, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with David, "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak. O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed."²

The cross
trieth the
good peo-
ple from
the bad.

Of this opening of the heart by persecution, spake holy Simeon to Mary, Christ's mother, when he said, "The sword (that is, the cross of persecution) shall pierce thy soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened."³ For like as a king that should go to battle, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puissance of men and weapons he hath, so that if he himself be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: even so we, by persecutions, have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the cross, that if we be rich in these treasures, we might rejoice, and valiantly go to battle; or if we want these things, we might with all speed cry and call upon him which giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. Item, the cross trieth the good people from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and hypocrites, and also cleanseth and scoureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness both of the flesh and the spirit. And even as iron, except it be often scoured, will soon wax rusty; so except our sinful hearts and flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the cross, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of all filthiness and sin. And therefore it is meet and good for us, as the wise man saith, that "as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of adversity."⁴ Abide the trial, dear friends, that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in heaven hereafter.

As ye are called Christians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your Christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear. Suffer with him and for his gospel's sake, rather than to deny him or to defile your faith and conscience with false worshipping of Romish religion.

Take up your cross, my dear hearts, now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to Jerusalem amongst the bishops, priests, and rulers (if God call you thereto), and they will anon send you to Calvary; from whence (dying in the cause of the gospel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives), your souls, I warrant you, through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and the body shall come after at the last day; and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. O blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, as Christ's people in this Jewish England now do; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven! O my beloved, set your minds on this kingdom where Christ our Head and King is; considering that as the brute beast looketh downwards with the face towards the earth, so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, because his conversation should be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul saith, "Set your minds on things which are above, where Christ is."⁵ And again he saith, "Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body."⁶ Oh the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless to his eternal kingdom through Christ Jesus our Lord; Amen.

The
second
note.

The second thing that I note in the foresaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is, for which of the prophets were not persecuted with Christ and his apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's sake? Cain killed Abel, Isaac was persecuted of Ishmael,

Jacob was hated of Esau, Joseph was prisoned and set in the stocks, the prophet Isaiah was cut in two with a saw, Jeremiah was stoned, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was sore persecuted, Eleazar and the woman with her seven sons were cruelly killed.¹ What Christ and the apostles suffered it is well known. So that by many tribulations (as Paul saith)² we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Christ, and his apostles, suffered such afflictions—not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking of the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ.

This is the ordinance of God, my friends, this is the high-way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Christ saith, "He that heareth my words and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life."³ Let us never fear death, which is killed by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever, as Paul saith, "There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."⁴ And again Paul saith, "Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jesus Christ."⁵

Besides this, ye have seen, and daily do see, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been shed in the gospel's cause in this sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good bishop Ridley, who like a shepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his sheep.⁶ Good St. Paul saith, "Remember them that have spoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their conversation, and follow their faith."⁷

The devil ever stirreth up false teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our souls with the false doctrine.⁸ And when he faileth of his purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the silly carcasses of the saints, because they will not deny nor dissemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confess a dead bready Christ, and honour the same as Christ, God and man, contrary to God's commandment.⁹

This is the working of Satan, who, knowing his own just damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the same: such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ with subtle temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his servants the bishops and Pharisees to kill his body, whereby notwithstanding the devil lost his title and interest which he had to man's soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the devil, death, and hell, to immortality and life everlasting. And so when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Christ, he lost all. And so shall he do in us, if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end.¹⁰ God grant it for his mercy's sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Amen.

Wherefore, my heartily beloved brethren and sisters, be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. "Resist the devil, and he will, as James saith, "flee from you."¹¹ "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees."¹² Touch not pitch, lest you be defiled therewith; eat no swine's flesh, for it is against the law: I mean, defile not yourselves either inwardly or outwardly with this false and wicked religion of antichrist; for it is nothing else but pitch, and swine's flesh. Beware of the beast's mark, lest ye drink of the cup of God's wrath.¹³ If God have given you knowledge and faith, dissemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as John biddeth you,¹⁴ and touch no unclean thing, but separate yourselves from the company of the ungodly, as Paul commandeth you.¹⁵ Whatsoever you have done amiss heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption.¹⁶

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foresaid words of Peter,

Mary.
A. D.
1556.

Example
of God's
martyrs.

When
Satan
could not
bring
Christ to
fall down
and wor-
ship him,
he set the
Pharisees
to kill
him.

The third
note.

(1) 2 Mac. vi. vii.

(2) Acts xiv.

(3) John v.

(4) Rom. viii.

(5) 1 Cor. xv.

(6) John x.

(7) Heb. xiii.

(8) 2 Pet. ii. 1 Tim. iv. 2 Tim. iii. Jude.

(9) Exod. x.

(10) 1 John v. 2 Cor. x. Matt. iv.

(11) James ii.

(12) Matt. xvi.

(13) Rev. xiii. xiv

(14) Rev. viii.

(15) 2 Cor. vi.

(16) Psal. cxxx.

Mary. 's this, that he saith, " Rejoice because ye are partakers of Christ's passion." Our sufferings, my well-beloved, are Christ's sufferings; and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himself, as he said to St. Paul, " Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"¹ Therefore we ought to rejoice in our sufferings, as Paul writeth, which we suffer with Christ and one with another, as Peter saith, and so to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit his elect must suffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghost,² and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness' sake, according to his promise.³ And therefore I say, my brethren, "rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice."⁴ "Let us rejoice in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to it."⁵

The
fourth
note.

And why should we so greatly rejoice in the cross of Christ, which we now suffer? "Because," saith Peter, "when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad." And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written: wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment, when we shall be raised again. And then shall they that have sown in tears, reap in joy, as Christ saith, "Blessed are they that weep here; for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's sake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven."⁶

Wherefore, my dearly beloved, through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised (which joy is so great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think,⁷ where we shall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the celestial Jerusalem, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as Paul saith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the spirits and souls of all faithful and just men⁸), rejoice and be glad. And seeing ye be called to so great glory, see that you make your election and vocation sure by good works, and specially by suffering adversity for the gospel's sake:⁹ for it is given us of God (saith Paul) not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake.¹⁰ Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my course with joy. Have brotherly love amongst yourselves, which is a token that ye be Christ's disciples.¹¹ Edify and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always. Amen.

For your liberality and kindness showed upon the prisoners and afflicted people of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful people unrewarded.¹² God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.¹³

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always. Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the gospel,
Thomas Whittle.

To my loving and faithful Brother John Careless, prisoner in the
King's Bench.

The same faith for the which Abraham was accounted just, and Mary blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increase and stablish in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God, my heartily beloved brother, for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving letters, repenting me much that I, being so long so near you, did not enterprise to stir

(1) Acts ix

(2) Col. i.

(3) Matt. v.

(4) Phil. iii.

(5) Gal. vi

(6) Luke vi.

(7) 1 Cor. ii.

(8) Heb. xii.

(9) 2 Pet. i

(10) Phil. i.

(11) John xiv.

(12) Matt. x.

(13) 2 Cor. viii.

up familiarity and communication between us by writing, to mutual consolation in Christ. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoice (where all things are transitory and vain, yea man himself, respecting this life), but, as David saith, "the saints that dwell upon the earth, and such as excel in virtue?"¹ But here now I consider, that if the fellowship, love, and joy, of faithful men and children of God (being as we now be in double bondage, the body within clay walls, and the soul within these frail earthly bodies), be so great and comfortable; how unspeakable will these joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, where we shall be present together continually in our glorified bodies beholding the face of our Father presently (whom now we see but in the glass of faith), with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and Brother, and the blessed company of angels and all faithful saved souls!

Oh the incomparable good things and heavenly treasures laid up for us in heaven by Christ Jesus! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to set light by all temporal grief and transitory afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength; and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lieth still, as the preacher saith,² when every one "*causa sua dormit, et causa sua resurget.*" For else, before the end, he suffereth his sometime to fall, but not finally to perish: as Peter sank upon the sea, but yet was not drowned; and sinned grievously upon the land through infirmity denying his Master, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth oftentimes. And Christ's holy apostles are taught to say, "*Remitte nobis debita nostra.*" Yea, "though the righteous fall," saith David, "he shall not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." Oh the bottomless mercy of God towards us, miserable sinners! He vouchsafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son! And thereto I pray you say, "Amen."

O my dearly beloved, it grieveth me to see the spoil and havoc that Saul maketh with the congregation of Christ. But what remedy? This is God's will and ordinance, that his people shall here both be punished in the flesh and tried in their faith; as it is written, "Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all:" for by a strait path and narrow door must we enter. Whither? Into the joyful kingdom of heaven! Therefore blessed are you and others that suffer persecution for Christ's sake, for the profession of the same. Pray for me and my fellows, good brother, that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our course with joyful gladness; for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you and all his people in our journey, that we may safely, through a short death, pass to that long lasting life.

Farewell, my dear and loving brother and fellow-soldier in Christ! farewell, I say in him, who receive our souls in peace when they shall depart from these tabernacles, and grant us a joyful resurrection, and a merry meeting at the last day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!

Yours with my poor prayer; other pleasure can I do you none,

Thomas Whittle, minister.

To my dear Brethren Master Filles and Cutbert.

My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, master Filles and Cutbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul, is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this body-life. The soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, lest immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's Holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

The society of saints.

God's saints suffered sometimes to fall, but not finally to perish.

Welfare of soul and body

(1) Psalm xvi.

(2) Eccles. xi.

Mary.

A. D.

1556.

No sacrifice of the mass is to be made for sin.

gladly take up their cross and follow their Captain, their King, and their Saviour Jesus Christ¹ (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth), against that false and antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and specially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's supper and holy ordinance is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution and to Paul's proceedings:² so that that which they have in their mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, a visible sign of invisible grace, when it is ministered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was of late years in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: "for Christ with one sacrifice hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified."³

Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear according to the doctrine of his gospel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye be hated and accursed.⁴ Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations.⁵ Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which lead to damnation.

Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us example to follow his footsteps.⁶ Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. "He that overcometh," saith St. John, "shall eat of the tree of life: he shall have a crown of life, and not to be hurt of the second death; he shall be clothed with white array, and not to be put out of the book of life:" "yea, I will confess his name," saith Christ "before my Father and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat."⁷ And thus I bid you farewell, mine own brethren and dear fellows in Christ: whose grace and peace be alway with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake; to Christ I me betake;

And, for his gospel's sake, patiently death I take.

My body to the dust now to return it must;

My soul, I know full well, with my God it shall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

Another Letter written to a certain godly Woman.

O my dear and loving sister in Christ! be not dismayed in this storm of persecution: for Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, because it is never truly taught, but the cross and cruel persecution immediately and necessarily do follow the same; and therefore it is a manifest token of God's truth, and hath been here and is still abroad; and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their sins in this world: their faith must be tried, that after trial and patient suffering the faithful may receive the crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my well-beloved! but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen you and assist you in all your ways: and if it please him to lay his cross upon you for his gospel's sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as God forbid) find a more grievous cross and torment of conscience, if you should dissemble and deny the known verity, than is any persecution or death of body. O how happy are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake! Their reward is great in heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shall be showed upon us. O remember the godly women of the Old Testament and New, which lived in God's service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and commended for ever: and namely Judith, Esther, Abigail, the mother of the seven sons, Mary, Elizabeth, Susanna, Lydia, and Phœbe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ; sin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is set wide open: God grant we may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ. Amen!

Thomas Whittle.

(1) Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii.

(4) Luke xi.

(5) Rev. xviii.

(2) 2 Cor. xi.

(6) 1 Pet. iii. iv.

(3) Heb. ix. x.

(7) Rev. ii. iii.

To be strong against Satan, and not to fear persecution.

Good counsel, not to forsake the Lord for persecution.

The Story of Master Bartlet Green, Gentleman and Lawyer,
Martyr.

Mary

A. D.
1556.

After the martyrdom of Thomas Whittle, next followeth in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who, the next day after the foresaid Whittle, was likewise condemned. This Green was of a good house, and had such parents as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this their child in the same; who, after some entrance in other inferior schools, was by them sent unto the university of Oxford, where through exercise and diligent study he so profited, that within short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry profane sciences, as also now, in his last years, unto the godly understanding of divinity; whereunto (through ignorance in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity lecture in the same university, so that thereby (as by God's instrument) he saw the true light of Christ's gospel. Whereof when he had once tasted, it became unto him as the fountain of lively water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria, so as he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing unto everlasting life;¹ insomuch as when he was called by his friends from the university, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he yet continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the gospel; wherein also he did not a little profit. Howbeit (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit), through the continual accompanying, and fellowship of such worldly (I will not say too much youthful) young gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a compartner of their fond follies, and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful correction) did sore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own testimony, notified and left in a book of a certain friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

Bartlet
Green
student at
Oxford.Convert-
ed by the
lectures
of Peter
Martyr.Student
in the
Temple at
London.

The Writing of Master Bartlet Green, in Master Bartram Calthorp's Book.

"Two things have very much troubled me whilst I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which, under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by prayer, earnest and without ceasing. And forso much as vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer, to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then stealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be

A good
note or
lesson, for
young
lawyers to
mark and
follow.What
lew'd com-
pany
doth.

(1) John iv.

Mary. sober; 'For our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' And remember what Solomon saith, 'A patient man is better than a strong warrior, and he that conquereth his own stomach, is better than he that conquereth towns and cities.'¹ "Bartlet Green."

A. D.
1556.

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and steadfast amity. Farewell, my Bartram, and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell. At Newgate, Jan. 20, anno 1556."²

"Set sober love against hasty wrath.

"Bartlet Green."

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by some such means as perhaps they think least of, as he did here this his strayed sheep. And now therefore to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, master doctor Bartlet, who, during the time of Green's imprisonment, made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth, and gospel of Christ) come home again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those his persuasions (the Lord be therefore praised) took small effect in his faithful heart, as the sequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except of the papists, who love none that love the truth); and so he well deserved, for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those that were of the household of faith; as appeared amongst other, by his friendly dealing with master Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the seas; with whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward; whom now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget: and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loss of his friend, and the other of body, in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of papists. The cause hereof was a letter which Green did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which were cast abroad in London (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his own penning, which he meant to have sent unto master Philpot, wherein he declareth his full usage before the bishop of London and others), as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead. Whereunto master Green answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead.

These letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the said bearer, unto the hands of the king and queen's council; who, at their conve-

Large gifts offered Master Green by Bartlet to return to the church of Rome.

Friendship between Goodman and Green.

Occasion of apprehending of Green came by letters intercepted.

(1) "Melior est patiens viro forti, et qui dominatur animo expugnatore urbium."

(2) "Animorum in fide unio per charitatem aucta, firma est amicitia. Vale, mi Bertrame, et mei memineris, ut semper simillimi efficiamur. Vale, apud Novam Portam, 20 Januarii, 1556."

nient leisure (which in those days by some of them was quickly found out for such matters), perused the whole number of the said letters, and amongst them espied this letter of master Green's, written unto his friend Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof (amongst other news and private matters) they found these words: "The queen is not yet dead." Which words were only written as an answer, to certify master Goodman of the truth of his former demand; howbeit (to some of the council) they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do (and being yet very loth to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer of the gospel), they then examined him upon his faith in religion; but upon what points it is not certainly known.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.Green examined
by the
council of
his faith.

Nevertheless (as it seemeth) his answers were such as little pleased them (especially the anointed sort); and therefore, after they had long detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Bonner bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law; as appeareth by their letters sent unto the bishop, with the said prisoner also, wherein it may appear, that sir John Bourne (then secretary to the queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea and an enticer of others of the council; who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness (if it be his good pleasure) and give them true repentance. Amen.

Sir John
Bourne a
stirrer of
persecu-
tion.

A Letter sent unto Bonner, Bishop of London, by the Queen's Council, dated the 11th Day of November, 1555; but not delivered until the 17th of the same Month.

After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send to the same herewith the body of one Bartlet Green, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obstinate standing in matters against the catholic religion, whom the king's and queen's majesties' pleasures are (because he is of your lordship's diocese), ye shall cause to be ordered according to the laws in such cases provided. And thus we bid your lordship heartily farewell.

From St. James's, the 11th of November, 1555.

Your good lordship's loving friends,
Winchester, Pembroke, Thomas Ely,
William Haward, John Bourne, Thomas Wharton.

Postscript.—I, sir John Bourne, will wait upon your lordship, and signify further the king's and queen's majesties' pleasure herein.

Now that ye may the better understand the certainty of his handling, after this his coming unto Bonner's custody, I have thought it good to put forth his own letter, containing at large the discourse of the same; which letter he wrote, and did mean to have sent unto master Philpot, but was prevented belike either by Philpot's death, or else (and rather) by the wily watching of his keeper: for it came (by what means I know not certainly) unto the bishop's hands, and being delivered unto his registrar, was found in one of his books of record, the copy whereof here followeth.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

A Letter of Bartlet Green, written unto John Philpot, containing, besides other particular Matter betwixt him and Master Philpot, a brief Rehearsal of his Handling, and certain his Conferreces with Bonner and others, at his first coming to the Bishops.

* I marvel¹ much that you will raise such slanders of me: for, what else is a slander than an untrue report of a man, to the hurt of a man? And though you will not seem to hurt me herein, nor did it there-for, yet, being a false report of me to the hurt of other men, methinketh I may count myself slandered therein. Is not the heart offended when the foot is slandered? is not the body troubled when the tongue is belied? is not the hand ready to revenge the dishonour of the head, or hurt of the least part of the body? are we not members all of one body? are we not members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones? If you think them not of one body with us, yet should you not have spoken evil of any man, yet should you not have slandered the rulers.² But you have sought my hurt ignorantly: remember you not what happened to Moses and Aaron at the waters of strife, because of the over-great estimation that the people had in them? Were not the people plagued by David, in whom they over-much gloried? quippe per quæ peccat quis, per eadem punietur. None had such praise as had Josiah; and what was the end?³ The people had Josiah in reverence, and he spake, and it came not to pass! Peter's boldness deserved a fall; Paul had the messenger of Satan sent him; to Peter, after the preferment was given him, was a foul fall and sharp rebuke; to the same, after the feeding of sheep,⁴ Paul withstood him in the face. Let him that standeth take heed he fall not; for "if any man seem unto himself to be somewhat when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself." Would God you saw my heart, and the sorrows that I sustained thereby; God knoweth whether it were with the desire to be revenged of such lies, or to be delivered from the occasion of vain-glory thereby (for I must say with David, "Delicta quis intelligit? ab occultis," etc.), that I had almost fallen on the other side, to have swerved from the truth thereby. And this say I in truth, coram Domino; for I am not ashamed to confess my own weakness, to the praise of the glory of God. Would God you were not carnal, to prefer your friend with lies, to esteem friendship above truth, yea, above God, the author of all truth. Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur: absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Christi, etc. Is this your friendship, O my friend?*

Green
presented
before
Bonner.

That which was wanting in talk (through my default) at your being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at the length getting some opportunity and leisure. The 17th day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock at afternoon, I was presented before my lord of London and other two bishops, master Deane, master Roper, master Welch, Dr. Harpsfield arch-deacon of London, and other two or three, all sitting at one table. There were also present Dr. Dale, master George Mordant, master Dee.⁵ Then after the bishop of London had read unto himself the letter that came from the council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was: to hear mine examination, whereunto he had authority by the council; and had provided master Welch, and another whose name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet desired he my lord, that I might hear the council's letters), to be there if any matters of the common law should arise, to discuss them: he entreated my lord to determine all controversies of Scriptures; and as for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale should take it on them. Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of mine imprisonment. I said, that the occasion of mine apprehension was a letter which I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such news as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of questions scattered abroad. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy unto the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet: but since heard I

Green
commit-
ted first to
the Fleet.

(1) This portion of the letter, distinguished by asterisks, is thus placed in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments: it is omitted in later Editions, and seems, in fact, unconnected and unfinished; referring briefly to the "particular matter" mentioned in the title attached to the letter.—Ed. (2) Tit. iii. 2 Pet. ii. (3) 2 Chron. xxxv. (4) John xxi.

(5) Master Dee was yet under bond of recognizance for his good abearing and forthcoming till Christmas next after.

nothing thereof, after the commissioners had received my submission. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could be any true witness, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf; so refused I no punishment, if they of their consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those questions. But my lord, affirming that there was another cause of mine imprisonment since, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written somewhat against the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

Then desired I his lordship to be good unto me, trusting that he would put me to answer to no new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I stood long on that, master Welch answered, that it was procured that I should so do, right well. For albeit I were imprisoned for treason, if during the time of endurance I had maintained heresy, that were no sufficient allegation against the ordinary; neither, whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take away the former fault. Then, my lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for heresy, and the other gentleman saying that doubtless I was discharged of my former matter; my desire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accusers.

Then Dr. Chedsey was sent for, who reported that in the presence of master Mosley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass; and that I affirmed that their church was the church of antichrist.

Dr. Chedsey witnesseth against him.

“Is not this true?” quoth my lord. I said, “Yea.” “Will you continue therein?” quoth he. “Yea,” said I. “Wilt thou then maintain it by learning?” said he. “Therein,” quoth I, “I should show myself to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controversy against so many grave and learned men. But my conscience was satisfied in the truth, which was sufficient to my salvation.” “Conscience!” quoth master Roper; “so shall every Jew and Turk be saved.”

Talk between Green and the commissioners

We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in myself, through cold and open air, much dulness of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what conscience was: and I said, “The certifying of the truth.”

With that master Welch rose up, desiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another chamber, said, that he was sorry for my trouble, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled that I, being a young man, would stand against all the learned men of the realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Christ’s time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning: I ought not to think mine own wit better than all men’s, but should believe them that were learned. “I promise you,” quoth he, “I have read all Peter Martyr’s book,¹ and Cranmer’s, and all the rest of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as Roffensis, and the bishop of Winchester, etc., and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those that at any time severed from this unity, were answered, and answered again.” This was the sum of his tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

Persuasion of master Welch to him.

Then spake I: “Forasmuch as it pleaseth your mastership to use me so familiarly (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal), I shall open my mind freely unto you, desiring you to take it in good worth. I consider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me! But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chooseth ‘Infirma mundi, ut confunderet fortia,’ neither can men appoint bounds to God’s mercy: for, ‘I will have compassion,’ saith he, ‘on whom I will show mercy.’² There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, fisher or basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free

His answer to Welch.

Modesty of Green.

(1) Perhaps “Martyr. Tractatio de Sacrament. Eucharistiæ,” Londini, 1549; or “Defensio Doctrinæ Vet. et Apost. de Eucharistiæ Sacrament. ; Tiguri,” 1562. The former was dedicated to archbp. Cranmer. The reason whereof that he gave, was, “Since he could not find a defender, both of evangelical truth and also of this eucharistical sacrament, *sanctior, doctior, et firmitior*; i. e. more holy, more learned, and more steady, than he; and that his grace had so great knowledge concerning this controversy, as he (P. Martyr) well knew, that it was hard to find the like beside.” See more in Strype’s “Memorials of Edward VI.,” book i. chap. 24. The “Tractatio” was translated into English by Nic. Udall. Dibdin. vol. iv. p. 314. See Jenkyns’s Note, p. 102, in Cranmer’s Works, vol. iv.—Ed.

(2) Rom. ix.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.

The Spirit of God addicted neither to person nor place. The end of all controversies is to know the true church. Marks of the true church.

Master Green seeking his knowledge of God with tears.

Welch replieth to Green.

Friendly entertainment of master Green in bishop Bonner's house for a time.

grace, to whom he list.' Neither do I think myself only to have the truth, but steadfastly believe that Christ hath his spouse, the catholic and universal church, dispersed in many realms where it pleaseth him, 'Spiritus ubi vult spirat : ' no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the person and qualities of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myself to be a member, trusting to be saved by the faith that is taught in the same. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controversy ; and the true marks of Christ's church are the true preaching of his word and ministering of his sacraments. These marks were sealed by the apostles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at the length they were, through the wickedness of men and the devil, sore worn, and almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myself, I call God to witness, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small ; but I was persuaded thereto by him, as by an instrument² that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I sought it of him by continual prayer with tears. Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to speak : but one thing (I say) I wish of God with all my heart—that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of bishops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing-stock : but I weigh it not a rush, for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him. Besides that, I care not for man's pleasure, or displeasure."

"No, master Green," quoth Welch, "think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your soul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers ! or how can you think yourself to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?"

Then I said, "Sir, I have none authority to judge any man : nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howsoever our learned men here judge of me."

"Why then," said Welch, "do you suppose your own wit and learning better than all theirs ? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall resort unto you, that shall persuade you by the Scriptures and doctors."

"Sir," quoth I, "God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things—saving my faith. But concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly persuaded, I cannot submit myself to learn ; unless it be, as your mastership said, that I perused the books on both sides. For so might I make myself an indifferent judge : otherwise I may be seduced."

And here we fell out again in a long talk of the church, wherein his learning and wit were much above mine : but in the end I told him I was persuaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

"Why then," quoth Welch, "what shall I report to my lord?"

"Even as pleaseth you," quoth I ; "or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both sides."

So he going in, the bishops (even then risen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me ? He answered, "In faith, my lord, he will be glad to learn." Which words when they were taken, lest they should mistake his meaning and mine, I said, "Yea, my lord, so that I may have books on both sides, as Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books, and such others." "Well," quoth my lord, "I will satisfy thy mind therein also." And they all were in great hope that shortly I should become a good catholic, as they call it.

Then was I brought into my lord's inner chamber (where you were³), and there was put in a chamber with master Dee, who entreated me very friendly. That night I supped at my lord's table, and lay with master Dee in the chamber you did see. On the morrow I was served at dinner from my lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentlemen ; where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his lordship's house : for my lodging and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better case so long together, and have found so

(1) James i.

(2) By this instrument he meaneth Peter Martyr.

(3) Where Philpot was, he meaneth, to whom he wrote this letter.

much gentleness of my lord, and his chaplains, and other servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this great cheer was often powdered with unsavoury sauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations.

For, shortly after supper, the first Monday at night, I was had into my lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these heresies. I said I was persuaded thereto by the Scriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alleged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon 1 Cor. xi.,¹ while he entreated there on that place, "De cœnâ Domini," by the space of a month together. But then my lord enforced the plainness of Christ's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the words. But I, having no lust to those matters, would have alleged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer and Ecolampadius: nevertheless when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense by the manner of speaking, by the circumstance, and by conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he showed them (they seeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

Christ affirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true:

Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, "Panis est corpus Christi," or "corpus Christi est panis," is neither *identica*, nor *accidental*, nor *essentialis prædicatio*. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the like sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it serve to say, that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be his body; and that for two causes.

For whatsoever he showed, that was bread; for nought else was seen.

But that which he showed he affirmed to be his body:

Ergo, he affirmed of bread that it was his body.

The second reason is; for that it was not changed before, seeing *benedixit, is gratias egit*, or else Christ affirmed no true proposition, and you are without authority.

In the end of this letter, there were noted these sentences following, collected for confirmation of his former assertions, *videlicet*,—

"Eadem locutio poculi," i. e. the same phrase is used and spoken upon the cup.

"Dicitur postea panis," i. e. it is called bread in the same place afterward.

"Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem," i. e. by the same reason as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

"Ascendit in cœlum," i. e. his body ascended into heaven.²

In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (sin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once:

Ergo, Neither his.

"Discipuli non stupebant," etc., i. e. his disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

THE LAST EXAMINATION AND CONDEMNATION OF
MASTER GREEN.

Thus (as it seemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after, the bishop, perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains, could by the Scriptures refel, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument I assure you, which without the special grace of our God to flesh is importable. And therefore, using laws as a cloak of his tyranny, the 27th day of Novem-

(1) These were read, it appears from Strype's "Memorials of Edward VI." Book i. ch. xv. upon the suggestion of the king, by Peter Martyr at Oxford, and by Bucer at Cambridge, as the fittest persons to inform the students in their notions and doctrines concerning religion. Some misrepresentations of the course adopted by the two professors are corrected by Strype in the book referred to, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

(2) "Corpore nobis factus est similis in omnibus post nativitate. At nostrum corpus non potest esse in duobus locis. Ergo," etc.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

Green in private examinations before the bishop, urged with the words 'this is my body.' Causes moving Green from the literal sense.

Argument.

Why the words of Christ of his body must be taken spiritually.

Argument.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.

ber, the said bishop examined him upon certain points of christian religion: whereunto when he had answered, the bishop appointed the registrar (as their most common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confession; which, being afterwards read unto Green, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions.—The tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Confession and Saying of Bartlet Green.¹

Bartlet Green—born in the city of London, in the parish of Basing-hall, of the diocese of London, and of the age of twenty-five years,—being examined in the bishop's palace the 27th day of November, Anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.: that neither in the time of king Edward, after the mass by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary, after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said queen's majesty he (the said Bartlet), two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline and with one Runneger, Master of Arts of Magdalen College in Oxford. And this examine also saith, that at both the said communions he, and the others before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread and sacramental wine, which, he saith, were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examine saith, that the other aforesaid did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examine saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse, to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in this church of England, because he saith, that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same, and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning this sacrament of the altar, this examine saith, that he heretofore, during the said reign, hath refused, and now doth refuse, to receive the same as is now used in this church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and, besides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there ministered is to be adored as the real and true body of Christ. And furthermore this examine saith, that during the said reign he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

Bartlet Green.

Many other sundry conferences and public examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such, as against the which neither their threatenings, nor yet their flattering promises could prevail), the 15th day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest above-named, to be brought into the consistory in Paul's; where, being set in his judgment seat, accompanied with Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then, calling for Bartlet Green, began with these, or the like words:

“Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me that I

(1) Gathered by the bishop's registrar.

See
Appendix.

Transub-
stantia-
tion de-
nied.

Green
refuseth
to hear
mass.
The mass
not main-
tainable
by God's
word.
Green
against
the sacra-
ment of
the altar.

Auricular
confes-
sion re-
fused.

Green
with the
other six
martyrs
brought
to the
consis-
tory.

go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is, that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

Then he read the articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudor, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joan Lashford, Bartlet Green.

Nine articles put to Green, etc.

But when master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently; and therefore the bishop proceeding said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him. Whereunto Green answered and said, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them. Upon which words Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, stood up, and marvelling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors. Green then said, that he was content to stand to the doctors' judgment.

Green not suffered to answer them.

Doctors read with indifferent judgment, make more against the papists than with them.

"I will then propound unto you," quoth Fecknam, "the doctors, and interpret them yourself." So he alleged a place of Chrysostome, "Ad Populum Antiochie," which was this, "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Christ ascending up, took his flesh, and also left it behind him."¹ And he demanded Green, how he understood the place.

Then Green prayed him that he would confer the doctors' sayings together; and therefore alleged the same doctor again, writing upon I Cor. x. "Is not the bread which we bless the communication of the Lord's body?"² whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and denial were betwixt them.

Chrysost. in I Cor. x.

At last Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion: "for master Green," said he, "you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house; and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine." And Green confessed the same.

Green first a rank papist.

Then again he said, that Green told him, that the said Peter Martyr was a papist in his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine that he professed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so unconstant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith.³

Untrue report of Peter Martyr.

Green said that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did believe so because Martyr believed the same, but because that he had heard the scriptures, and the doctors of the church

(1) "Elias ascendens melotem suum post se reliquit: Christus vero ascendens carnem suam assumpsit, et eandem post se reliquit." [See Vol. vi. p. 485.]

(2) "An non est panis quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Nonne est calix," etc.

(3) This statement is accounted for and corrected in the portion of Strype before quoted.—Ed.

Mary.
A.D.
1556.

Martyr first turned from popery to the truth by prayer and reading the doctors.

One holy catholic church.

True marks of the church.

Disagreement amongst professors of the gospel.

The gossellers in words seem to dissent, but in effect do agree with the word.

Bonner forbid-
deth
Green to be called
master.

truly and wholesomely expounded by him ; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said master Peter say often, that he had not as yet, while he was a papist, read Chrysostome upon 1 Cor. x., nor many other places of the doctors : but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture : “ which thing,” said Green, “ if you, my lord, would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and show you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that saith, ‘ Ask, and it shall be given to you ; knock, and it shall be opened unto you,’ ” etc.

Then Fecknam asked him, what he thought of this article, “ Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam.” And Green answered, that he did believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world.

Then Fecknam said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church ; and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church. Green answered, that this church did agree in verity of the true doctrine of Christ, and was known by the true administration of his sacraments.

Whereupon Fecknam said, that he would prove the church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controversy in their religion : “ for,” said he, “ Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or sayings, nor Æcolampadius with Carolostadius, nor Carolostadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, etc., for Luther writing upon the sacrament of the altar, said, that ‘ In hoc pane, vel sub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus.’ Zuinglius controlling him, said, ‘ Sub signo panis corpus Domini accipimus.’ And the other controlled him in like case.”

Then master Green proved their opinions of the sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed : and though their words did not sound all one, yet they meant one thing ; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Then Fecknam desired him that he would not so wilfully cast himself away, but to be rather conformable to reason, and that my lord bishop there present would be good unto him, and would grant him respite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he should choose any learned man whom he would, and should go with him home to his house ; and that he whom he would choose, would willingly take the pains to read and confer the doctors with him, and open the doctors’ minds and meanings unto him.

Then Bonner said, that he was proud, and an obstinate boy ; and therefore he bade Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more master Green : “ for,” said he, “ you ought not to call a heretic master.”

After this Dr. Pendleton alleged to him this text out of Luke xxii., “ Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei.” “ Here,” said he, “ you must confess your opinion to be false ; else you must say that Christ was a liar : for Christ said, ‘ I will eat no more of this, while it be fulfilled in my Father’s kingdom.’ If Christ did eat no more the bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar ; for he did eat bread after, with his disciples, before he

ascended. But if you say he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reason.”¹ Then Green answered and said, that this was spoken by an anticipation, as one of their own bishops² (which is now dead) did say.

Then Dr. Pendleton said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor no sufficient answer for him in this case; “for,” said he, “it is well known that the bishop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good christian man.” To which words Green said, “I do not call him to witness in this case, as though he were a sufficient man, to prove my saying to be true in this matter: but I do allege him against you, as Paul did the scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, against themselves, ‘ignoto Deo.’”

These with many other words were between them, which I do overpass, because it were too long to stand upon recital of every thing. Last of all the bishop asked him, if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. “But my lord,” said he, “in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such time as bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience; yea, insomuch that St. Augustine wrote and commanded, that no man should be put to death for his opinion.”³

Then Bonner said, that when St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies also. “But,” said Green, “he bade not put them to death.” “He bade punish them,” quoth Bonner. “Yea,” said Green, “but not put them to death.” “That they should be punished,” quoth Bonner again.

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romish mother: which when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate. And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his special friends, minding belike to comfort this their persecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themselves) were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said in these or like words, “Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?” And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into the which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer (wherunto he much gave himself), or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the 27th day of January, when he, with his other above-mentioned brethren, went most cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often

Mary
A.D.
1556.

In the old time excommunication was the greatest penalty in matters of faith and conscience.

Sentence given against Green.

The words of Green to his friends, by the way going to Newgate.

(1) Note the blind ignorance of Pendleton, as though the kingdom of Christ was not gotten at the death of Christ.

(2) This bishop belike was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

(3) Contra Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 14.

Mary. repeating, as well by the way, as also at the stake, these Latin verses following—

A. D.
1556.

Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis :
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.

In English thus,

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health besides thee have I none :
The truth I love, and falsehood hate, by thee my Guide alone.

During the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had access unto him, to whom he gave sundry godly exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the same his instructions, as also of his own good and godly person, they desired him to write somewhat in their books, which request he willingly granted, as in manner here ensueth.

These verses were written in a book of Master Hussey of the Temple :

Behold thyself by me ; such one was I, as thou :
And thou in time shalt be, even dust as I am now.

Bartlet Green.

These verses were also written in a book of master William Fleetwood, of the same house :

My resting-road is found, vain hope and hap adieu :
Lout whom you list with change, death shall me rid from you.

Bartlet Green.

*See
Appendix.*

The
singular
modesty
and hum-
ble nature
of Green.

Amongst other divers and singular good virtues of this good man, specially in him was to be noted such a modest nature, so humbly thinking of himself as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himself under that was in him, and ever seeming to be less than he was, so that nothing less he could abide, than to hear of his praise or commendation ; as well declareth not only his letter written to master Philpot, wherein he doth earnestly expostulate with him, for slandering him with praise of his wit and learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellency ; but also by his own speech and answers in his examination, wherein he casteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithstanding he had more in him, than to any man's eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this gift of modesty grafted in the nature of him, so far abhorring from all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise ; so neither did there appear in him any show or brag in those things wherein he might justly glory, which were his punishments and sufferings for the cause and quarrel of Christ. For when he was beaten and scourged with rods by bishop Bonner (which scarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth), and he greatly rejoiced in the same, yet his shamefaced modesty was such, that never he would express any mention thereof, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself, save that only he opened the same to one master Cotton of the Temple, a friend of his, a little before his death.

His piti-
ful na-
ture.

Moreover, to this rare and maidenly modesty in him was also adjoined the like nature of mercy and pitiful compassion ; which affection though it seemeth to be little regarded of some, yet in my

mind is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man resembleth more truly the image of the high majesty of Almighty God, than this. And as in this respect of merciful tenderness, man only excelleth all other beasts; so almost no less may this man seem to pass many other men, whose customable property and exercise was to visit the poor prisoners with him in prison both with bodily relief, and also with spiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean such as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and sorry for their evil demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not only by mouth, but also by his letters require, yea as it were of duty in love did charge, his friends to travail for their deliverances; such was the pity and charitable mercy of this godly and most true member of Christ's church, as appeareth by this letter here following.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

To my very loving Friends and Masters, Master Goring, Master Fernham, Master Fleetwood, Master Russel, Master Bell, Master Hussey, Master Calthorp, Master Bowyer, and others my Masters of the Temple, Bartlet Green wisheth health of body and soul.

Very friends are they which are knit together with the knot of charity; charity doth not decay, but increase in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be absent in body, yet are we present in the spirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that measureth his friendship with the distance of a place, or parting of persons? If thy friend be out of sight, is thy friendship ended? if he be gone into the country, wilt thou cease to love him? if he be passed the seas, will you so forsake him? if he be carried into heaven, is charity hindered thereby? On the one side we have the use of the fathers from the primitive church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other side, saith Horace, "Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt."

True friendship is not measured by distance of place or of persons.

What speak I of Horace? Saith not St. Paul the same thing? "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his blood, yea we are members one of another." Is the hand or arm, foot or leg, a member, when it is dissevered from the body? How can we be members, except we be joined together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things shall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath his end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finished in heaven, love endureth for ever: love (I say) that proceedeth of charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the flesh. Neither was that ever but fleshly love, which by distance of place, or severing of bodies, is parted asunder. If love be the end or sum of the law, if heaven and earth shall perish, yet one jot of God's word shall not decay, why should we think that love lasteth not for ever?

Love only coupleth together. All other things fail, love only endureth for ever

I need not to write much to you, my friends, neither can I have leisure now that the keepers are risen; but this I say: If we keep Christ's commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our love be everlasting. This friendship Paul felt when it moved him to say, that neither length nor breadth (meaning no distance of place), neither height nor depth, should sever him from the love of Christ. Weigh well this place, and mete it with Paul's measures; so shall we find that if our love be unfeigned, it can never be ended. Now may you say, "Why writest thou this?" Certes to the end that if our friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last request of your friend, and perform after my death the friendship we began in our life, that amity may increase until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

Love unfeigned never endeth.

Master Fleetwood, I beseech you remember Wittrance and Cook, two singular men amongst common prisoners; master Fernham and master Bell, with master Hussey, (as I hope) will dispatch Palmer and Richardson with his companions. I pray you, master Calthorp, think on John Grove, an honest poor man, Traiford and Rice Apprice his accomplices: my cousin Thomas Witton, a scrivener in Lombard-street, hath promised to further their delivery: at the least he can instruct

The suit of Green for the saving of certain poor prisoners in Newgate.

Mary. you which way to work. I doubt not but that master Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper (for she is worthy to be holpen), and Berard the Frenchman. A.D. 1556. There be also divers other well disposed men, whose deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to seek their relief, as you shall see cause: namely, of Henry Apprice, Launcelot, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (saving that he is somewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander, that may prove honest. For these and all other poor prisoners here I make this my humble suit and prayer to you all, my masters, and especial good friends, beseeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the causes of miserable captives; help to clothe Christ, visit the afflicted, comfort the sorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together. Amen.—This present Monday when I look to die, and live for ever.

See Appendix.

Yours as ever, Bartlet Green.

Another Letter of Master Green to Mistress Elizabeth Clark.

Would God (if it were his pleasure) that with this letter I might send you my heart and mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God: so should I think it the best message, and happiest letter, that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my desire, yet shall I not cease with continual prayer to labour for you,¹ desiring Almighty God to “increase that which he hath long since begun in you,” of sober life and earnest zeal towards his religion. “In faith,” as saith St. Paul, “she that is a true widow and friendless, putteth her trust in God, continuing day and night in supplication and prayer; but she that liveth in pleasure is dead, even yet alive.”² And verily a true widow is she that hath married Christ, forsaking the vanities of the world, and lust of the flesh. For as the married woman careth how to love, please, and serve her husband; so ought the widow to give all her heart and soul, thoughts and words, studies and labours, faithfully to love God, virtuously to bring up her children and household, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppressed.³

Therefore St. Paul first instructeth a widow how to behave herself, that is, “not to live in pleasure.” Then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our desires, steadfastly laying up all our trust in God, as David right well saith, “First eschew evil; then do good.”⁴ Of Anna the praise was written, that she never went out of the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day: so well had she espoused Christ.⁵ Judith wore a smock of hair continuing in fasting, and had good report of all men.⁶

The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that she bring up her children and household godly, in the nurture and information of the Lord; whereof St. Paul saith, “If any have children or nephews, let them learn first to rule their own house godly, and to recompense their elders.”⁷ The incontinency and covetousness of Phinehas and Hophni, corrected by Eli their father, provoked God’s vengeance upon him and all his kindred;⁸ the over-tender love of Absalom expelled David from his kingdom; the unrebuked sins of Amnon encouraged Absalom to slay his brother: most manifest examples against the parents, for the offences of their children.⁹

Contrariwise, how greatly might Hannah rejoice over Samuel her son, whom she had brought up in the house of the Lord!¹⁰ What thanks might Tobias’s wife give for her son Toby! How happy was Solomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan!¹¹ But above all widows, thrice blessed was the happy mother of the seven sons, that so had instructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would shrink from the love of his truth.¹²

Of the last part, St. Paul showeth that a widow should be chosen: “If she have nourished her children, if she have been liberal to strangers, if she have washed the saints’ feet, and if she have ministered to them in adversity.” Herein it is evident how earnestly St. Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to minister to the saints, and to gather for the poor: which use also

The office and exercise of christian widows in the primitive church.

(1) 1 Cor. vii.

(2) 1 Tim. v.

(3) 1 Tim. v.

(4) Psal. xxxiv.

(5) Luke ii.

(6) Judith viii.

(7) Eph. vi. 1 Tim. v.

(8) 1 Sam. ii. 2 Sam. xv

(9) 2 Sam. xv.

(10) 2 Sam. xiii.

(11) 1 Sam. i.

(12) 2 Mac. vii.

continued almost throughout the primitive church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and strangers.

Of your neighbours I need not to put you in remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good hospitality, by which means also many foreigners are of you relieved; but of the poor alms-houses, and miserable prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without cause, some under the colour of religion, some only kept for fees, and some on private men's displeasure. Alas, that Christ so hungereth, and no man will feed him; is sore oppressed with thirst, and no man will give him drink; destitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; imprisoned, and not seen.

In times past men could bestow large sums of money on copes, vestments, and ornaments of the church. Why rather follow we not St. Ambrose's example,¹ which sold the same for the relief of the poor, or Chrysostome's commandment, which willed first to deck and garnish the living temple of God? But alas, such is the wickedness of these our last days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godliness of life, nor good examples of the ancient fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written anything that serveth for sects and dissension, that will their charitable children embrace, publish, and maintain with sword, faggot, and fire. But all in vain; they strive against the stream. For though in despite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty persuasion, they may bring themselves into the haven of hell; yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whilst the ship saileth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of God's truth.

Our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuously to bring up your children and family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed. Amen.

At Newgate the 20th of January, Anno 1556.

Your assured, Bartlet Green.

Another certain Writing of Master Bartlet Green.

"Better is the day of death," saith Solomon, "than the day of birth." "Man that is born of a woman, liveth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries;" but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travail, to live in misery: man through Christ doth die in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Strait as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his miserable estate; strait as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies assault him: after death no adversary may annoy him. Whilst he is here, he displeaseth God: when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through sin: in the life to come he liveth in righteousness. Through many tribulations in earth he is still purged: with joy unspeakable in heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour: there he liveth continually. Here is sin: there is righteousness. Here is time: there is eternity. Here is hatred: there is love. Here is pain: there is pleasure. Here is misery: there is felicity. Here is corruption: there is immortality. Here we see vanity: there shall we behold the majesty of God with triumphant and unspeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

Yours in Christ, Bartlet Green.

Divers other letters and matters there were besides, which this servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latin out of the doctors and other authors for his memory, whereby is declared how studious he was in the searching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profession was the temporal law; where I would to God he were not among the lawyers such a phoenix, that

(1) St. Ambrose took from the church, and gave to the poor: we take from the poor their tithes and impropriations, and give them to churches and ministers; where is nothing but singing and idleness.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.A com-
menda-
tion of
lawyers.

he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witness doth spring up daily of the same profession, to such towardness and godly zeal, that some hope already appeareth shortly to come to pass, that this godly phœnix shall not fly alone. These aforesaid notes and gatherings of his, out of the doctors, were taken from him by Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but last of them condemned, which was the 15th day of January, and afterward burned with the other martyrs, the 27th of the same month.

Thomas Brown, Martyr.¹

Brown
presented
by the
constable
of St.
Bride's.

Thomas Brown, born in the parish of Histon within the diocese of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street, a married man, of the age of thirty-seven years; who, because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. As touching whose articles, whereupon he was examined by the said Bonner, with his answers also annexed to the same, mention goeth before, as in the general process of him and of the rest may appear. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham with the others there to be examined, was required upon Thursday, being the 26th day of September, to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he, refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the bishop, as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass; which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offence. At length, being produced to his last examination before the said bishop the 15th day of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him; first he was required with many fair words and glosing promises to revoke his doctrine, to whom the foresaid bishop speaking these words, said, "Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report, that I go about to seek thy blood," etc. To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; "Yea, my lord," saith he, "indeed ye be a bloodsucker, and I would I had as much blood as is water in the sea, for you to suck."

Brown
kneeleth
among
the trees
at mass
time.Bonner's
words to
Brown.
Bonner
charged
to be a
blood-
sucker.The an-
swer of
Brown to
Bonner.

Bonner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his heresies and erroneous opinions (as he called them), and return again unto the unity of the catholic faith. Whereunto he made answer again, saying, If they were heresies, he would forsake them. "They be heresies," quoth the bishop. "How will ye prove it?" said Brown, "for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be heresies, which ye shall never do: for that which you call heresy, is no heresy." With that Bonner, not able, or else not disposed, to supply the part of a sufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good authority and doctrine of the Scripture, went

about with words and promise of pardon to allure him to renounce those his heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother the catholic church, etc. To whom the said Thomas inferred again, as followeth: "Prove it," said he, "to be heresy, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, because I will not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar (as you call it) to be the body of Christ, and therefore ye spill mine and such like innocents' blood, being the queen's true subjects; for which you shall answer, and that shortly."

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.

After this being spoken, Bonner (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the sentence definitive against him: the copy and form of which sentence wherewith the papists were wont to condemn all the innocent saints of Christ, is above expressed. And so this done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be had away, and burned the 27th day of the said month of January, constantly abiding with the other the pope's torments, for the true confession of his christian faith.

Sentence
read
against
Brown.

John Tudson, Martyr.

The same day and time, when the foresaid Thomas Brown with his fellows was condemned (as is above rehearsed) being the 15th day of January, was also produced John Tudson, with the rest of the said company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolke, after that apprentice in London, dwelling with one George Goodyear, of the parish of St. Mary Botolph, within the diocese of London, who, being complained of to sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

Jan. 27.

The articles¹ and interrogatories ministered unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his answers also to the same annexed, etc. After this he was brought unto the open consistory; where the said blessed and true servant of the Lord, John Tudson, appearing before the said bishop and his complices, was moved with sundry persuasions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named heresy), and to persist in the unity of the church which they were of. But he, constantly persisting in that which he had received by the preachers in king Edward's time, refused so to do, saying, there was no heresy in his answers: "for I," said he, "defy all heresy." The bishop yet still used his old accustomed persuasions to remove him, promising moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, etc. Then said Tudson, "Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return." Then said the bishop, "In your answers." "No," said Tudson again, "I have not therein offended: and ye, my lord, pretend charity; but nothing thereof appeareth in your works." Thus after a few words, the bishop did likewise promulgate against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with the others above named, the 27th day of January.

The constant
persisting of
Tudson.Sentence
read
against
him.

(1) Of these articles read before.

*Mary.***John Went, Martyr.**A. D.
1556.
Jan. 27.John
Went,
with-
stand-
ing the
bishop's
persua-
sions, is
con-
demned.

John Went, born in Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of twenty-seven, and a sheerman by occupation, first was examined (as partly is touched before), by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, the said Story did send him up to Bonner, bishop of London; who likewise, after divers examinations upon the articles aforesaid in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom, in few words, the said Went answered again, he would not; but that by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him with words and fair glosses, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, "No, I say as I have said," etc. Whereupon, being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs (whom that shameless shaveling at that time abused for his servile butchers), and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society of martyrs above named.

Isabel Foster, Martyr.

Jan. 27.

Isabel
Foster
constant
in con-
fessing
Christ's
gospel.

With these five persons above recited and condemned, were also two women in the said company condemned the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause; the one a wife, called Isabel Foster, the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lashford.

This foresaid Isabel was born in Greystock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and afterwards married to one John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street, being of the age of five and fifty years. She likewise, for not coming unto the church, being sent unto Bonner, and so imprisoned, was sundry times examined by the said bishop, but never overcome, nor removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

Her
words at
her last
examina-
tion.Isabel
Foster
con-
demned.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop in the consistory the 15th day of the said month of January, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers; whereunto she gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not," saith she, "go from them, by God's grace:" and thereunto did adhere, neither being cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. Whereunto she said again in this wise, that she trusted she was never out of the catholic church, etc. And so persisting in the same, she continued constant till the sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, the 27th day of the foresaid month; where she, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth (with the other five aforesaid), ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, Martyr.

Mary.

A. D.
1556.

In a certain place of these Acts and Monuments heretofore,¹ mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John Warne (as is aforesaid) in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow Church-yard for being there at a communion; and both suffered for the same, first, the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter in the month of January followed her parents in the same martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place following mention was made also of Dr. Story, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said parties, either in kindred or alliance: albeit, as I understand since of some, there was no kindred between them, but only that she was his servant. Yet, notwithstanding, the said Dr. Story (as it is above specified), before he was commissioner, made intercession for the parties to Dr. Martyn, then commissioner: but afterward, being placed in commission himself, he so far forgot himself, and his old servant, that he became no small procurer of their deaths. I will not here expostulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy, who yet notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for three-score pounds, charged with debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some piece of kindred joined or allied unto them. But leaving that person unto the good pleasure of the Lord, let us return unto that we have in hand.

Dr. Story first intercessor for Warne and his daughter, and afterward the chiefest persecutor against them.

This Joan Lashford, born in the parish of Little Allhallows in Thames-street, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the foresaid Elizabeth, who afterward was married to John Warne, upholsterer, who (as is said) was persecuted for the gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Lashford, her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years, ministering to her father and mother in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story (as is above in her answers to the articles declared), and so committed to the Compter in the Poultry, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to Newgate, where she continued the space of certain months.

Joan Lashford daughter of Elizabeth Warne.

The daughter burned after the father and mother.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of the said Bonner, her confession was, being examined, that the whole twelve-month before, and more, she came unto no popish mass service in the church, neither would do, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; confessing and protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; nor the mass to be good, or according unto the Scripture; but said that both the said sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all other their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's words and institution; so that neither they were at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This godly damosel,

The confession of Joan Lashford before the bishop.

Superfluous and popish ceremonies.

(1) See this volume, page 77.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1556.The
worthy
con-
stancy of
a maid.
Joan
Lash-
ford's last
examina-
tion.Her sen-
tence and
condem-
nation.

Jan. 27.

feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace, in this her confession and faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of the bishops, could turn her; but, being moved and exhorted by the bishop to return to the catholic unity of the church, said boldly to him again, "If ye will leave off your abomination, so I will return; and otherwise, I will not."

Whereupon the bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors (as he called them), if she would be conformed. To this she answered again, saying unto the bishop, "Do as it pleaseth you; and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

And thus she, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the sentence definitive condemned, and committed unto the sheriffs, by whom the foresaid 27th day of January she with the rest being brought unto the stake, there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation of these seven martyrs, afore specified.

Five other Martyrs in Canterbury, four Women and one Man, at two Stakes and one Fire, all burned together.

Jan. 31.

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred together in Smithfield, shortly after in the same month, the 31st day of January, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury, four women and one man, whose names be these:—John Lomas, a young man; Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, widow; and Joan Sole, a wife.

John Lomas, Martyr.

The an-
swer of
Lomas at
his ex-
amina-
tion.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, detected and presented of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the first article, whether he believed the catholic church or no, answered thus; that he believed so much as is contained in God's book and no more.

The sa-
crament
of the
altar de-
nied.
Reality of
Christ
neither
under
form nor
tressel.Sentence
against
Lomas.

Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the law the next Wednesday sevensnight after, which was the 17th day of January, the said Lomas, examined whether he would be confessed of a priest or no, answered and said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book; neither would be confessed, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really, under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration, or no, he answered that he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or tressel, but he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered thereunto, that he believed so much as was written in God's book; and other answer than this he refused to give, etc.: whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the 18th day of

January. And so committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the other four women here following.

Mary.
A. D.
1556.

Agnes Snoth, Martyr.

Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion, was divers times examined before the Pharisical fathers; who there, compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be ministered unto her, first denied to be confessed to a priest: notwithstanding, she denied not to confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterward being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or no, she plainly denied the same, and that the popish manner of their absolution was not consonant to the word, nor necessary to be taken; with such other like, agreeing with the answers and confession of John Lomas before mentioned. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and so suffering martyrdom with the rest, declared herself a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth the 31st day of January.

Jan. 31
Confession auricular refused. The sacrament how to be received.
Penance denied to be a sacrament.
Agnes Snoth condemned and committed to the secular power.

Anne Albright, alias Champnes, Martyr.

Against Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of confession: whereunto she answered in these words saying, "that she would not be confessed of a priest;" and added moreover, speaking unto the priests, "You priests," said she, "are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." And likewise speaking unto the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

Auricular confession. The words of Anne Albright.

And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so utterly denied the same sacrament. Thus, persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said 18th day of the said month, with the others above mentioned; with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christ's religion.

She denieth the sacrament of the altar. Her condemnation. Jan. 18.

Joan Sole.

In the like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned of the same Pharisees and priests, for not allowing confession auricular, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar: who, after their Pharisical sentence being promulgated, was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

Condemnation of Joan Sole. Jan. 18.

*Mary.***Joan Catmer.****A. D.**
1556.**Jan. 31.**

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs, was Joan Catmer, of the parish of Hythe, wife (as it should seem) of George Catmer, burned before, who being asked what she said to confession made to a priest, denied to be confessed to any such priest. And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed, that she believed not in that sacrament, as it was then used; for that it was made, said she, a very idol. In this her confession she, remaining and persisting, was by the like sentence cruelly of them condemned; and so suffered with the foresaid Thomas Lomas, and the other three fellow-martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two stakes and one fire together, at Canterbury, as is before said: who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing psalms. Whereat the good knight, sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight thereof.

**Persecu-
tors.**

The judges and other assistants which sat upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker the notary.

APPENDIX 'TO VOL. VII.

Page 3, line 3 from bottom. "*Of both parts, as well,*" &c.]—The Edition of 1563 says, "of both the parties, as wel of the bishop as of his adversaries."

Page 4, note (1.)—The following are the titles of the Articles in the Harleian MSS. No. 420, relative to Bishop Ferrar: they throw much light on Foxe's narrative:—

Art. 17. Deposition of Doctor Rowlande Meyrycke, one of the Cannons of Sainct David's; sworne and examyned the 21 daye of Februarye 1551 upon certeyne Articles objected against the Bishop of St. David's. (fol. 80.)

Art. 18. Deposition of Gryffythe Goz of Blaienporth yn Cardigan-shyre, Clerke, upon the same, the 12th day of February 1551 [1552]. (fol. 85.)

Art. 19. Bishop Farrar's exceptions against the Testimonies of Roger Barlooyeoman, Griffith Donne gent., Thomas John Thomas ap Harrye gent., John Evans clerk the said bishop's chaplen. (fol. 89, b.)

Art. 20. Complaint to the Privy Council [by Rawlyns] of certain words spoken by Bp. Ferrar in the Pulpit, tending to the raising of strife and hatred between the Welsh and English; and to revive the singing of old Welsh Rhymes, and the belief in their vain Prophecies. (fol. 90.)

Art. 21. A proof of Rawlins Information made by Thomas Williams, Vicar of Carmarthen, and Moris Gryffythe Clerke. (fol. 92.)

Art. 22. The effecte of the Bushope of Saincte Davids Answer to Rawlyns Information. (fol. 93.)

Art. 23. Deposition of George Constantine of the age of li. yeres, upon the Articles exhibited to the Kings Majesties Privy Council agaynst Robert Farrar Bishoppe of St. Davids. (fol. 95.)

Art. 24. Deposition of upon the Articles aforesaid. [Imperfect.] (fol. 100.)

Art. 25. Interrogations minystered on behalfe of the reverende Father in God Robert, by the suffrance of God Bushop of Sanct Davydes, agaynst all and singuler suche Wittnes as shal be producted agaynst him on the behalffe of Thomas Lee and Hughe Raulins, or ether of them; uppon the which Interrogatoris, and everie part of the same, the said Bishopp desierith that the said Wittnes and every of them may be secretly apart, by virtu of their othes, diligently examined. (fol. 105.)

Art. 26. A brive note, how many Witnessis hath deposed to every Article objected against Bishop Farrar. (fol. 107.)

Art. 27. Depositions of 127 Witnesses producted on the behalfe of Hugh Rawlings Clerke, and Thomas Lee of Carmarthen, sworn and examyned the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th dayes of May 6 Ed. VI [1552]. (fol. 111.)

Page 5, Art. XI. "*Thomas Prichard.*"—Meyrick in his Deposition on this Article, Harleian MS. No. 420, fol 81, calls this individual "Thomas Ap Richard."

Page 5, Art. XIII.]—Throughout the Depositions in the Harleian MS. this individual is written "Phi." with a flourish over; and one of the witnesses has it for his Christian name, so that it probably stands for "Philip."

Page 7, Art. XXXI.]—Comorth or Gomorth, from the Brit. *Cymmorth*, q. d. subsidium, a contribution gathered at marriages, and on many other occasions: it was professedly voluntary, but through custom and circumstances became practically compulsory, and proved a very inconvenient burden. Hence the statute 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 5, forbade any one “to require, procure, gather, or levy any Commonth, Bydale, Tenants Ale, or other Collection or Exaction of Goods, Chattels, Money, or any other thing, under Colour of Marrying, or suffering of their children saying or singing their first Masses or Gospels of any Priests or Clerks, or for Redemption of any murther, or any other Felony, or for any other manner of cause, by what name or names soever they shall be called.” This was called the “Statute of Comortha.”

George Constantine says (fol. 97 of the Harleian MS.), “To the xxx^{ij}st he cannot depose but by the fame and the relacion of Steven Grene chaplen to the def[endant]: and also other of the def. householde shewed this deponent, that so many came with the plowes that they did eate all the bread in the house and iiij s. worth of bred bought in the towne: and that they drank all the drink and eate all the provision: and forther the Vicar of aburgwillie shewed this deponent that he had theym in the pulpit, which hath bene the maner of Bidding Comorthays.”

At fol. 145 of the MS. we find the deposition of William ap Jem, vicar of Abergwyly, who states that he was ordered to bid plowes from the pulpit one Sunday, to come and plow a piece of the bishop's land, and that as many as came should have for their labour: and that xxi. plowes came on the Monday morning in consequence.

At folio 151, Thomas David of Abergwillie states that he plowed one day and was offered 4*d.* by the bishop, which he refused because he had received other good turns at his hands; and that of 13 others who came, all were offered money, some took it, but others declined it for good turns they had received. At fol. 152 Thomas Lewys ap Rudd says that 30 plowes came, bid in Church, and that all were offered money. At fol. 153 Rice Morgan says that 20 plowes came, and that he was offered no money. At fol. 157 John ap Rice says 20 plowes came: he was offered money, but took none. At fol. 148 Rice ap Rice says that 30 plowes came, that the land was 8 acres, and that they were bid in Church, the bishop offering to requite his neighbours by like turns in their need; which he thought against the statute of Comortha. The above remarks will shew the meaning of the text.

Page 7, Art. XXXII.]—“Sixty and twelve pounds” is an awkward way of expressing “lxxii.” pounds: Thomas Huet (fol. 142 of the Harleian MS.) deposes, that the college at Brecknock was “endowed with the revenues of lij. lib. or thereabout, as far as this deponent remembreth: and is and hath been seene of the Revenues of lxxij. lib. or thereabouts.” Respecting the Establishment at Brecknock referred to, see the “Charta Henrici Octavi de transferendo Collegii de Abergwilli ad domum Fratrum Prædicatorum juxta oppidum Brecknock in Wallia,” dated Westm. 19 Jan. 33 Hen. VIII., printed in Stephens's Appendix to Contin. of Dugd. Mon., and in Jones's History of Brecknock, vol. i. p. 320: it appears from that document that the endowment was then £53 sterling.

Page 12, line 1. “*At eleven years.*”]—The first edition says, “at a. xi.” This looks like a misprint for some other number. Sage Hughes appears as one among the 127 witnesses in May 1552, and declares herself then “xx. years old.” See Harleian MSS. No. 420, Art. 27, folio 65.

Page 12, Art. XV. “*Without any covin or colour.*”]—All the Editions here read “covenant or colour:” but we are informed in the “Errata” to the Edition of 1563 that “covin” is the true reading. “Covin . . . is the old English word, and is so written by Chaucer, from the old French *covin*, ‘convention secret,’ 906. (Lacombe.) A deceitful agreement between two or more, to the hurt of another.” Todd's Johnson *in voc.*; see also Nares' Glossary. “Covin” is used *infra*, p. 545, line 5 from the bottom.

Page 14, line 24. “*And so she standeth this day at the point of significavit.*”]—See the Decretall. Greg. IX., lib. i. tit. 31, § 6; and lib. iv. tit. 7, § 2, the heading of which latter is:—“Si vivente prima uxore et non cognita, quis

contraxit cum secunda scienter, et eam cognovit, etiam mortua prima, secundam habere non potest; secus, si prima erat non legitima uxor."

The word *significavit* is used sometimes to denote the Bishop's certificate of the excommunication into the court of Chancery, in order to obtain the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*; sometimes to denote that writ itself. In this latter sense it seemeth more properly to be applied, the writ having received its name from this same word at the beginning of it. (Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, under *Excommunication*, § 18.)

Page 17.]—On the important corrections made of the Proper Names in this Document, see the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 20, line 11. "*Six score and seven.*"—The names and depositions of these witnesses are in the Harleian MSS. No. 420, Art. 27. (See the note above, on p. 4.) Their depositions were made the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th of May, 6 Ed. VI. *i. e.* 1552.

Page 21, line 7 from the bottom. "*The 4th of February.*"—There is some inaccuracy in Foxe's statements here, as it appears from vol. vi. p. 588, that Ferrar appeared before Gardiner January 30, together with Saunders and Bradford, who were condemned *that day*, Hooper and Rogers having been condemned *the day before*. It is true, however, that Hooper, Rogers, and Saunders were *degraded* February 4th, and on the same day Bonner had an interview with Bradford in Newgate.

Page 22, top.]—This is the "talk" mentioned by Foxe at p. 149 of this volume, as having taken place January 22d: Ferrar is threatened, next page, with condemnation "within this seven-night," which would bring us to January 29 or 30, when he did appear again: see the note preceding this.

Page 24, line 14 from the bottom. "*Articles again ministered against Bishop Ferrar.*"—These are given in a more complete and original form, in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 1099; whence they are printed in the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 36, line 3.]—"Tutte le opere del Bernia, le terze rime de messer Giov. della Casa, di Bino, del Molza, &c." Venezia, 1542, 3 pts. "Il existe une edit. d'une partie de ces poesies formant le premier livre, impr. a Venise *per Curzio Navo e fratelli*, en 1538 pet. in 8. de 55 ff. chiffrés et un bl." (Brunet Manuel du Libraire, 4^e edit.)

Page 37, line 6.]—This letter of Gardiner to Bonner is in the Bonner Register, folio 358, whence Foxe's text is slightly corrected.

Page 39, bottom.]—This was in A. D. 1554, in which year, according to Nicolas's Tables, Palm Sunday fell on March 18th.

Page 44, line 22. "*Master More, after this, brought me a book of one Alphonsus.*"—On this work see *infra*, note on p. 179, note (1). The old editions read "afore this," which is changed in 1596 into "after this."

Page 47, line 6.]—Cotes was consecrated bishop of Chester on Low Sunday, April 1st, 1554. (Richardson's Godwin.)

Page 48, line 9. "*Within few days after.*"—See the Addenda.

Page 68, note (1).]—See Mr. Way's note in *Promptorium Parvulorum* edit. 1843 under "Knoppe."

Page 69, lines 16, 23. "*Stonyland . . . Bursley.*"—These names are so spelt in the original text of Foxe; but "Donyland" and "Dursley," both in the neighbourhood of places immediately mentioned, seem to be the true readings.

Page 76, bottom. "*May,*" &c.]—The ensuing notices, down to "one Benger" in next page, are taken, correctly for substance though not *verbatim*, from the Minutes of the Council Book, which is preserved at the Privy Council Office, Whitehall.

Page 77, line 10. "*The Lords had done for Ross.*"—The Council Book says:—"A Lettre to the L. Treasurer signyfieng unto him thordre already taken for Rosse; and that ordre shalbe given according to his request, for lettres to the Bishoppes. And as for Appes," &c.

Page 77, line 23. "*Be not compelled to stay.*"—The Council Book says more distinctly, "be not driven to tarry for the same." The sums had been settled by a Minute of Council May 16th, as follows: "The Lord Admiral and Lord Fitzwaters to have each £4 per diem in prest: Sir Henry Sidney 5 marks per diem in prest: Richard Shelley 4 marks per diem in prest:" the "pass-port" (Council Book) presently mentioned was for Shelley alone.

Page 77, line 29. "*The 29th.*"—This is an error of Foxe's; for the Council Book distinctly places this matter among the Minutes of the xxvijth.

Page 77, line 30. "*One John D.*"—The Council Book says, "oon John Dye dwelling in London." Dee is again mentioned by Foxe at page 85, June 5th: but the Council Book has the following intermediate notice of Dee and his companions, under date of June 1st:

"A lettre to the Mr. of the Rolles to receive into his custody oon Christopher Cary, and to kepe him in his howse without conference with any personne saving such as he speciallie trusteth, until Mr. Secretary Bourne and Mr. Englefelde shall repair thither for his further examination.

"A lik lettre to the Chief Justice of the Common Place with oon John dee.

"A lik lettre to the Bishop of London with oon John Felde.

"A Lettre to the Warden of the Flete to receive Sir Thomas Bengier, and to keep him in safe Warde without having conference with any. Robert Hutton is appointed, being his servaunte, tattende upon hym, and to be shut up with him."

This Dee was the famous John Dee, otherwise Dr. Dee: there is a full account of him in the "Biographia Britannica," and Cooper's "Athenæ Cantabrigienses." He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, but became fellow of Trinity College. He became M.A. in 1543, and went that summer to Louvain, where he was made LL.D.; he returned home in 1551. He was an eminent mathematician, astrologer, and magician. Having been discovered at the beginning of Mary's reign to be on friendly terms with some of the Princess Elizabeth's confidential servants, he was accused to the Council of plotting by magic against Queen Mary's life; and was accordingly thrown into Newgate and tried, but acquitted of this charge, and released August 29th, 1555 (see p. 85 of this volume). He was bedfellow to Bartlet Green (see pp. 734, 736), and having been observed to shew sympathy for him when carried away to his execution, was put under the surveillance of Bonner on a suspicion of heresy: hence he appears subsequently in the examinations of Philpot (pp. 638, 641, 642, 659, 681, of this volume), where it was the object of his enemies to test his soundness in the Romish faith, and his allegiance to the papal church: he is called at pp. 659, 681, "the great conjurer." He was born in 1527, and died in 1608. It is observable that after the Latin Edition of 1559, and the English of 1563, Foxe has (for whatever reason) disguised the *name* of Dr. Dee, in every instance.

Page 85, line 14 from the bottom. "*D.*"—See the note preceding this.

Page 85, line 13 from the bottom. "*Upon such further points,*" &c.]—The Council Book says: "Upon suche poynts as by their wisdomes they shall gather out of their former Confessions touching their Lewde and Vayne practices of calculating and conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said lettres, willing and requiring them further, as they shall by their Examinacions prove any other man or woman touched in this or in the like matters, to cause them to be forthwith apprehended and committed, to be further ordered according to justice."

Page 85, line 5 from the bottom.]—The Council Book reads thus:—

"At Greenwich the xxix of August.

"A Lettre to the Mr. of the Rolles to cause Carye remaying in his Custodie to be bound for his good abearing betwixt this and Christmas next and fourth-coming, whenne he shalbe called; and thereuppon to set hym at libertie.

"A like lettre to the Bishop of London for John Dee.

"A like lettre to the King's Marshall for oon Butts."

There is the following notice in the Council Book, under July vii, respecting Bengier:—

“A Lettre to the Warden of the Flete to let Sir Thomas Bengier have the liberty of the Flete, and his wife to come to him at tymes convenient.”

Page 85, line 4 from the bottom.]—The burning of Dirick Carver, John Lauder, and Thomas Iveson, is described at pp. 321—328.

Page 85, bottom. “*Stennings.*”]—The Council Book reads “*Steynyngs.*” (See the note infra, on p. 321)

Page 86, line 4.]—The Council Book adds:—“and to send some of his Chapleins into that shire to preach there.”

Page 90, line 2.]—The true date of their burning seems to have been Tuesday, June 11th: see the note infra, on p. 329.

Page 90, line 10 from the bottom. “*To the gallows.*”]—The Latin (p. 444) says, “*ductusque ad suspendium, qui locus erat iuxta foralem Westmonasterii columnam, nostri Crucem Charingi appellant.*”

Page 91, line 5. “*From the tyranny,*” &c.]—See pp. 94, 96, 107; and Appendix to vol. vi., note on p. 683.

Page 92. *The write or mandate, &c.* for the citing of John Tooly, hanged a litle before, to appear before the saide byshop for herese.*

Edmundus permisso divina Lond. Epis. universis et singulis rectoribus, vicariis, capellanis, curatis et non curatis, clericis, et literatis quibuscunque per diocesim nostram Lond. constitutis, et præsertim Richardo Clony Apparitori nostro jurato, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Quia fama publica, ac plurimum fide dignorum relatione, nec non facti notorietate insinuantibus ad nostrum nuper pervenit auditum, huod quidam Joani. Tooly civis et Pulter Lond. perditionis et iniquitatis filius, ad profundum malitiæ perveniens, &c.* (Foxe's first Edit., p. 1142 as printed.) Charing Cross mentioned in the English heading, is not alluded to in the document itself.

Page 94, line 28.]—Foxe's text reads “*Sunday,*” evidently by a misprint; for April 26th was the day of the month, as stated by Robert Bromley p. 96; and April 26th, 1555, by Nicolas's Tables, was a *Friday*, the day of the week mentioned by John Burton next page.

Page 96, line 3.]—The original text of the first edition puts “&c.” for “and all his detestable enormities.”

Page 98, middle. “*But what paradise.*”]—See the Addenda.

Page 98, line 31. “*The earl, either,*” &c.]—The Latin edition, 1559, p. 446, says: “*Mense Junii 23, anno 1554, Comes Oxoniæ, cujus non multo ante famulus eram, servo illius cuidam me commisit ad Bonerum Londinensem perducendum, una cum literis ad Episcopum scriptis, quarum hæc ferè erat formula.*” And the edition of 1563, p. 1148, begins the narrative:—“*The xxij day of June I was apprehended and sent to London to Doctour Boner, at the same time Bishop of London: and a man with me, who brought me up as a prisoner, with a letter to the Bishop, wherein was contained these words following.*” And after the letter, it proceeds in the first person: “*Then the Bishop red the letter unto me; when I heard it, I thought I should not be very well used, seeing it was put to his discretion. Then wrote he a letter again to him that sent me with many great thanks, for his diligence in setting forth the Queen's proceedings. Then spake the Bishop unto me and said, What should move you to leave your child unchristened so long?*”

Page 98, line 13 from the bottom. “*Hath remained unchristened more than three weeks.*”]—“*Filium habet jam tertiam agentem sine baptismo septimanam*” (Latin Ed. p. 446): which accords with Foxe's words, line 25 of this page, “*a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week;*” see infra, note on p. 99.

Page 99, line 22 from the bottom. “*Then he said unto me, Ye seem to be,*” &c.]—“*Næ ego, inquit, hominem te satis superbum video et præfractum.*” *Haux.* “*Unde hoc tibi de me judicium nascitur?*” *Episc.* “*Quia alterum hunc video Comitiss famulum, quàm humiliter se ac submissè gerit.*” (Latin Ed. p. 447.)

Page 99, line 13 from the bottom. “*Which hath lain three weeks unchristened,*” &c.]—“*Jam tertiam septimanam domi sine baptismo custodit,*

quemadmodum literis Comitis Oxoniensis ad me scriptis testatum habeo." (Ibid.)

Page 100, line 3. "*Commanded me away.*"—"*Itaque cum illo congressus Episcopus, me jubet cum generosorum ibi quodam confabulantem expectare.*" (Lat. Ed. p. 448.) From which one might fancy "away" a misprint for "await."

Page 100, line 8. "*His man.*"—"*Cum Bono meo generoso.*" (Lat. Ed.)

Page 100, line 14. "*I! befool your heart.*"—"*I be foole your heart.*" Ed. 1563, p. 1149. "I" seems to stand here, as frequently in the old writers, for "Aye!" (See Nares.) "Aye! befool your heart." The whole passage runs thus in the Latin: "*Scilicet Reverende Domine arbitror. Episc. Dignus profecto contumeliâ: stultum caput, quur non idem dixi prius? siquidem jam ante sauciasi inepta tua responsione hujus imperiti hominis conscientiam: sed gaudeo fateri te aliquando verum. Tum ad Hauxum se vertens, Atqui, inquit, hunc hominem resanescere video ac respiscere.*" See top line of p. 103, for another instance of "I!" "Aye!" or "Ah!" is twice in p. 99 spelt "A" in the black letter.

Page 100, line 11 from the bottom. "*The principal is.*"—See the Addenda.

Page 102, line 11.]—See the Addenda.

Page 104, line 17.]—This John Bird is stated in Richardson's Godwin (pp. 626, 776) to have been a native of Coventry, educated at Cambridge, and the thirty-second and last provincial of the Carmelites. He visited Bilney at Norwich in 1531, as suffragan to bishop Nix (See vol. iv. p. 643). He is said to have been suffragan of Penreth June 1537, bishop of Bangor in July 1539, and of Chester 1541. "*Conciones quædam coram Rege habitæ, in quibus Primum pontificum nervose impugnavit, aditum illi ad has dignitates patefecere. Sub Maria regina exauthoratus est, propterea quod uxorem duxisset.*" (Godwin.) "*Postea vero palinodiam cecinit, et fit Episcopus suffraganeus Edmundo Bonner, et Rector de Dunmow in agro Essexiensi, ubi octogenarius ferme diem clausit extremum anno 1556.*" (Richardson.)

Page 106, line 13 from the bottom. "*I know nothing else by them.*"—"*By*" here means "about;" a use of the preposition "*by*" not altogether obsolete in the North of England, which may be briefly illustrated from Sir Thomas More's *Debellacion of Salem and Byzance* (bk. i. ch. 5):—"Surely I suppose he may therein find that I force not what such as they be call me. And I can write no worse word *by* them, I wot well, than they write *mary by* me." There is another instance in Foxe (vol. v. p. 452), where Porter "*trusted that should not be proved by him;*" and in this vol. p. 653, "*evil you knew by me.*" Also 1 Cor. iv. 4, "*I know nothing by myself.*"

Page 107, line 10.]—Ed. 1563 reads "before" instead of "to."

Page 111, line 33. "*Dr. Smith . . . it was no recantation, but a declaration.*"—It was neither of these as respects the *title* (which was given in the Appendix to vol. vi., note on p. 469), but a "retractation." Strype has made a large extract from it in the Appendix to his Cranmer, No. xxix. "*Smith came up again publicly in Oxford . . . July 24, 1547, and then read his whole recantation, verbatim, which he had made before at St. Paul's: having first made a large preface, showing the reasons of his coming up there again. Therein he acknowledged, 'that the distinction he had lately made, to the offence of many, between recantation and retractation, was frivolous, both words signifying the very same thing; and that the true reason he had affected the word, was to palliate and excuse his own recantation. That it troubled him, that by any obscurity he should deceive any. And whereas, after his recantation, he had writ and scattered his letters, wherein he laboured to excuse himself to his friends, and dissembled his doings, seeming more studious to preserve his name and credit, than openly to avouch the true doctrine, he now declared, that all he had afterwards writ in letters, or delivered in his lectures, he renounced and revoked as false and erroneous.' And then he proceeds to read the whole recantation as he had made it before in London.*" (Strype's Memorials under Edward VI. book i. chap. 6.)

Page 111, line 19 from the bottom. "*Miles Huggard.*"]—He "set forth a book about this time (or rather the year after) bearing for its title 'Against the English Protestants,' [The displaying of the Protestants, &c. 1556], a piece written with much bitterness and scurrility; laying to their charge the famine, and the other miseries of England. This man made some pretence to learning; but Bale laughs at him, for going about to prove fasting from Virgil's *Æneis* and Tully's *Tusculan Questions*. But he set himself to oppose and abuse the gossellers, being set on and encouraged by priests and massmongers, with whom he much consorted, and was sometimes with them at Bishop Bonner's house. And the Protestants were even with him, and made verses upon him, not sparing him at all; some whereof, in Latin, may be seen in Bale's *Centuries*. Against him wrote Laur. Humphrey, Crowley, Kethe, Plough, and others." (Strype's *Memorials* under Mary, ch. 34, vol. iv. p. 459, edit. 1816.)

Page 114, line 5 from the bottom. "*Which thing he promised,*" &c.]—There is some little variation here in the first edition, p. 1162: "it was agreed amongst themselves, that if the flame should in strength vex him intolerably, he should stand quiet; but if it should be tolerable and to be suffered, and by sufferance might easily be overcome by the greater strength of constance and spirite, that then he should lyft up hys handes above his head towarde the heaven, before he gave up the ghost. Things therefore set in this order, and their mindes thus confirmed by this mutuall conversation, the houre of their martirdom is come. Hawkes is brought out to the slaughter house: and straight after to the stake fastened in the ground he is bounde very straightlie with a chaine, compassing his bodye: the gentle sacrifice standeth ready to receive the fire."

Page 120. "*Articles objected against Thomas Wats.*"]—These Articles appear in a slightly enlarged form, and the different Items all commence personally, in the first edition of the 'Acts and Monuments' (pp. 1163, 1164,) as thus: "Item, that thou Thomas Wattes," &c., but the variations are immaterial. "The Answer of the said Thomas Wats" also varies slightly.

Page 123, line 13.]—Wats is spoken of by Robert Smith, June 10th (which was a Monday in 1555), as then "gone to death."

Page 123, bottom.]—The queen was actually reported in May following to be delivered of a prince. The parish priest of St. Ann's, Aldersgate, went so far as to describe the beauty and fair proportions of the child. Amongst Ellis's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 188, occurs a letter from John Hopton, bishop of Norwich, to Lord Sussex, May 3d, 1555, stating that *Te Deum* had been sung for the happy event in the cathedral and other places in Norwich, and that there had been general rejoicings in the city and surrounding country: a similar report seems also to have reached Antwerp. (Ellis's Note.)

Page 124, note (2).]—So Archbishop Cranmer, in his Prologue or Preface to the Bible, writes:—"Which thing also I never *limn* to beat into the ears of them that be my familiars" (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 119, Parker Soc. edit.): being a translation of the *ὁ δὲ διέλιπον* of Chrysostom, in *Conc. iii. de Lazaro*, tom. i. p. 737, Montf. See also Foxe himself, vol. ii. p. 467.

Page 127, line 9. "*Upon the 13th day.*"]—See the Addenda.

Page 127, line 31. "*Our sovereign lord and lady, therefore,*" &c.]—In edit. 1563 (p. 1147): "Therefore *most entierly, and earnestly tendering the preservation, and safetye, as well of the soules, as of the bodies, lands, and substance of all their good and lovyng subjectes and others, and minding to roote out, and extinguish all false doctrine and heresies, and other occasions of schismes, divisions, and seetes that come by the same heresies and false doctrine,* straitly charge, &c."

Page 127, line 17 from the bottom. "*Any book or books . . . of Martin Luther, or any book or books . . . of Calvin.*"]—The possession or retention of books of this class or similar exposed the individual, if a male, to decapitation, if a female, to burning alive, among the Belgic subjects of Charles V. in 1540; and a persistence in the sentiments to punishment by fire, and confiscation of goods: "*Vires gladio feriendos, Mulieres vivas defodiendas esse, si modo errores suos tolerare aut defendere nolint. Si autem in erroribus et hæresibus*

perseverare velint, igne ad mortem adigendi sunt." (Cochlæi Comment. de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri, p. 300, edit. Mogunt, 1549.) Such edicts and such penalties are well worth a remembrance in the present *liberal* days.

Page 130, line 12 from the bottom. "*By the blood of Thomas,*" &c.]—In the "Primer off Salysburye use . . . newly empryntyd yn Paris wythyn the howse off Thylmā Kerver, 1533," this versicle is followed by a prayer: "Deus pro cujus ecclesia gloriosus martyr et pontifex Thomas gladiis impiorum occubuit; præsta quæsumus, ut omnes qui ejus implorant auxilium pie petitionis sue salutarem consequantur effectum, per dominum nostrum," &c. fol. lv.

Page 131, line 21. "*And join us with them which rewarded be.*"—In the "Primer off Salysburye use," Paris, 1533, fol. xciii. verso, this line reads:—

"And joyne us wyth thym which burnyshed be."

Page 132, line 18. "*Here beginneth the Psalter of.*"—It may be well to show what a large circulation has been allowed to this manual in the regions of Romanism.

"Psalterium B. M. V. a S. Bonaventura editum: Exercitium item quotidianum," &c. 12mo. Constantiæ, 1611.

"Hoc Psalt. anno 1476 Venetiis est impressum per Jo. de Hallis.

"J'en ai une petite édition intitulée Psalt. B. M. V. a S. Bonaventura editum: edit. ult. 12mo. Neuhusii, 1709.

"Cette edit. porte sur le dernier feuillet l'approbation qui suit: Hoc Psalterium B. M. V. a sancto Bonaventura compositum, nunc mendis plurimis repurgatum . . . et omnibus pie admodum et laudabiliter in privatis precibus ad honorem ejusdem beatiss. Virginis recitatur. Actum Duaci 4 Julii, 1609.

"Ce Psautier a été traduit en diferentes langues. Mr. Duve en a une edit. Française sans Titre, qui doit être de l'an 1672.

"J'en trouve une nouvelle edit. cotée dans la Biblioth. select. Jac. Chion Hagæ Com. 1749, p. 161, en cets mots; Le Psautier de la Vierge Marie ou le Paradis des ames Chretiennes contenant le Psautier de *Bonaventure*, Brux. 1701, item a Liege, 1702, in 8vo."

Editions of translations into Italian, German, Flemish, are also mentioned by Clement (from whom the preceding is extracted), *Biblioth. Curieuse*, tom. v. p. 58.

The continuator of Wadding, the annalist of the order to which the saint belonged, confirms the preceding, and adds other translations.

"In Italicum idioma versum a Jo. Bapt. Pinello vulgatum est Genuæ 1616, in 4to, per Joseph. Pavonem; circa quod tempus et in Germanicis sermonem ab Adam Walessero translatum assertit Possevinus in Appar. sac. Append. I., et a Gulielmo Spoelbergo ait Waddingus; germanice prodiit Colonizæ, 1605, in 12mo. In Sinensium idioma etiam translatum fuit a Emmanuele a S. Jo. Evangelista, teste Jo. a S. Anton. tom. i. p. 160. Ex eo *Breviarium B. V.* extraxit Didacus Christiani Min. Observ., ac imprimi curavit Parisiis 1645." (Supplementum et castigatio ad Scriptores Ordd. S. Francisci a Waddingo—opus Jo. H. Sbaraleæ, Romæ, 1806, pp. 159, 160.)

Page 136, line 30. "*In the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady.*"—The following remarks from one of the latest writers on this subject in the Church of Rome may be quoted; one, too, whose work is not particularly accessible in this country.

"Corona B. Mariæ Virginis, incipiens: *Cum jucunditate memoriam, &c.*; partim prosa, et partim versu composita, nequaquam indigna est Seraphico Doctore; utut repugnet Oudinus. Nam primo falsum est, preces *Coronarum* temporum novissimorum seu sæculi xv. esse; quoniam, ut omittam Rosarium, et ea quæ de eo dicuntur, Mabillonius in præfatione sæculi v. (Benedict. No. 125) ostendit initium Coronæ B. V. ab ineunte seculo xii. repetendum esse. Deinde titulum '*Coronæ*' huic opusculo non autor indidit, sed collectores: autor autem *pia precamina laudum* vocavit suum Opusculum; in fine enim ait, se *laudum pia precamina ad honorem quinque vulnerum Filii Virginis, et ad laudem sancti nominis Virginis Mariæ* decantasse, quinque scilicet Psalmis, orationibus et rhythmis, antiphonisque; et rhythmus incipit: *Gaude Virgo mater Christi, quæ per aurem concepisti, Gabriele nuncio*; eodem quidem versu, quo *Laudisurus S. Crucis*. . . . Prodiit primum in edit. Argent, 1495 cum aliis S. Doctoris

Opusculis."—*Supplementum ad Scripp. Ord. Francisci*—opus J. H. Sbaralæ; Romæ, 1806; p. 149.

To this writer may be added a reference to Rivet's *Apologia pro Virgine Maria*, lib. ii. cap. 12, as illustrating also pp. 780-81 of vol. iii., and fully confirming the statements there made.

Page 143.]—Strype in his *Life of Grindal* (book i. chap. 2) states, that Grindal furnished Foxe with the account of Bradford and with many of his letters. Grindal and Bradford were fellows of the same College, and fellow-chaplains to the king and to Ridley.

Page 143, bottom. "*Dr. Ridley, bishop of London . . . called him to take the degree of a deacon.*"—The ordination of Bradford at Fulham, to be a deacon, is given in the Addenda from the Ridley Register, folio, 319 verso. It appears from the Register that at the same time and place Thomas Horton and Thomas Sampson, fellows likewise of Pembroke, were ordained deacons, and Thomas Lever, fellow of St. John's, priest.

Page 144, line 6. "*Did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.*"—The institution of Bradford is given in the Addenda from the Ridley Register, folio 312 verso. Ridley at one time had an idea of giving it to Grindal; and had some difficulty in keeping it out of the hands of William Thomas, clerk of the Council. (See Ridley's Letter to Sir John Cheke, Fulham, July 23d, 1541, in Burnet, Strype, and Parker Soc. Ridley: see also Appendix to vol. vi., note on p. 550.)

Page 144, line 19. "*Master Bourn, then Bishop of Bath.*"—Bourn was not bishop of Bath till next year: the *congé d'elire* was dated March 3d, 1554. "Then," however, may mean "afterwards." A similar case occurs at p. 403.

Page 145, line 14 from the bottom. "*His Keeper.*"—The Knight-Marshal of the King's Bench was Sir William Fitz-Williams, a good man and a lover of the Gospel: hence the liberty which Bradford enjoyed. Bradford wrote him a letter preserved by Coverdale, and sent him a copy of Ridley's disputation at Oxford.

Page 146, line 16 from the bottom. "*Bishop Farrar,*" &c.]—This must have occurred in 1554, in which year Easter fell on March 25th: in 1555 Easter fell on April 14th, and bishop Farrar was sent away from London Feb. 14th, and was burnt at Carmarthen March 30th: see pp. 23-26 of this volume.

Page 149, line 5.]—Here is a slight inaccuracy in Foxe's statement: Bradford remained in the Tower till Easter Eve, March 24th, 1554, when he was removed to the King's Bench (see p. 146, line 12 from the bottom): hence he is *now* brought up by the officers of the King's Bench: see also vol. vi. p. 664.

Page 152, line 13 from the bottom.]—The ringing of a little bell is mentioned in the account of bishop Farrar's examination of the same date. (Supra, p. 23.)

Page 153, line 8. "*Whereas before, the 22d of January.*"—See p. 149.

Page 155, middle. "*Argument.*"—The first edition (p. 1189) more simply says: "That is not against charitie which is not against God's word: but the othe against the bishop of Romes autoritie in Englande, is not against God's worde: therefore it is not against charitie." The Latin edition, p. 473, says: "Quod sacris Dei literis non repugnat, cum charitate pugnare non potest: Contra jus pontificis susceptum jusjurandum sacratis literis non refragatur: Proinde non est præter charitatem."

Page 156, line 23. "*Is no good reason.*"—The first Edition here says, "is not firme;" which is a mere bald translation of "non valet" in the margin. The Latin Edition says: "Verum distinguendum hic est inter genus et speciem. Neque enim, quia in una hac re obtemperare non debeam, ideo in crimen vocandus sum inobsequentia, quasi in omnibus sim ei refractarius."

Page 157, line 11. "*A year and almost three quarters.*"—The Latin edition p. 475 says, "Jam integrum biennium paulò minus."

Page 157, line 20 from the bottom. "*Whilst I was three quarters of a year in the Tower.*"—The English editions all omit "whilst," which is necessary to the sense, and is supplied from the Latin: "dum biennium pene integrum sub

potestate essem vestra in arce captivus," &c. The error of "biennium" in the Latin is corrected in all the English editions. It is, however, just possible, that "arce" only means "carcere," in which case "biennium" is right.

Page 157, line 8 from the bottom. "*Did come into the Revestry,*" &c.]—"In sacrarium, ubi erat Bradfordus, introgressus." (Latin Edition).

Page 160, middle. "*Were this a good answer, to tell my neighbour,*" &c.]—In the Latin, p. 479, this clause runs thus: "An perjurio tenebitur, si, quum res necessario flagitat, contra jusjurandum faciat?"

Page 161, line 15.]—"Jam integrum sesquiannum et plus eo in carcere habitus sum." (Latin Ed. p. 479): line 30, "biennium pene." (Ibid.)

Page 162, line 9.]—This does not prove Bradford's innocence, and that his master was the real offender, as some have supposed: see the Addenda on this obscure subject.

Page 164, line 5 from bottom. "*And not wrest them into a contrary sense.*"]—This is a great improvement on the first edition, which reads, "and not as thought awrye without he see just cause." The Latin says: "At Bradfordus rursus orare ut candide æquamque in partem quæ dicerentur acciperet; animumque perperderet dicentis, non verba in alienum sensum intorqueret."

Page 165, line 20. "*The 30th day of January.*"]—Foxe says, "The last day of January," which is a mistake. See supra, vol. vi. p. 588, and the Addenda to this volume.

Page 168, line 1.]—For "spent" the Ed. of 1563 reads "spoyling." "Trattle" means to prattle or talk idly. Halliwell in his Archaic Dictionary quotes—

"Styll she must trattle: that tunge is always sterynge."—*Bale's Kyng Johan*, p. 73.

The Ed. of 1583 alters it into "tattling." The Latin, p. 486, says, "Hisque ac aliis id genus prolegomenis extracta colloquia sunt, sine ulla re ferme gravi aut fructu."

Page 168, middle. "*For the Infidels by Jupiter.*" &c.]—The Latin, p. 487, reads: "Ethnici siquidem per Jovem, Junonem; Turcæ per Alcoranum, et Machumetum; celo se potituros autumant." The first Edition (p. 1200) says: "For the Infidels by Jupiter Juno, the Turks by Machomet, by Alchoran, do beleve to come to heaven."

Page 171, middle. "*They sat down: . . . they had said . . . they had gone,*" &c.]—This is in the first person in the Latin and first English Editions: "Consedimus ad colloquia," p. 490: "progressi simus."

Page 172, line 18 from the bottom.]—See the Addenda.

Page 173, line 23. "*Canon made by Gregory and Scholasticus.*"]—See James's *Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers*; pp. 149-50, Edit. 1843.

Page 173, line 26. "*But Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time.*"]—It is probable he lived—if, as Bellarmine remarks, "Gregorius per Scholasticum intelligit certum aliquem hominem" (De Missa 2. 19)—about Gregory's own time, and of course long after Ambrose. See Clarkson on Liturgies, Lond. 1689, p. 83.

Page 173, line 9 from the bottom. "*I have read the place,*" &c.]—The first Edition, p. 1204, reads here, "But Bradford shewing hym how that place maketh [nothing] for elevation, sayde, this is no time," &c.: following the Latin, "Cæterum Bradfordus, ubi explanato Basilii loco nihil eum ad elevationem pertinere edocuisset, 'Atenim' inquit," &c. (p. 493.)

Page 175, line 17 from the bottom. "*Mine own confession. Because I did deny, &c. . . sacrament, therefore,*" &c.]—The foregoing is the punctuation in the first edition.

Page 176, line 10. "*This I do remember of Chrysostome.*"]—De Pœnitent. hom. ix. tom. ii. p. 413, Edit. Paris, 1837.

Page 176, line 7 from the bottom.]—The first English Edition of Foxe omits the parenthesis "(York and Chichester)": but the Latin has "*Eborac. et Cicestrensis. Nimirum hæc tua est theologia.*" (p. 497.)

Page 177, middle.]—"Verba hæc Augustini:" Lat. Ed. p. 497.

Page 177, last line. "*Yes, that you do.*"—"*Imo, judicas tu quidem illam,*" Latin Ed. p. 498. The first English edition reads correctly "*you:*" later editions alter "*you*" into "*they.*"

Page 178, line 17. "*In St. Jerome's time 'all the Church,' saith he.*"—In sec. lib. Comment. ad Galatas, procem.; tom. vi. p. 132, Edit. Col. Agripp. 1616.

Page 178, middle. "*We leese but labour.*"—"*Lavamus profecto, D. Bradforde, laterem in te instituendo:*" Lat. Ed. p. 498.

Page 178, line 15 from the bottom. "*In Hilary's time . . . he writeth to Auventius.*"—The identical expressions do not appear there: Bradford may merely advert to the drift of the passage (§ 12), rather a favourite one.

Page 178, line 39. "*Temporal.*"—Is a slip of the translator for "*spiritual:*" the Latin is not rendered in English till the Edition of 1570.

Page 179, note (1).]—Some account of the merits of Friar Alphonso, and more especially of his works, will be best given from the historian of the Order to which he himself belonged:—"Alphonsus a Castro, Zamora Hispaniæ ad Durium flumen urbe nobilissima ortus, provinciæ S. Jacobi, vir quidem doctus magnæque existimationis apud Carolum V. et Philippum II., quem propterea in plerisque expeditionibus adhibuerunt consiliarium itinerumque comitem; et quidem Carolo a sacris concionibus et conscientiarum secretis fuit. Singularis ejus virtus maxime in insectandis hæreticis enituit. Lutheranis agrum tunc Germanicum locustarum more depascentibus acerrimum bellum indixit, et repullulantes errores veteres cum novis suffocare studens scripsit: '*De justa hæreticorum punitione*': prodiit Salmanticæ an. 1547, fol., typis J. Giuntæ; et Venetiis, 1549; Lugduni quoque apud Seb. B. Honorati 1556, et Antverpiæ 1568, '*Adversus omnes hæreses:*' hoc opus absolvit autor non anno 1556, sed 1534; Parisiis ter, primo an. 1534, semel Coloniae 1540 in fol., intra septennium typis excusum: deinde iterum Parisiis 1543, et Lugduni 1546 et 1555, ab autore recognitum et auctum.—Prodiit iterum opus Parisiis 1560, et Antverpiæ 1565 et 1568." (Scriptores Ord. Minorum: recensuit L. Waddingus; p. 7, Edit. Romæ, 1806; and Supplementa ad Scripp. Ord. Francisci—opus J. H. Sbaralæ, p. 24, Romæ, 1806.) A. Castro was destined for the Archbishopric of Compostella, but died before inauguration at Brussels, 3d of Feb., 1558. It seems pretty evident that the circumstance of Alphonso's being, on one occasion, directed to preach against religious persecution, was owing to the unpopularity and want of *success* in the opposite course—the burnings in fact did not *answer*. (See vol. vi. pp. 698, 699, 704. See also supra, p. 44, line 22.)

Page 180, line 11. "*How hangeth this,*" &c.]—"This hangeth not together: for to reason thus, because you are here, *ergo* you are at Rome, is far out of frame: even so reason you: because Christ's body is in heaven, *ergo* it is in the Sacrament under the form of bread, which no wise man will grant."—Ed. 1563, p. 1209.

Page 190, line 26. "*To be at a point.*"—See the Addenda.

Page 191, line 15.]—On this sermon of Friar Alphonso, see above vol. vi. 704, and the note thereon in the Appendix.

Page 196. "*The letters of Bradford.*"—See the Addenda.

Page 203, line 6 from the bottom.]—See the Addenda.

Page 209, line 8 from the bottom.]—"A. B. C." See p. 241, line 6, and Appendix to vol. vi., note on p. 680.

Page 210, line 36. "*Live in it.*"—This is a misprint of Edition 1583 for "*live it in,*" the reading of 1570, 1576.

Page 214, line 9 from the bottom. "*Holiness.*"—See the Addenda.

Page 216, note (1). "*Cipher in Augrim,*" or "*Agrime.*"—"*Augrym, algorisme.* To counte, reken by cyfers of agryme, *enchifren,* &c.; Palsgrave." See Promptorium Parvulorum Édité. 1843, p. 18, and Mr. Way's note, who remarks:—"Algorithm or algorism, a term universally used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to denote the science of calculation by nine figures and zero, is of Arabic derivation." An additional instance of this expression is found nearer home, in Mr. Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times,*" vol. i. p. 291:

"And so I praye your helpe, that either I maye serve as a *cypher in agryme* at the courte," &c. (Sir F. Knolles' letter).

Page 217, near end. "*As Ignatius was at Rome, to the leopards.*"—There seems to be some misapprehension both here and in note 10, the "leopards" being the guard of soldiers to whose custody Ignatius was committed. Ἄπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ δεδεμένους δέκα λεοπαρδούς, ὃ ἐστὶ στρατιωτῶν τάγμα. *Ep. ad Rom.* § 5; where see Mr. Jacobson's note; and Basnage's *Annales Politico-Eccles.* ad an. 107, § 20. See a correct translation of the words of Ignatius *suprà*, vol. i. p. 118.

Page 217, note (1). "*Obduravit.*"—Bradford's Latin quotations from Scripture, it may be observed, do not always accord with the Vulgate. Generally he has adopted the translation of Erasmus, though not adhering even to that *verbatim*, in every instance. In the present case, "*obduravit*" occurs in neither of the versions above-mentioned. The same remark may be made on Latimer's quotations. (See *infra*, note on p. 513.)

Page 218, line 12.—Francis, Lord Russell, was committed to the custody of the Sheriffs of London July 30th, 1553; *suprà*, vi. 537. His father, John, the first Earl of Bedford, attended at Dr. Watson's Sermon, August 20th, 1553 (*ib.* 538): he died at his house in the Strand, March 14th, 1554, according to Strype and the chronological MS. in Whitecross-street Library. Foxe does not mention Fr. Ld. Russel among those released Jan. 18th, 1555, vi. 587, but he became earl after his father's death March 20th, 1555: see Parker Soc. Bradford, Letter XXIX.

Page 224, add to note (1).—Latimer writes (or his translator) of some "which do execrate the world in words and outward signs, but in heart and work they *coll* and kiss him." Remains (Parker Society), vol. i. p. 43, where Dr. Corrie's note is, "French *acoler*, to hang round the neck."

Page 230, bottom.—The opening of this letter, as given in the autograph, is wanting here: it alludes to a heavy judgment on her father; some suppose Sir J. Hales. See the Addenda.

Page 232, line 2. "*To be hewn and snagged at.*"—That is, rudely assailed. "*To snag* is, in some parts of the North of England, to hew roughly with an axe." (Todd's Johnson.)

Page 232, line 8 from the bottom. "*Stand in a mammering.*"—That is "hesitating." See Shakespeare, *Othello*, act iii. sc. 3, and Todd's Johnson. "She stode still in a doute and in a *mammering* which way she might take." Sir Thomas More's *Workes*, fol. 760.

Page 241, line 6. "*Christ's Cross.*"—See p. 209, line 8 from the bottom.

Page 248, line 11. "*Bite-sheep.*"—See *infra*, note on p. 713.

Page 250, note (4).—See p. 221, note (1). Strutt observes: "This year, 1540, by consent of the parties concerned, the ball was changed into six glaives of silver of the like value, as a reward for the best runner." *Sports and Pastimes*, II. iii. 13.

Page 260, middle. "*R. B.*"—means Roger Beswick. See pp. 148, 265.

Page 276, note (2). "*Not once a year or once a quarter as a strawberry.*"—This expression, which Latimer made use of to designate the non-residents of his day, who only visited their cures once a year, became proverbial. A bachelor of divinity, named Oxenbridge, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Jan. 13th, 1566, says, "I will shew you the state and condition of this my mother Oxford; for a piteous case it is, that now in all Oxford there is not past five or six preachers, I except strawberry preachers." (Dr. Corrie's note, in Latimer's Remains, Parker Society, vol. i. p. 62.)

Page 277, line 15 from the bottom. "*The letter Thau.*"—See note (4) on p. 578, and the additional note *infra* on that page.

Page 280, last line but one. "*Which take in good worth.*"—*i.e.* receive kindly: a phrase of some antiquity, having been used by the Duchess of Norfolk in Henry VIIIth's time:—"I pray yowre lord-chyppes take yt in worth." (*Gentleman's Mag.* 1845, March, p. 266.) Latimer also in the present vol. of Foxe (p. 491) says, "I pray you take it in good worth." And in Hooker's

Dedication to Archbp. Whitgift he writes (§ 1), "I nothing fear but that your clemency will take in good worth the offer of these my simple and mean labours."

Page 283, line 36.]—"To rabble," to speak confusedly.—North, (Halliwell.)

"Let thy tunge serve thyn hert in Skylle
And rable not wordes recheles out of reason."—*MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38, f. 24.*

Page 318, line 7. "*The 26th of June.*"—Foxe's text says "July:" but see p. 312: also for "examined" it reads "condemned:" their condemnation, however, did not come till later, see p. 340.

Page 321, line 19.]—The order for their burning was applied for June 12th (see p. 85). Staining, near Worthing, is no doubt the place meant by "Stenning." (See note above on p. 85.)

Page 327, top.]—This is the man alluded to p. 85.

Page 328, bottom.]—Both forms, "Pathingham" and "Pachingham," are used in the course of eight pages for the same individual. "Patingham" is used *infra*, vol. viii. p. 722. The variation might arise from the ambiguity between *th* and *ch* in old manuscript.

Page 329, line 6. "*Certain godly martyrs.*"—The martyrs here alluded to were John Simson and John Ardeley. June 12th, 1555 (the date given of this letter), was a Wednesday; and Foxe, p. 90, says, "they were burnt *about* June 10th, which was Monday;" it seems, however, from the letter ensuing, that Tuesday, June 11th, was the real day.

Page 331, middle.]—"Pachingham's" (or "Pathingham's," or "Patingham's") confession will be found *infra*, viii. 722: that is signed "Patingham."

Page 331, bottom. See the Addenda.

Page 334, middle. "*The 5th of July.*"—This date confirms and is confirmed by page 349, on which see the note.

Page 335, line 10.]—This account of John Newman is inadvertently repeated *verbatim*, *infra*, vol. viii. p. 243-246.

Page 340, middle. "*Putting off his cap.*"—See the Appendix to vol. vi, note on p. 598.

Page 342, line 2 from the bottom. "*As is also above specified.*"—See vol. vi. p. 579.

Page 343, line 11 from the bottom. "*Of that devout Catholic,*" &c.]—In the first Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 1251, it is, "of that monstrous Bonnerian, and cruel papist;" but the expression is altered in the Edition of 1570.

Page 347, middle. "*Brought to examination.*"—This was July 5th, 1555: see note on p. 349.

Page 348, line 17. "*My brother Harwood.*"—The first Edition, p. 1253, cols. 1, 2, has "Herald," a name which occurs at p. 369: but Harwood is introduced at p. 370.

Page 349, line 15 from the bottom.]—Denley and Newman were condemned July 5th (Sup. p. 334), which was a Friday in 1555 by Nicholas's Tables: and *this* was a Friday. (See next note.)

Page 350, line 16 from the bottom. "*Upon Saturday.*"—This was the next day after the foregoing examination; see top of next page, where "yesterday" is mentioned: consequently the day before was Friday, July 5th.

Page 367, line 22. "*The 12th day of July.*"—See p. 354.

Page 369, line 7.]—This letter was evidently written on Monday, June 10th, the day on which Carver, Saunders, and Iveson were condemned. (See pp. 325-327.)

Page 369, line 20. See the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 369.]—In the verse, "A thousand fold with lyke again," all editions after the first have "joys" for "lyke."

Page 374, line 19. "*Anne Potten.*"—Potten's name is Agnes, *infra*, viii. 101, 725. Michael's wife is also referred to again in the same places.

Page 375, line 1.]—"Gergesites:" in the Letters of the Martyrs (Edit. 1574, p. 505), it is "Gadderns."

Page 383, line 4. "*The martyrdom of George Catmer,*" &c.]—This portion is thus prefaced in the first edition of the Acts (p. 1273): "Like as Bonner byshoppe of London raged in his crueltie here within his dioces of London: so his bloudye bretherne the byshoppe of Dover and Nicholas Harpesfelde, archdeacon of Caunterburye (a whelpe of Bonner's owne heare), did no less bestyrre themselves there: as appeareth, as well by the handling of John Blande, and divers others before mentioned, whiche were all within a very short time dispatched; as also by these fyve godly and constant martyrs." As for "heare" in the above extract, it is explained by the following:—"Hair: grain, texture, character. This is a common word in old plays."—(Halliwell.)

Page 387, line 4.]—This letter of Robert Glover to his wife is exhibited so differently in the Edition of 1563, p. 1273, that a copy of it according to that Edition is given among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. I.

Page 392, line 7. "*That almost any brooking,*" &c.]—This passage will be found at the bottom of p. 384, where we discover that the word "neither" should be here supplied before "almost."

Page 393, lines 29, 30.]—For other instances of "while" in the sense of "until," see pp. 386, 740, and Nares's Glossary.

Page 400, line 3.]—"Exempted" must be a mistake for "excommunicated:" see heading, last page. Or it may mean "disfranchised:" it seems to be used in some such sense *infra*, viii. 447.

Page 402, line 13.]—In the table of errata to the edition of 1576 it is stated: "Whereas it is mentioned of Maister Edward Bourton Esquier, that he was brought to the church and there denyed Christian burial: understand (gentle reader) that he was not brought to the place of burial, but only a messenger whose name is John Torperley was sent to know whether he should be buried in Christian burial or not: whych being denyed him, he was therefore buried in his own garden, as is declared in the page above mentioned."

Page 403, line 18. "*Then Bishop of Lincoln.*"]—"Then" is wrong, unless it mean "afterwards," *i.e.* A. D. 1557-1559. (Godwin de Præsulibus.) See the note on p. 144.

Page 407, line 2. "*Turmoiled, murdered.*"]—The first edition of the "Acts" (p. 283) reads "maniced, murdered."

Page 411, line 9 from the bottom. "*I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim.*"]—In a publication entitled "*Interim adultero-Germanum; cui adjuncta est vera Christianæ pacificationis et Eccles. reformandæ ratio, per J. Calvinum,*" 1549.

"Ce livret a été imprimé trois fois en 1549 . . . On en a copié exactement le Titre dans la seconde édition, dont j'ai donné le Titre entier à la tête de cet article, si j'excepte le nom de Calvinus que l'on voit dans la première édition et que l'on a changé en celui de Calvinus dans la seconde. . . . Calvin s'est contenté de mettre l'Interim à la tête de son édition sans la Préface. Il commence d'abord par ces mots, 'De conditione hominis ante lapsum.' Dans la seconde édition l'on a mis à la tête de l'Interim, la Préface, avec l'inscription suivante:—"S. Cesareæ Majestatis Declaratio, quomodo in negotio religionis per imperium usque ad definitionem Conc. Gen. vivendum sit, in Com. Augustanis XV. Maii an. 1548 proposita, &c.' . . . La troisième édition de l'an 1549 est cotée dans la Biblioth. Fayana, Paris. 1724, p. 80, 'L'Interim ou provision faite en quelques villes d'Allemagne sur les differends de la Religion, avec la vraie façon de reformer l'Eglise Chretienne, par J. Calvin, 1549.'" (Clement. Biblioth. Curieuse, tom. vi.)

Page 414, bottom. "*That same vehement saying of Augustine . . . wont to trouble many men.*"]—So great a potency is imagined by papal controversialists, even to the present day, to exist in these few words of Augustine, that it may be well to furnish a refutation of the sense ordinarily assigned to them, from a Spanish member of the Roman church:—

"Michael Medina, scriptor alioquipontificius, in volum. Venet. [1565] impress. agnoscit dictum Augustini non posse nostræ sententiæ opponi. 'Quod ex eo,

inquit, Augustini dicto ecclesiæ quam Scripturæ majorem auctoritatem persuadere conantur, prorsus est futile. Nam ex eo, quod ecclesia Scripturas ostendit, et eas a falsis discernendi potestatem exercet, eam eisdem Scripturis auctoritatem præstare infirme colligitur, nisi etiam is qui inter hominum confertissimas turbas mihi regem ostenderet, potioris etiam, quam ipse Rex, auctoritatis habendus esset; aut nisi Mosaica lex quæ Christi et Evangelici status fuit index (Johan. v. 39 et 47), majoris esset auctoritatis quam Christus aut Christi evangelium, quod est absurdissimum. [He shews this by other examples, and then proceeds] ‘Ecclesiæ, fateor, est nobis causa credendi, hunc aut illum librum esse divinum; non tamen cum ipsâ eadem Scripturâ auctoritate contendit, quemadmodum neque horum auctoritas qui de Christo testabantur cum Christo erat ullo pacto conferenda. Ostendit Notarius aut publicus tabellio hanc aut illam esse Scripturam Regis, atque ita ostendit, ut illi tantam fidem habeamus, quantum negotia humana postulant. Quis tamen tam insanus, ut tabellionis auctoritatem cum Regii aut Imperatorii scripti auctoritate componat?’ Gerson in Declarat. veritat., quæ credendæ sunt de necess. salut. tom. i. num. 14, lit. E. recte monet Augustinum loqui de testimonio primitivæ Ecclesiæ, et addit, vicissim dici posse ‘Ecclesiæ non crederem, nisi me Scripturæ moveret auctoritas.’ Pontificii vero de suâ hodiernâ Romanâ ecclesiâ unice sunt solliciti.” Gerhard. Loci theolog. i. cap. 3; tom. ii. pp. 47—49, edit. 1762.

Page 419, note (8). “*Cont. Epist. Gaudentii.*”—This reference is in some way mistaken: at least one far better supporting the text might be made to the books against Faustus, lib. xix. cap. 14. See vol. v. p. 249.

Page 423, line 2. “*Therefore there is no remedy,*” &c.]—From hence to the end, forms the conclusion of the *first* Conference in the Parker Society’s Edition of Ridley’s Remains, p. 115.

Page 424, line 14. “*As for the rumours,*” &c.]—This shews that Ridley never had “massed” in the Tower, and that Foxe is mistaken in his conjecture, vol. viii. p. 708: see also p. 434, line 14 from bottom.

Page 424, middle. “*But of the rest never a deal.*”—Anglo-Saxon, *dæl. pars.* See note in Mr. Way’s edit. of Promptorium Parvulorum, p. 117, and p. 432 of this volume, near end.

Page 425, line 7 from the bottom. “*And the profundities thereof.*”—The “Letters of the Martyrs” (edit. 1564, p. 63) reads erroneously “and the doungens thereof.”

Page 434, line 14 from the bottom. “*And then because,*” &c.]—See the note above on p. 424, line 14.

Page 437, note (2).]—This portion of Foxe’s text is given according to the text of 1563, having been needlessly tinkered and much spoilt in the subsequent editions.

Page 437, line 20. “*Where also he was born.*”—There is considerable difference of opinion as to the date of Hugh Latimer’s birth. Gilpin places it so far back as 1470: Austin Bernher, in the Dedication of his Sermons on the Lord’s Prayer (vol. i. p. 320 P. S. E.), calls him “a sore bruised man, and above threescore and seven years of age” in Edward’s reign, who came to the throne in 1547: according to which he would have been born somewhere between 1480 and 1486, for it is uncertain what precise point in Edward’s reign Bernher would fix upon. See also Foxe, p. 463 of this volume. On the other hand, Latimer himself states that he walked in darkness till he was thirty years of age (Sermon on Twelfth Day, Park. Soc. vol. ii., p. 137), and that he was converted soon after he took his B.D. degree, which was in 1524, according to the Proctor’s Accounts for that year; which would place his birth in 1494. It is not improbable, however, that when Latimer spoke of “having walked in darkness till thirty years of age,” he deducted the fourteen years previous to his confirmation and going to college, as a period of unaccountableness and *nonage*. In confirmation of the date 1480 it may be observed, that the account of his appearance before Wolsey represents him as much more advanced in years than Wolsey expected to see him: and that in the narrative of the final examinations and sufferings of Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley, Latimer is represented as the oldest of the three; but Cranmer was born July 2d, 1489. As Latimer relates that he buckled on his father’s armour in 1497, it may be a

question whether his age of going to Cambridge be not fixed too early; for he did not incept as B.A. till 1510, after keeping eleven terms of actual residence (see next note to this): at all events there is a long period of fifteen years from 1494 to 1510, which is difficult to account for, on the supposition of his having gone to College at fourteen.

Page 437, line 11 from the bottom. "*When he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity.*"—The earliest Letter we have of Latimer's belongs to this period: it is addressed to the master of his own College, then Vice-Chancellor, to promote the election of Sir Richard Wingfield to be High-Steward of the University in the room of Sir Thomas Lovell, who died May 25th, A.D. 1524. See Parker Soc. Latimer's "Remains," p. 295; whence it is printed among the Documents at the end of this volume, No. II.

The reader is here presented with copies of the official entries relating to Latimer's academical course, in procuring which the Editor has been most kindly aided by the Rev. Joseph Romilly, Registrar of the University of Cambridge.

"Etiam circa festum Purificationis Proxime sequens [Feb. 2, 1510] eligebantur in socios istius collegii Dom. Johannes Powel et Dom. Willelmus Pyndar, in Artibus Baccalaurei; et Dom. Hugo Latimer, Quæstionista." Register of Clare Hall, anno 1509-10.

The Grace Book for the year Michs. 1509—Michs. 1510 has the following entry:—

"Conceditur Hugoni Latimer ut xij. termini in quorum quolibet excepto uno ordinaria audiverit, etsi non secundum formam Statuti, sufficienti sibi ad respondendum questioni."

Under the year Michs. 1513—Michs. 1514 occurs the following:—

"Conceditur Domino Latymer ut Lectiones, ordinariæ novem terminorum audite cum quatuor responsionibus, quarum una erat in die Cinerum altera in finali determinatione [second Tripos Day] et duæ aliæ in Grammatica quarum altera in die conversacionis altera in scholis publicis, sufficienti sibi ad incipiendum in Artibus, sic ut solvat Universitati 13 sol. iij d."

There is no grace extant for his B.D. degree, but in the Proctor's Accounts for the year Michs. 1523—Michs. 1524 we find as follows:—

"bachalaurei in theologia

M. latom ^{er}	}	nihil."
M. stafforth		
M. rogers		
M. foberry		
M. cheswryght		
M. thyxtyll		
M. nycolls		
M. hale		

Why all these men paid the Proctor *nothing*, does not appear; but such an entry is not uncommon for various degrees at various times.

N.B. Undergraduates in their last term are called *Quæstionists*: when they have been admitted ad Respondendum Quæstioni they are called *Determiners*: on the second Tripos Day they are *complete Bachelors*, called in Latin *Domini*.

The admission *ad Respondendum Quæstioni* is called the *Bachelor's* commencement; and the *regular* time *now* is on the Saturday after the first Monday in Lent Term, which always begins on Jan. 13th: this in 1510 would fall on Jan. 19th: but the custom may have been different formerly, so as to allow of Latimer being called a Quæstionist still on Feb. 2d, perhaps till the first Tripos Day, February 14th.

At present there are two subsequent ceremonies; on the first Tripos Day (*i.e.* the day after Ash Wednesday, or Feb. 14th in 1510) the seniority of the Wranglers and Senior Optimes is reserved: on the second Tripos Day, exactly four weeks after the first, or the Thursday after Midlent Sunday, the Seniority of the Junior Optimes is reserved, and the degree of B.A. is *now* complete to all who have been admitted ad Respondendum Quæstioni. On the second Tripos Day the *final determination* is pronounced by the Proctor in these words:—

" Creamus et pronunciamus omnes hujus anni determinatores *finaliter* determinasse, et actualiter esse in Artibus Baccalaurios."

The grace of the B.A. degree is now, “. ut duodecim termini completi in quibus ordinarias lectiones audiverit, licet non omnino secundum formam Statuti, sufficienti ei ad Respondendum Quæstioni.”

Of these twelve terms only ten are kept now: the entering the name before the first term of residence is allowed to count for one Term; and the examination in a Term after ten Terms of Residence is allowed to count for one Term; but there is a connexion still with twelve Terms: formerly the regular keeping of twelve terms, *i.e.* of four years, was required.

In the M.A. degree, the *Inception* cannot take place till nine terms of complete B.A. are ended: the earliest day for bringing forward the grace for an incepting M.A. is the Friday following the second Tripos Day in the third year after *final determination*; and the day of *Admission ad incipiendum in Artibus*, is the following Friday.

He becomes a complete M.A. by Creation on the first Tuesday in July, when he is called *Magister*.

An M.A. is regent till of five years' standing.

Page 437, line 9 from the bottom. “*Master Stafford*.”—On Stafford, see before, vols. iv. p. 656, v. p. 415: from the note preceding this it would seem that he took his B.D. degree at or about the same time with Latimer.

In the Register of West, Bp. of Ely, at folio 83, an Ordination is recorded as taking place at the Chapel in Ely Palace, Ely, Saturday, March 7th, 1516-17, when among the “*Subdiaconi seculares*” appears the name of “Georgius Stawert, Dunelmen. dioc. per lit. dim. Aulæ Pembrochiæ Cant.” And from the same Register, fol. 83 b., he appears to have been ordained *Deacon* three weeks after, at the same place, Saturday, March 28th, 1517, “ad titulum collegii Valenciæ Mariæ Cant. predict.”

The following grace for George Stafford's B.D. degree will, perhaps, be acceptable to the reader:—

In the year Michs. 1523—Michs. 1524: “Item conceditur Georgio Stavert ut sex anni à suâ regentiâ [*i.e.* his M.A. degree], cum unâ responsione et duobus sermonibus, altero ad Clerum et altero ad crucem Pauli, sufficienti sibi ad opponendum in theologiâ, sic quod admittatur intra quindenam.”

Page 437, last line. “*Master Thomas Bilney, of whom mention is made before*.”—See vol. iv. pp. 619—656. Bilney appears from the Tunstal (London) Register to have been ordained *subdeacon* at the priory of Elsing, London, by John, suffragan bishop of Calipolis, on Saturday, March 19th, 1518-19: “Thomas Bylney, Norwicen. dioc. per lit. dim. ad titulum prioratûs sive monasterii Sancti Bartholomæi in Smythfeld London.” And from the Register of West, bishop of Ely, folio 87, it appears that he was ordained *deacon* by bishop West at Dodington, June 18th, 1519. The entry is as follows:—

“Thomas Bylney Nor. dioc. sufficienter dimissus, ad titulum prioratûs sancti Bartholomæi in Smythfeld London, in presbyterum [*lege* diaconum] admissus.” And on the same folio, at the ordination on Saturday, 24th September, of the same year, we find: “Dominus Thomas Bylney, Nor. dioc. diaconus, sufficienter dimissus, ad titulum Mon. sive prioratûs Sancti Bartholomæi in Smythfeld, in presbyterum admissus.”

And it further appears from the Proctors' Accounts at Cambridge, that he took the B. C. L. degree in 1520-21.

“Recepta a bachalaureis in jure canonico pro ordinariis et pro locatione cathedræ.

“In primis

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
a domino goodman	6	8
— petytt	6	8
— duke	10	0
— davy	10	0
— dale	13	4
— doughty	13	4
— clapam	6	8
— wylne	10	0
— pateper	6	8
— north	6	8
— bilney	—	—
Summa	4	13 4

Bilney appears to have paid nothing otherwise than in the form of a *caution* for future payment: this appears in an after entry: "Cautio domini bilney in manibus Magistri Medow." The University chest was formerly stocked with *Cautions* for people who had not money at hand: these cautions were pieces of plate, rings, missals, &c. If the cautions were not redeemed, the goods were sold.

The following entry is from the Register of West, bishop of Ely, fol. 33:—

"Item xxij^{to} die mensis predict. [Julii] Anno Dni. et loco suprascriptis [*i.e.* A.D. 1525, intra manerium suum de Somersham] dominus concessit licentiam magistro Thomæ Bynley in jure canonico Bacchalaurio ad prædicandum populo sibi commissio per totam dioc. Elien. temporibus et locis congruis, Absque tamen alieni juris præjudicio, ad beneplacitum suum duraturam," &c.

In the margin we read: "Revocata fuit hæc Licentia per spirituales Inhibitionem quia super heretica pravitate accusatus et convictus erat."

Page 438, line 16.]—Foxe adds, in 1570 and subsequent Editions, after "others," "and came also to Master Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him."

Page 438, line 20. "*Became a public preacher.*"—Latimer seems to have possessed a predilection for preaching previous to his conversion, for we find him in the Proctors' Accounts as one of twelve University preachers appointed in 1522.

Page 438, line 22. "*Three years.*"—The edition of 1563 reads "2 yeris," that of 1570 "ij yeris," which all the rest follow. The number "three" is here substituted to render the narrative consistent; for though the first Edition reads "2 years" again at p. 454, yet in an intervening passage, p. 452 (which is not found in the first Edition) "three" is also mentioned. This period of three years seems intended by Foxe to include the space between Latimer's conversion and his appearance before Wolsey (see page 454).

Page 438, line 19 from the bottom.]—Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, places Latimer's Card Sermons in the vice-chancellor's year 1527-8: certainly they must be misplaced by Foxe here, if 1529 be their correct date, for he subsequently mentions his citation before Wolsey, who was in disgrace Christmas 1529, and died in November 1530. Dr. Corrie (Preface to the Parker Society's Latimer's Remains) places the Card Sermons subsequent to the appearance before Wolsey. It is highly probable that Latimer got into trouble through his faithful preaching long before the Card Sermons in 1529; and that Foxe confounded the two occasions, and was thus led to transpose the order of events in his narrative. Becon, in his "*Jewel of Joy*," published toward the close of 1547, says that he remembered how "before twenty years" he used to attend Latimer's preaching at Cambridge, and how he pleaded for the use of the English Scriptures, and inveighed against the monks and friars, and was persecuted by them. (Parker Soc. Edit. p. 424.) This would correspond with the latter part of 1527: and it is probable that Latimer was summoned before the Cardinal some time the next year: see note on p. 454.

Page 438, last line.]—John i. 19, &c. is the Gospel for the Sunday before Christmas Day.

Page 441, line 24 from the bottom. "*And in danger unto God.*"—A phrase originally signifying feudal subjection. It is Latinized in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* by *Domigerium*, on which word see Adelung, who in his Glossary remarks, "Est enim *Danger* Gallis potestas," p. 192. The word is used in this sense in the old translation of Bishop Jewel's Apology, pt. 6, chap. 15, § 3, "these men have them fast yoked, and in their danger;" and above, at p. 252, "in danger to God's curse," *i.e.* subject to; and by Latimer himself again at p. 467, "all the world shall be bounden or in danger to God." So again in Taverner's Postills, edit. Oxford, 1841, we read (p. 393), "Wherefore they whyche so love theyr evil affections . . . be under the daunger of synne and deserve the stypende thereof." In the Paston Letters (vol. i. p. 94, edit. 1840) we find: "He . . . hath bought divers books of him, for the which as I suppose he hath put himself in *danger* to the same Karoll." See also Appendix to vol. viii. note on p. 505.

Page 448, line 3 from the bottom.]—The table of errata to the Edition of 1563 directs us to supply the word “as” before “setting.”

Page 449, line 20 from the bottom. “*It would ask a long discourse,*” &c.]—From hence to p. 452, line 21, “the Heretics’ hill,” is much more amplified than in the Edition of 1563: the corresponding passage of that Edition is printed among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. II.

Page 449, line 15 from the bottom.]—How Buckenham came to be called in the first Edition “prior of the Ladyfriars” (an appellation which is changed in every subsequent Edition) does not appear; but there certainly was an order of “Fratres de Domina,” or “Lady Friars,” and they had once a house at Cambridge, near the Castle: see Tanner’s *Notitia Monastica*, and the Addenda to this Appendix. They had also a house at Norwich, on the south side of St. Julian’s churchyard, with its east end abutting on the street: see Blomfield’s *Norfolk*, vol. ii. p. 547, where we read the following description of them:—“The Friars of the order of our Lady, called Fratres de Domina, were a sort of Begging Friars, under the rule of St. Austin: they wore a white coat, and a black cloak thereon, with a Black Friar’s cowl, and had their beginning about 1288, the order being devised by Philip, who got it confirmed by the pope.” The Black Friars, called also Dominican and Preaching Friars, were also under the rule of St. Austin, which will account for Buckenham being called an Augustine monk, p. 438.

We find a subsequent mention of this Buckenham, as “Prior of the Black Friars,” in a letter from Thomas Tebold to Cranmer, dated July 15th, 1535, Cotton MSS. Galba B. x. fol 102; of which the following is an extract:—

“Within these 16 days I take my journey from Antwerp, the last day of July. And bycause at my fyrst arryvance to Andwarpe I found company ready to go up withal to Coleyne, I went to see my old acquaintance at Lovayne. Where as I found Doctor Bockenam, sometime prior in the Black Friars in Cambridge, and another of his bretherne with him. I had no leisure to commune long with them; but he shewed me, that at his departing from England he went straight to Edinburgh in Scotland, there continuing unto Easter last past; and then came over to Louvain, where he with his companion doth continue in the house of the Blackfriars there, having little acquaintance or comfort but for their money; for they pay for their meat and drink a certain sum of money in the year. Allsoever that I can perceive them to have is only by him which hath taken Tyndale, called Harry Phillips, with whom I had long and familiar communication, for I made him believe that I was minded to tarry and study at Louvain.”

In the Document published by Dr. Lamb, referred to p. 451, note (2), it is stated that the vice-chancellor cited before him, January 29th, 1530, “Master Latymer, Masters Bayn, Bryganden, Grenewod, and Mr. Proctor of the blak frears;” where “Proctor” is probably a clerical error for “Prior,” and refers evidently to Buckenham.

Page 450, middle. “*Diffuse*”]—*i.e.* obscure. See note in the Addenda to vol. vi. p. 410.

Page 450, line 8 from the bottom. “*Dr. Venetus.*”]—Dr. Venetus appears from the University Register to have taken his D.D. degree in 1518. He is mentioned in the “Placet,” or form of Grace, granted by the Senate, as one of twenty-seven delegates who were to determine on the question of Henry’s marriage, in 1529. (Lamb’s Collection of CCCC. MSS., p. 20.) Latimer was among the twenty-seven; as were also Crome and Thyxtell.

Page 451, line 11 from the bottom. “*Dr. Cliffe of Clement’s Hostel.*”]—The Tunstall (London) Register states that “Robert Clyff, legum doctor Coven. et Lieb. dioc.” was ordained deacon at London on Saturday, February 28th, 1523, “per lit. dim. ad titulum monasterii de Basyngrwerke Assaven. dioc.” It also appears from the West (Ely) Register. folio 32 b, that Dr. Robert Clyff, Doctor of Laws, was made Commissary General to the Bishop of Ely for the whole diocese in room of Dr. Pellis resigned, June 24th, 1525, at his manor of Downham; and that he was the same day made Vicar of Wysbeach. He was excommunicated by the vice-chancellor of Cambridge 1529, for infringing the privileges of the University. After submitting himself he was reconciled.

See an account of the affair in Dr. Lamb's Collection of CCCC. MSS., London, 1838, p. 12; and the Addenda to Foxe vol. iv., note on p. 656.

Page 451, line 3 from the bottom. "*Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely.*"—The Editor has searched bishop West's Register, but in vain, for any traces of his opposition to Latimer: the only document bearing on the subject occurs at folio 33 of the Institution Book: at the institution of George Gyles to the living of Eversdon parva, October 2d, 1525, we find a peculiar oath administered to him, called in the margin "*Forma juramenti pro opinionibus Lutheranis non tenendis.*" The oath is as follows: "*. . . ipsumque [Georgium Gyles, in Artibus Magistrum] Rectorem perpetuum canonice Instituit in et de eadem cum suis Juribus et pertinentiis universis, præstito primitus per eum tactis sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis Juramento corporali, tenore subsequente: Et ego Georgius Gyles juro ad hæc sancta Dei evangelia per me hic corporaliter tacta quod ero obediens Reverendo in Christo patri et domino domino Nicholao permissione divina Elien. episcopo, et successoribus suis, in omnibus licitis et canonicis mandatis juxta juris exigentia. Item, quod nullam hæresim Lutheranam seu aliam quamcunque ab ecclesia damnatam docebo prædicabo aut Ratiocinando quovis modo defendam, aut pro eis carumve aliqua inter conferendum auctoritatem vel Rationem quamcunque joco vel serio, animo deliberato, in medium afferam: Sed eas omnes et singulas pro Ingenii mei viribus et doctrina et eorum fautores impugnabo. Sicut deus me adjuret et hæc sancta dei Evangelia.*" Instead of this oath the other Institutions say:—"Instituit præstito canonicæ obedientiæ juramento in forma debita et consueta," or something similar: this oath seems then first to have been used.

Page 452, top. "*Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did licence master Latimer . . . Christmas Even upon a Sunday.*"—This would by Nicolas's Tables be at the close of 1525 (see also Bilney's and Barnes's histories in vols. iv and v.); and we must suppose it introduced retrospectively, if 1529 be the true date of the Card Sermons. Indeed, Foxe seems to speak of Dr. Barnes's license as a *providence* which *had* befallen Latimer: "*God so provided, that Dr. Barnes did licence.*"

As Dr. Barnes's history has a bearing on that of Latimer, the following information may be useful. There is no grace extant for his D.D. degree, but in the Proctors' Accounts for the year running Michs. 1522—Michs. 1523 is the following entry:—

" Doctores Theologiæ.	
Dr. Addison	}
D. Sharpe	
D. Patenson	
D. Marshall	
D. frater Stokes	
D. frater Barnse	
	x ^s "

from which it appears that xx^d must have been the fee to the Proctor for each D.D., and next year, Michaelmas 1523-1524, the following very curious Grace occurs:—

"*Conceditur Doctori Barnes ut possit esse non regens, et quod non arctetur ad determinandum, quia tantum obrutus est negotiis in sua religione quod adesse non potest ante festum Johannis Baptistæ.*"

N.B. Two years are ordinarily required for a D.D. to become a "*Non-regent*:" it is most probable that Barnes took his D.D. degree in the year 1523, and was released by the above Grace from further attendance early in the year 1524, for in that year Stafford took his B.D. degree (see note above on p. 437), for which he kept his famous Act under Dr. Barnes as his Moderator, being "*the first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scripture, for his form to be bachelor of divinity.*" (See vol. v. p. 415.)

Page 452, line 4 from the bottom.]—Latimer himself says that this was the *first* sermon he ever preached before the King (See Latimer's Sermons, Parker Soc. Edit. p. 335.) Latimer was probably introduced to the king by Sir John Cheke, or by Dr. Butts, concerning whom see the note infra, on p. 454.

Page 453, line 31. "*Dr. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the reign*

of *King Edward.*"]—See vol. vi. pp. 135, 236—239, 266—274. The original Latin of the present Correspondence between Latimer and Redman, from the Edition of 1563, will be found in the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 454, line 19. "*Latimer . . . called up to the Cardinal for heresy . . . content to subscribe,*" &c.]—Strype prints a narrative respecting Latimer's conversion and appearance before Wolsey, drawn up (as Strype thinks) by Ralph Morice, archbishop Cramer's secretary; which gives a very different view of Latimer's treatment by Wolsey, as if he had been dismissed with a full license to preach in defiance of the Bishop of Ely's prohibition: it is printed from the Harleian MSS. among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. IV. This appearance of Latimer before Wolsey is stated by Foxe to have been after about three years "preaching and teaching in the University of Cambridge;" which expression seems intended to include the whole period since his conversion; and therefore it probably happened sometime in 1528. See Strype's Memorials under Henry, chap. 41, where he describes Tunstall as sending to Cambridge for the apprehension of Rodolph Bradford, Latimer, Nicholson, Smith, &c.: compare this with vol. v. p. 27 of Foxe, where Nicholson is represented as troubled by Tunstall in 1528. Barnes recanted at Paul's Cross, Feb. 11th, 1526, and Bilney, Dec. 8th, 1527. We learn from Joye's history that Dr. Capon was in attendance on Wolsey at the latter date (see Appendix to vol. v. note on p. 132), and so he might have encountered Latimer in 1528 as Morice describes. This date, "1528," receives further confirmation from a Letter printed at the end of this Appendix, No. V., from R. Moryson (apparently) to Cranmer, dated December (apparently) 1533, in which Moryson speaks of having gone to Cambridge '*a Cardinalis ædibus*' five years before (*i.e.* December 1528) '*cognoscendi Latimeri causa*;' which surely must have been subsequent to Latimer's appearance before the Cardinal, and the Cardinal's handsome treatment of him.

Page 454, line 23.]—Dr. William Buts was made M.D. at Cambridge in 1518, Regr. Cant.: supplicated to be incorporated at Oxford in 1519: afterwards became physician to Henry VIII., who granted him a pension of forty marks annually out of certain lands, Nov. 13th, 21 Hen. VII. (1529). He died 17th Nov., 1545, and was buried at Fulham. See a Character of him in Dr. Goodwall's Epistle before his *Historical Account of the Proceedings of the College of Physicians*, of which Dr. Buts was one of the founders. (Wood, *cura Bliss*, vol. ii. Fasti p. 50.) It appears from Masters's Account of Corp. Christi Coll. Camb. (Edit. Lamb, p. 313), that in 1524 Dr. Buts took St. Mary's Hostel on a lease from the College of 99 years, for 24s. per annum: hence he probably resided at Cambridge several years, and formed a friendship with Latimer.

Page 454, line 25.]—There is a letter in Burnet's Reformation "Records," by which it appears that Latimer was at Cambridge promoting the divorce in February, 1530. Burnet likewise prints the decision of the University on the subject, dated March 9th; and Dr. Lamb (Collection of CCCC. MSS., p. 23) prints a letter from the vice-chancellor Buckmaster to Dr. Edmonds, dated Cambridge "in crast^o. Dominicæ Palmarum" [April 11th], giving an account of his arrival at Windsor with the University determination "dominica 2nda Quadragesimæ" [March 13th], when Latimer (he says) was preaching. Near the end of the letter he adds, "Mr. Latymer preacheth styll, *quod emuli ejus graviter ferunt*;" from which it would seem that Latimer had then returned to Cambridge again from Windsor.

Page 454, line 28. "*A benefice offered by the king.*"—The following is a copy of Latimer's Institution to the Living of West Kington, furnished by the Registrar of Salisbury Cathedral, from the Campeggio Register, folio 24:—

"A^o. Domini MCCCCXXX^o. Indictione iiij^a A^o. viij D. Clementis Septimi, litera dominicali A.

"Quarto decimo die mensis Januarii, anno 1530 [*i. e.* 1531], Magister Ricardus Hilley Vicarius Generalis, in domo residentie infra clausum Canoniarum Sarum situata, Ecclesiam parochialem de West Kington in Archidiaconatu Wiltes. Sarum Dioc., per mortem Domini Will. Dowdyng ultimi

Rectoris ejusdem vacantem atque ad collationem Domini Laurentii Sarum Episcopi pleno jure spectantem, Magistro Hugoni Latymer, presbytero, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaurio, auctoritate qua fungebatur contulit, ac ipsum Rectorem dictæ Ecclesiæ de canonica obedientia &c. juratum instituit canonice in eadem cum suis juribus, &c. commisitque sibi curam animarum, &c. et Scriptum fecit Archidiacono Wiltes. et ejus officiali pro ipsius inductione, &c."

Page 454, line 14 from the bottom. "*He could not escape without enemies.*"—Whether it was from the Wiltshire priests or not, it seems that Latimer's name was presented to the Convocation soon after his induction to West Kingston, as appears from the following:—

Ex Reg. Convoc. et excerptis Heylinianis, Wilkins, iii. pp. 725. "Tertio die mensis Martii [1531] articuli nonnulli pro examinatione mag. Crome, Latymer, et Bilnye proponerantur, qui 18 sequente hujus mensis die repetiti sunt. Sed ulterior deliberatio eorum in aliud tempus dilata est."

Page 458, note (1).—In confirmation of this part of Foxe's narrative we find in Wilkins certain minutes of the Convocation, and in the Tunstall Register the Latin Articles which Latimer was required to subscribe: these are printed at the end of this Appendix, No. VI.

It seems that Latimer got into further trouble with this Convocation the very next month, respecting a letter which he had written to Mr. Greenwood, one of his former opponents at Cambridge: see Nos. II. and VII., among the Documents at the end of this Appendix.

Page 460, note (1).—The original Latin of the above Inhibition is given from a copy in the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. VIII.: there evidently was some other recent Inhibition of Latimer, which has not yet been discovered: in the absence of that, the Editor has printed with the Inhibition of Latimer a more general one of the previous April, from a copy on the same sheet in the Rolls with the Inhibition of Latimer.

Page 461, line 7. "*Bishop of Worcester.*"—Latimer was installed August 30th, 1535.

Page 462, line 6. "*A many of us.*"—The Editions after 1563 read "great many:" but see the note on p. 639, *infra*.

Page 462, middle. "*Divers other conflicts and combats . . . in his own country and diocese.*"—Foxe presently enters at large into Latimer's persecution by Hubberdin and others at Bristol, in 1533: but there is also the Report of a Royal Commission which sat at Bristol, 7th May, 29 Hen. VIII. [1537], preserved in the Rolls House, Chapter House Papers, first Series, No. 66; consisting of depositions taken before the Mayor and the other Commissioners; the preaching of the Warden of the Grey Friars seems from this Report to have been of a papistical and seditious character: but William Oliver, prior of the Preaching Friars, was sound on justification, and had collected a cart-load of cowls and other trinkets to burn: John Kene, in Christ Church, Bristol, despised the new preachers and their learning; the hereticks (he said) grinned and laughed at him; he omitted to pray for the King; and called the bishop of Worcester a false varlet and heretick: Henry Jones, tailor, thought the bishop of Worcester a heretick: Sir John Rawlins hoped to bring a fagot to burn Latimer, and called him a false varlet and heretick: William Glaskeryon hoped before he died to see Latimer burned; rejoiced in the Northern Rebellion; and had the slanderous *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. The Report concludes:—"Dyverse other persons hath been in pryson for their sedycious and slanderous words hadde of the bishopp of Worcester, according to your Commission." See the Documents at the end of this volume, No. IX.

Page 463, line 4.]—Latimer and Shaxton resigned the same day, July 1st, 1539. Foxe seems, in this part of his narrative, to have followed Austin Bernher's Preface to Latimer's Sermons on the Lord's Prayer.

Page 463, line 17. "*The Tower where he continually remained prisoner,*" &c.]—This statement somewhat varies from that of Hilles in a Letter to Bullinger, ("Letters on the Reformation," Parker Soc. 1846, p. 215.) Writing in 1541, he says: "These two bishops *were* a long time under restraint, because they

would never give their sanction to the statute published against the truth in the year 1539."

Page 463, line 30. "*In this his painful travail he occupied himself . . . preaching for the most part every Sunday.*"—A curious and, it may be thought, a valuable proof of Bishop Latimer's popularity on such occasions occurs in Nichols's "Illustrations of ancient times in England from the Accompts of Churchwardens," &c. (Lond. 1797), under the head of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1519; when there was "Paid to *William Curlewe* for mending of divers pews that were broken when Dr. Lattymyer did preach, 0 1 6." p. 13.

Page 476, bottom.]—The allusion to the characters named in the conclusion of this letter will receive ample illustration from the Documents No. IX. at the end of this Appendix.

Some at least of these characters appear to have got into trouble for their proceedings at Bristol; for among the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, 1st Series, No. 1528, we find a list of persons (apparently prisoners), with the dates (apparently) of their incarceration. The paper is headed "William Delapoole," probably the jailor: and it concludes thus:—"Yt may please yr. maistership to have me in remembrance to the king's grace for two monethes lycens into the Country: that is to say oon, And then to retorne ayen iij^{er} or fyve dayes, And so to repayre another monethe." The last entry is of four coiners, July 6th, an. reg. xxvij [1535]. Among the entries we find, William Heberdyn, priest, 4th July, anno regni xxv^{to}. [1533]; Nicholas Wilson, doctor, 10th April, an. regni supradicto [1534]; Edwarde Powell, doctor, 10th June, anno regni xxvj^{to}. [1534]: also Thomas Abell, priest, 24th Dec., 1533, and Richard Fetherstone, priest, September 13th, 1534.—If the Heberdyn above mentioned be Latimer's opponent, he must have been incarcerated previously to the assembling of the Commission at Bristol, July 5th, 1533: see the Letter of John Bartholomew, Documents No. IX. There is also a deposition in No. 1500 of the same series of Papers against Dr. Powell by one of his own servants, for his opposition to the King's marriage.—Powell, Abell, and Fetherstone were executed in 1541: Wilson was persuaded by Cranmer to recant.—There is among the Harleian MSS. a Sermon preached by Hubberdin at the desire of some thieves who stopped him in Hampshire.

Page 476, note (1). "*The blood of Hayles.*"—The origin of this asserted portion of the Saviour's blood is given in the *Liber festivalis*, Paris, 1495 (fol. lxxxii. verso). A Jew is discovered in the days of Queen Helena, apparently in possession of a rood: "Thenne anone come all his neighbours wode for wrathe & all to bete this man: and drew hym and tugged hym in the worste maner that they cowde; and soo at the laste they sayde; al this is the ymage that thou belevest upon. And they toke the ymage & bete it and scourged it & crowned it with thornes; & at the last they made the strengest of hem to take a spere & with all his might to smyte it to the herte; and anone ther with blood & water ranne oute of the sydes. Thenne were they sore aferde thereof & sayde: take we pottes & fylle hem with this blood & lete us bere it in to the temple there as all the syke peple is of dyverse maladyes; & anoynt them ther with, & yf they be hole with the blood, thenne crye we God mercy and anone lete us be cristned man & woman. Thenne they annoynted the syke peple with this blood and anone they were hole. Thenne went thyse Jewis to the bysshop of the cyte & tolde him all the caas; & anone he kneeled downe on his knees & thanked God of this faire myracle. And whan he cristned the Jewis he toke yvoyles of glasse cristall & ambur & put of this blode in hem, & sent it aboute in diverse chirches; and of this blode, as many man understonde, *come to the blood of Hayles.*"

Page 477, line 4. "*No doubt he did miss the cushion*"—i.e. failed in his aim: see Nares' Glossary, or Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic words; *sub voc.*

Page 477, line 18. "*I could wish that it would please the king's grace to command me preach before his highness a whole year together every Sunday.*"—It was probably in consequence of this sentence that, by the good offices of Archbishop Cranmer, Latimer was called to preach before the King all the Wednesdays of Lent, 1534. (Cranmer's Works, Parker Soc. Ed. vol. ii. pp. 308, 309.)

Page 478, line 16 from the bottom. "*Magnesfeldie.*"]—Called "Marchfeldia," p. 483: Marshfield, a town in Gloucestershire, eleven miles east of Bristol; three miles to the right of it is Dyrham Park, whence this letter is dated.

Page 480, line 12. "*Origines . . . in Matthæum v.*"]—This is a rather misleading reference; the passage quoted appearing, with an unimportant variation, in the v. Hom. *in diversos*; tom. ii. p. 281, Paris, 1604. These Homilies are, however, incorrectly assigned to Origen, and do not appear in the Benedictine edition of his works. "*De Homiliis in diversos Matthæi locos constat Erasmo, non esse Origenis, sed hominis Latini; reliquas à Ruffino impudenter contaminatas. Sine dubio non sunt Origenis, inquit Bellarm. de Scrip. Eccles.*" Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. 2, cap. 13.

Page 482, line 28. "*At versabatur tum, inquis, Christus cum pauculis discipulis.*"] See Archdeacon Hare's "Mission of the Comforter," pp. 878, 918.

Page 485, line 28.]—See, on Latimer's University License, the next note but one.

Page 485, line 3 from end. "*Gather up my joyse.*"]—"The Agistatores in an old version of *Charta de foresta* are called Gyst-takers or walkers. Hence our graziers now call the foreign cattel which they take in to keep by the week, gisements or juicements (pronounced like the *joices* in building, corrupted from the French *ajousterment*, the cross pieces of timber that are adjusted or fitted to make the frame of the floor). And to gise or *juice* ground is when the Lord or tenant feeds it not with his own stock, but takes in other cattel, to agist or feed in it." (Kennet's Glossary in the new Edition of his Parochial Antiquities, or in Dunkin's Bicester.) In the Glossary to Matthew Paris (edit. 1640, p. 268) under "Agistare" is given, "*Adjouster a gist dicunt Galli; nos, joyst.*" (See also Spelman's and Boucher's Glossaries.)

Agistment tithe is a term still in use. "Agistment, Agisting, in the strict sense of the word, means the depasturing of a beast the property of a stranger. But this word is constantly used in the books, for depasturing the beast of an occupier of land as well as that of a stranger. The tithe of agistment is the tenth part of the value of the keeping or depasturing such cattle as are liable to pay it." (Jacob's Law Dictionary, v. Tithes.) Jacob goes on to show some of the peculiar intricacies and difficulties attending the settlement of agistment tithe, in a manner which well shews the opportunity afforded to a rapacious tithe-taker, and the force of Latimer's expression, "*gather up my joyse warily and narrowly.*" Kennet is inclined to interpret "agistamentum" with reference to the "ager," or place of feeding; and to consider it as the profit of depasturing cattle on such land, as if it were synonymous with "agrarium," "agerium," and "agroticum."

The phrase "gathering up," as applied to such matters, may be illustrated by a sentence quoted in the biography of Bishop Pilkington (p. vii., Parker Soc. edit.): "The Bishop of Chester hath compounded with my lord of York for his visitation, and *gathereth up* the money by his servants."

Page 487, line 6 from the bottom.]—Latimer's name appears as University Preacher in the Proctors' Accounts at Cambridge, with eleven others (Croke, Aldrydge, Gooddrydge, &c.), in the year 1522-3.

Page 489, line 26.]—Bromham, a seat five miles from Devizes.

Page 494, line 29. "*As it appeareth by his own words in the Prologue.*"]—These words did not come from Jerome's pen, and are printed, according to Oudin, in but few editions of his works; nor are they in the instance before us quoted quite accurately, though given with some improvement in the present edition of Foxe. The supposed Prologue is prefixed to the Catholic Epistles in Schœffer's edition of the Latin Vulgate, 1472, in the Complutensian Polyglott, vol. v., and in De Lyra's Commentaries. (See Oudin de Scripp. Eccles. tom. i. col. 823; and Horne's Introduction, iv. 462, edit. 1846.)

Page 495, note (7). "*Montes [non illos quidem qui vel leviter tacti fumigant] sed montes [veteris et] Novi Testamenti.*"]—The words between brackets do not appear in Jerome, nor is the remainder altogether verbally correct.

Page 498, line 19.]—Dr. Crome is stated to have submitted to the bishops,

May 11th, 1531. (See Appendix to vol. v., note on p. 537, and Documents No. XVI.)

Page 498, line 29. "*Tot quot.*"—See an explanation of this phrase at p. 571 of this volume, note (2).

Page 498, line 14 from the bottom, and note (6). "*Here followeth another letter,*" &c.]—In the first Edition we have this affair thus introduced, p. 1335 :—

"Here followeth another letter of his writing unto King Henry, where with most christen boldness he persuadeth the King that the Scripture and other good holson boke in the English tongue may be permitted to the people, which boke the Bishops at that time (wickedly conspiring together) went about by a public and authentic instrument to suppress: wherefore or we come to this letter of maister Latimer it shall not be impertinent, first by the way to set forth the said process and instrument of these Bishops, whereby to understand the better the effect of the foresaid letter of Maister Latimer answering to the same."

Then follows the episcopal proclamation of 1530, misdated by Foxe 1531. In the subsequent editions he adds a reference to the royal proclamation of 1546, not considering that this could have had nothing to do with producing Latimer's remonstrance in 1530. The Editor has substituted a reference to the royal proclamation of 1529, though not strictly to the purpose. Latimer himself in his letter refers to the royal proclamation of 1530, not mentioned by Foxe. (See Document No. III. at the end of this volume.)

Page 503, line 20 from the bottom. "*To be imputed or arrected.*"—Halliwell quotes from Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 271: therefore he arrecteth no blame of theyr deddes unto them;" and upon "*arctid*," used in Wycliffe's *Apology for the Lollard Doctrines*, Dr. Todd remarks (p. 134) "*arctid*: Reckoned, accounted, *nos putavinus eum*, Is. liii. 4." In the Wycliffite translation of Rom. iv. 4, we find, "to hym that worchith, mede is not *arctid* by grace, but bi dette;" and Cardinal Wolsey writes, "I beseeche yow to *arrect* no blame to me." (Fiddes' Life, Collections, p. 8.)

Page 503, line 16 from the bottom. "*Againsaying.*"—This word is found repeatedly in the Wycliffite version of the New Testament; as in Luke xxi. 15; Acts iv. 14; Titus i. 9. (See Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic words, p. 128; and also pp. 495, 507, and 509 of the present volume of Foxe.)

Page 505, middle.]—The subscriptions of the three Notaries have been printed at full from the Warham Register in order to show the mistake of Henry Wharton (see Harmer's Specimen of Errors) in representing Latimer as having actually *subscribed* the bishops' Proclamation: he positively states at p. 509 that three or four protested, of whom doubtless he himself was one.

Page 506, line 19.]—The heading to Latimer's Letter in the Edition of 1563 is, "The letter of maister Latimer written to King Henry, answering to the foresaid inhibition of the Byshops."

Page 506, line 21.]—There is a copy of Latimer's Letter to Henry in the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, "Polit. and Theolog. Tracts," vol. A. 1. 13, folio 301, varying, however, considerably in phraseology from Foxe's: there is also a part of another copy in the same volume, folio 189, commencing with the words, "realm, yea between the king and his subjects," &c. (p. 507, line 7 from the bottom): this varies, but not much, from the other; neither has the date at the end: some of the readings are much better than Foxe's.

Page 506, line 3 from the bottom. "*Banbury glosses.*"—The Rolls copy reads "barbarous glosses." See more in the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 506, note (3). "*I would say.*"—On this idiom, see note to vol. iii. p. 319, and vol. v. p. 635, vol. vi. p. 441, and p. 713 of this vol., and vol. viii. p. 172.

Page 507, line 9. "*But again, as concerning,*" &c.]—The reading in the Rolls Copy seems much better: "But of the other part, as concerning that ye be but a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which all we be both conceived and born; and so having no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ; and thoff ye be an higher member, yet ye must not disdain the less; for as St. Paul

saiht, Those members which be taken as vilest and of least reputation be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body:—This most gracious King when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write these humble, simple, and rude letters," &c.

Page 509, line 6.]—Respecting the Royal Proclamation here and lower down alluded to, see the Addenda and Document No. III.

Page 509, note (2).]—Latimer meant probably Crome, Thixtill, and himself: there might be others: but Cranmer and Cromwell could scarcely be meant. It is curious that this sentence in the text, "And howbeit . . . to go forth in English," is imperfect in both the copies at the Rolls House; which read:—"And howbeit as it is ever seen, that the most part overcometh the better:" the incompleteness of this sentence shews that the transcriber has omitted something, which Foxe's copy happily supplies in all his Editions.

Page 510, line 12 from the bottom.]—In the Edition of 1563, p. 1348, Latimer's letter breaks off here with the following notice:—

☞ *More of this letter came not to our handes (gentle reader): and yet we would not defraud thee of that we had, considering the pithiness thereof.*

Page 513, note (5).]—Latimer here follows Erasmus's translation. (See the note *suprà*, on p. 217.)

Page 515, line 25. "*As Germans' lips.*"—The same comparison occurs in Calhill's Answer to Martiall, p. 345 (Parker Soc. Edit.): and in [Bagshaw's] 'True relation of the faction begun at Wisbich, imprinted 1601,' p. 88; "as just as Jermaine's lippes."

Page 523, line 12. "*Against the Sacrament.*"—In Edition 1563, "against the Lord's Supper."

Page 531, note (3).]—The title is:—"A sermon very notable, fructefull, and Godlie, made at Paule's crosse the xii. daie of Novembre, in the first yere of the gracious reigne of our Sovereigne ladie . . . by James Brokis, Dr. of Div. and Master of Bailye Col. in Oxforth: anno Dñi 1553."

The "clipping," to which Latimer adverts in the context, does not seem to be *very* prominent in this edition; it may be more so in one which followed a year or two afterwards. But see the passage in Dr. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. ii. 643; and Herbert's *Typog. Antiq.* p. 1796.

Page 536, note (1).]—The following is the passage of the "*Loci Communes*" to which the bishop of Lincoln refers, as it appears for the first time in the Edition of 1541, cap. "*De participatione Mensæ Domini*:"—

"Disputant etiam de metaphorâ. Sed sentis, Christum veniè adesse sacramento suo, et ibi efficacem esse. Sicut ait Hilarius: 'Quæ sumpta et hausta faciunt, ut Christus sit in nobis et nos in Christo.' Et Cyrillus inquit in Joan. cap. 15: 'Unde considerandum est, non habitudine solum, quæ per caritatem intelligitur, Christum in nobis esse, verum etiam participatione naturali.'"

In the Edition of 1561, under the head "*De Cœnâ Domini*," the passage is thus revised:—

"Nec est inane speculum, sed Christus reverà adest, dans per hoc ministerium suum corpus et sanguinem manducanti et bibenti, sicuti et veteres scriptores loquuntur: Cyrillus in Joanne inquit: 'Unde considerandum est, Christum non solum per dilectionem in vobis esse, sed etiam naturali participatione,' &c. Et Hilarius ait," &c.

The revisions made in the successive Editions of Melancthon's "*Common Places*," from 1541 to 1555, were such as to render them almost new works.

Page 539, line 8 from the bottom. "*Burdenous to your soul.*"—In the first edit. p. 1372, the reading is "ponderous."

Page 540, line 2 from the bottom. "*Your lordship often doth inculke.*"—This reading of the first Edition, p. 1372, "inculke," is altered subsequently into "repeat": but it occurs *suprà* vol. iv. 604, and vol. vi. 223; and may be supported or illustrated from Sir Thomas More: "Whereas Christ hath . . . so often repeated it, and in such effectually wise inculked it." (Workes, p. 1099.)

Page 541, line 6.]—For "bishops" we ought to read "Proconsul:" see *Acta Cypriani*, § 3.

Page 511, line 9. "*And again demanded.*"—After the Edition of 1563 the

word "being" is inserted before "demanded;" as if Latimer had been asked the question, or rather *Cyprian*. But the notion that Cyprian was asked, would be inconsistent with the history: and the question comes better *from* than *to* Latimer: on this supposition, "he" in the next line but one, and at the end of the paragraph, means Latimer.

Page 544, line 2.]—See Appendix to vol. vi., note on p. 691.

Page 544, line 9. "*At which words one Edridge.*"—Or Etheridge: see Cranmer's Works (Parker Soc. Edit.) vol. ii. p. 383, and Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* i. 546, edit. 1813. See also Warton's *English Poetry*, iv. 109, edit. 1824.

Page 545, line 5 from the bottom. "*Made without fraud or coven.*"—"Coven," which subsequent editions have corrupted into "cunning," is here restored from the first edition (p. 1379). The better spelling seems to be "covin." (See note above on page 12.)

Page 546, line 20. "*For it was almost half a year after his deposition afore I did enter into that place.*"—Bonner was removed from the Episcopate of London October 1st, 1549, and Ridley entered April 1st, 1550. (Richardson's *Godwin*.)

Page 547, line 6 from the bottom. "*And faced with foyns?*"—"The *Fooyne* appears to have been the same as the polecat or fitchet. . . 'Foyns, a furre, *foynnes*;' Palsgrave. In the Inventory of the wardrobe and jewels of Henry V., taken in 1423 at his decease, are mentioned, 'gounes de noier damask furrez de sides de *foynes* et marterons,' and the value of this kind of fur is ascertained by the following entry: 'iii. pares de foyns, chascun cont' c. bestes, pris le pec' xd. xii li. xs.,' the *marteron* being more costly." (Mr. Way's note on *Prompt. Parvulorum*, p. 168.)

Page 551, bottom. "*The latter Appendix.*"—For some things relating to Ridley, see vol. viii. pp. 701—708, and the notes in the Appendix on those pages.

Page 559, line 1. "*Should be by and by declared.*"—It may be observed that the word "declare" is used here and elsewhere in the present volume of Foxe, in the sense of "explain, make clear, prove:" see Articles of the Church of England, No. XXI., and St. John's Gospel, i. 18.

Page 561, line 25. "*As Tertullian saith.*"—De *Præscrip. Hæret.* § 21.

Page 561, line 10 from the bottom. "*Doth spiritually mell.*"—"Mell" means to meddle with: see Nares's Glossary. In Strype's *Cranmer* (Appendix 49) we have some rhymes ending,

"Now God speed thee well,
And I will no more mell."

Page 565, line 5 from the bottom. "*To and fro in sheep's pilches.*"—"Pilch, or Pilcher, a scabbard; from pylche, a skin-coat, Saxon." Nares's Glossary.

Page 578, note (4).]—See above, p. 277, line 15 from the bottom. "He . . . hath marked us not only with the sign of the cross on our garments, as we have before said, but also (I trust) with the sygn of tau in our souls; the which sign beareth the figure and similitude of such a cross T, of the which sign speaketh the prophet Ezekiel, and none may perish as long as that sign is imprinted in their souls by grace." *The pilgrimage of perfection*, fol. xxvi. verso, edit. printed by W. de Worde, Lond. 1531. But see Calhill's Answer to Martiall on the Crosse (Parker Soc. edit. pp. 106—108), for abundant reference and some correction on the point.

Page 584.]—"When a Protestant Synod was to be convoked, in 1555, at Pinczow, Calvin wrote to the most influential Protestants in Poland, urging them to invite Lismanini, as one who might prove of great use to their cause. Many eminent persons interceded in his behalf, and the departure of Queen Bona, who left Poland the same year, removed the great obstacle to his return. He arrived in Poland in June 1555, but remained for some time concealed at Ivanovitze, in the house of a noble lady called Agnes Dluski." See Krasinski's *Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. i. p. 278. Lond. 1838.

Page 592, line 8 from the bottom.]—Foxe erroneously says, "*The 19th day*

of *October*." This anecdote was first introduced in the edition of 1583, p. 1787.

Page 593, line 31. "*And instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings.*"—The first Edition (p. 1383) reads somewhat differently: "A certein tretise of D. Ridley, wherein is declared contradictions in the workes of Winchester;" &c. These are included in Archbishop Cranmer's Works, vol. iii. p. 555.

Page 597, note (1). "*The book of John Elder, sent into Scotland.*"—It is called a letter, and is directed "To the ryght Rev. . . . Lord Robert Stuarde Bishoppe of Catheness," &c., and entitled, "Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the arrival and landyunge, and most noble marryage of the most Illustre Prynce Philippe," &c., and concludes, "From the citie of London this new yeares day, and the first of y^e Kalendars of January, 1555. By your Reverende Lordeshippes humble oratour, John Elder." Imprinted in Flete-strete, by John Waylande. (Dibdin's Typograph. Ant. iii. 525.) There is a copy of this letter in the Grenville Library, vol. i. p. 221.

Page 597, line 29. "*Charge us with dissension and repugnance among ourselves.*"—These variations are not at all peculiar to the Protestants; the Bishop of Winchester himself and many others were, to say the least, equally at variance with themselves, and "pliable." See the Addenda for a curious illustration of this.

Page 598, note (18). "*In Gloss. [in cap. 56] 'non iste.' Thom. parte 3,*" &c.]—In the *Secunda Secundæ*, however, of Aquinas the very words are, "sed manet quamdium per calorem naturalem digeratur." The Gloss above referred to on cap. 56, *Non iste*, is as follows, taken from the edition Venetiis, 1477: "Non incorporatur, sicut cæteri cibi qui in stomacho digeruntur, vel non descendit in stomachum, sicut ille cibus corporalis, vel non transit in sustentationem corporis, sicut ille; est enim cibus animæ non corporis," &c.

Page 601, line 4.]—After this the first Edition, p. 1385, contains the following additional Proposition and Contradiction:—

"The syxt of John speaketh not of anye promise made to the eating of a token of Christes fleshe: p. 10, line 24. The syxt of John must nedes be understood of corporall eatynge in the sacrament: p. 19, lin. 9."

Page 606.]—It appears from the title of Foxe's Latin edition of these Examinations, Basil, 1559, that Philpot wrote these examinations himself, and that they were translated into Latin by Foxe: "Mira ac elegans cum primis Historia vel Tragædia potius, de tota ratione Examinationis et Condemnationis J. Philpotti, Archidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti: ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinam versa, interprete J. F. A."

When we consider the difficulties under which Philpot wrote (see pp. 648, 656, 659, 677, 680), we shall not wonder at finding many imperfections in the style, which he had no opportunity of revising. Grindal, in a letter to Foxe, dated August 1st, 1556 (Grindal's Works, Parker Soc. p. 221) observes: "De Philpotti examinationibus hoc tibi dicam quod sentio. Sunt in illis quædam quæ limâ opus habent. Videtur sese nescio quomodo irretire in vocabulis quibusdam non satis approbatis, quod Christus sit realiter in cena, &c. Si liber Anglicus non fuisset divulgatus, potuissent quædam in eo mitigari. Deinde citat veteres aliquando memoriter, destitutus præsidio librorum, qua in re facilis est lapsus: ut quod Athanasium dicit præfuisse concilio Nicæno; quamvis tantum eo tempore esset Alexandrini Episcopi (si bene memini) diaconus; etiamsi disputando &c. plus quam alii laboraverit, atque ita possit dici præfuisse; sed ibi de honore et primatu controversia est. Fortasse tu etiam alia similia reperisti; nam hæc exempli causa adduxi: utere judicio tuo. Audivi etiam D. Martyrem et D. Bullingerum in illis scriptis D. Hooperi optasse illi fuisse [aliquid] temporis et otii ad illa recognoscenda: Nam quæ erant subito et in carcere scripta, non satis munite causam tum multorum disputationibus exagitatam, pro ratione hujus exulcerati sæculi, scripsisse. Non arrego nili partes criticas, sed candidè pro meo more animi mei sensa communico. Non dubito quin si tu emittas in publicum, censoriam notam ubi opus fuerit adhibebis. Sunt hic apud nos quædam de ipsius historia, sed plura expectantur: ea fortasse commodissimè inter cæterorum gesta

poterunt collocari. Ac fortassis, etiamsi separatim Philpotti examinationes emittas, poterunt eadem denuo magno operi inter acta inseri." Foxe certainly acted on this hint, and in his elegant Latin translation of the Examinations has corrected errors and explained many obscure passages in Philpot's text. Some quotations from the Latin will be given in these notes to clear up difficult passages. It appears from Grindal's letter above quoted, that the Examinations had been already published in English before August, 1556, though the bibliographers mention none previous to that of Henry Sutton, 1559: this is probably the same as that given in Foxe, 1563, which Foxe in his later editions has tried to mend in some places.

Page 613, note (3).]—The expression *fytte* was anciently applied to the cantos or divisions of a poem which was sung or recited. (Vide Strutt, &c. : Pulpit Oratory of the time of James I. by Rev. J. H. Bloom, Norwich, 1831, p. 54: also Percy's English Poetry, ed. 1839, pp. 21, 133.) Bale, in his "Yet a course at a Romysh Foxe," 1543, under the name of Harryson, has (p. 12), "And thys is thereof the first fytte."

Philpot, or whoever first printed these Examinations, has regarded them as the successive Acts of a Tragedy: see the close of the first Examination p. 609, which the Latin Edition, p. 546, thus renders: "Atque hactenus habes hujus tragœdiæ prothesin:" and at the close of the seventh Examination the Latin says, p. 588, "Habetis itaque alterum tragœdiæ hujus actum."

Page 616, note (3).]—Foxe here profited from Grindal's hint about Philpot's error, in stating that Athanasius "was president of the Nicene Council:" for when he came to translate this answer of Philpot's into Latin, he used the word "*adfulit*" not "*præfuit*": "Quanquam, nisi me fallo, ne id quidem unquam demonstrabis, quod de Athanassi temporibus dicis. Etenim *adfulit* tum Nicænæ Synodo Athanasius, in qua nihil unquam decretum fuisse hujusmodi, id compertissimum habeo." (Latin Ed. Basil, 1559, p. 556).

Page 617, line 28. "*Galatians the first.*"—To make this reference complete, the reading ought to be, "the first chapter and eighteenth verse, and the second chapter and first verse."

Page 617, lines 31 and 34.]—The Latin (p. 557) says, "Hierosolymis:" but the Edition of 1563 strangely omits "at Jerusalem."

Page 617, line 32. "*What! did Peter, &c.*"—In the Latin Edition, p. 557, we read: "Et quid ergo tandem Petrus scribit ad Galatas?" But the Edition of 1563 reads, "What, did Peter write to the Galatians?"

Page 617, line 36. "*Because she agreeth not,*" &c.]—This obscure passage has been somewhat cleared by a change in the punctuation. Foxe's text has it thus: "which they wrote. The primitive Church did use," &c. The Latin (p. 557) makes the sense clear: "Adde quod et illud probare potero, tum hoc ipso Eusebio auctore tum ex historiis aliorum, ecclesiam Romanam manifestè errasse atque etiam errare, eo quòd minus consentiat cum iis quæ primitiva ecclesia (ut scribunt illi) juxta evangelii pura decreta sequeatur. Quanquam haud alio argumento in hac re opus est, quam ut harum ecclesiarum alteram cum alterâ conferamus, primitivam videlicet cum Romanâ."

Page 617, note (1). "*I find not in Eusebius that Peter should be bishop of Rome twenty-five years.*"—The assertion is made in Jerome's Latin representation of the Chronicle of Eusebius (p. 160 in the "Thesaurus Temporum," Amst. 1658), on which Scaliger remarks: "Adjuncta sunt ab Hieronymo; et ab eodem repetuntur in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiast. Græca enim non habent. Ab assumptione Domini ad id tempus quo Petrus conjectus fuit in vincula ab Herode. . . Petrus semper fuit in Palæstina, aut in Syria. Herodes Agrippa obiit quarto anno Claudii, numero MMLX. Quomodo igitur anno secundo Claudii profectus est Romam? quomodo 25 annos Romæ perseveravit?" See also Basnage's *Annales Politico-Eccles.* ad an. 42 § 9, and Elliott's "Delineation of Roman Catholicism," Lond. 1844, p. 633, &c.

A modern Romish author has endeavoured to set aside the argument against St. Peter's having resided in Rome as a pontiff, derived from the absence of any mention of him by St. Paul when there himself, by paralleling the omission

of St. James's name in the Epistle to the Hebrews; an argument which might have its weight, had St. Paul written *from* Jerusalem, which he did not. (See Schmid's "Historia Canonis," Lips. 1775, p. 595, and Horne's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 422.) St. Peter's having been at Rome, and his having enjoyed a twenty-five years' Episcopate there, are, it should be remembered, quite distinct subjects. (See Foxe, vol. i. Append. p. 393.)

Page 621, line 7. "*Did not speak . . . but αγωνιστικῶς.*"—A distinction of some antiquity, but used rather mistakingly by the bishop. "Huc pertinet distinctio Basilii Ep. 64, cui cum objiceretur dictum Gregorii Thaumaturgi, qui in expositione fidei dixisset, *Patrem et Filium juxta mentis considerationem duos esse, hypostasi vero unum*; hoc (inquit) οὐ δογματικῶς ἀλλ' αγωνιστικῶς, non dogmatice, sed contentiose in disputatione adversus *Ælianum dictum esse intelligere nequiverunt.*" Rivet's Crit. Sac. de Patrum auctoritate, cap. xi. § 4, And Harding observes: "The learned, that be well seen in the Fathers, know they must use a discretion, and a sundry judge between the things they write *agonistikῶς*, that is to say by way of contention or disputation, and the things they utter *dogmatikῶς*, that is by way of setting forth a doctrine, or matter of faith." Art. xii. div. 10, in Bp. Jewell's Replie. So in Jerome's "Apologia pro libris contra Jovin.," cap. 4; *Aliud est γυμναστικῶς scribere, aliud δογματικῶς.* See Daillé's "Use of the Fathers," pp. 97, 113, edit. 1841.

Page 623, line 17. "*Doth St. Augustine,*" &c.]—"Itane dicit aut sentit Augustinus, ut hic narrat, D. Curtoppe? quid ais?" Lat. Ed. p. 564.

Page 623, line 32. "*I require you to prove,*" &c.]—"Qua ratione commonstretis Romanam Ecclesiam catholicam hanc quam dicimus ecclesiam esse, id a vobis requiro." Lat. Ed. p. 564.

Page 624, line 11. "*Yea, that it was,*" &c.]—"Verissimum hoc est; recte et commodè dixisti, D. Curtoppe?" Lat. Ed. p. 564.

Page 625, line 7 from the bottom. "*And [saith] that heresies did spring,*" &c.]—The following are Cyprian's words:—"Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quàm inde quòd sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur: cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non episcopi sed Dei faceret." (Cypriani Op. Paris, 1726, Ep. lv. p. 82.) The sentence in the text is according to the Edition of 1563, except that "saith" is put in from the Latin Edition, and "ones" is corrected into "one," on the authority of Cyprian's language above quoted. The subsequent English Editions read: "And that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor that they considered him to be in the church for the time the priest, and for the time the judge in Christ's stead."

The Latin Edition differs very materially from the English:—"Neque vero aliunde nasci in ecclesia hæreses dicit, quam quod contempto episcopatus vigore sublimi ac divinæ potestati non obediatur: nequaquam Romanum sentiens pontificem, sed quemcumque demum intra suam eparchiam (quemadmodum in concilio Nicæno sancitum est) patriarcham. Quorum tum unusquisque sedem propriam et collegium doctorum habebat sacerdotum. Sic enim verba habent ipsius, in eadem mox epistola: Nam cum statutum sit ab omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit ascripta quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, &c. Ex quo facile vides, quænam beati Cypriani fuerit hac de re sententia." (P. 567.)

Page 626, line 25. "*And writing ad Evagium he saith.*"—This is commonly written "Evagrium:" the works of Jerome, Paris, 1706, tom. iv. col. 803, read "Evangelum." It has been objected to the alleging the passage here cited, and perhaps with some reason, that it does not prove exactly what it is wanted to support—the equality of bishops; St. Jerome's object being to show that a

prelate's rank is not affected by the quality of the see he may happen to occupy. The passage is quoted at length and paraphrastically explained in Hooker, book vii. v. § 6. Still Rome takes little if anything by the objection.

Page 626, note (3).]—The text of Foxe refers by a misprint to the 10th Tractate on John. The passage in the 50th Tractate runs thus: “Nam si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, quæcunque solveris in terra soluta erunt et in cœlo, et quæcunque ligaveris in terra ligata erunt et in cœlo. Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc Ecclesia: si autem et in Ecclesia sit, ut quæ in terra ligantur in cœlo ligentur et quæ solvuntur in terra solvantur in cœlo (quia cum excommunicat Ecclesia in cœlo ligatur excommunicatus, cum reconciliatur ab Ecclesia in cœlo solvitur reconciliatus)—si hoc ergo in Ecclesia sit, Petrus quando claves accepit ecclesiam sanctam designavit.” There is nothing of this kind in the 10th Tractate.

Page 626, line 34.]—“Quod suis promisit Dominus.” Latin Ed. p. 567.

Page 628, line 2.]—“An non majores nostri,” &c. (Lat. Ed.) The Edition of 1563 reads, “your forefathers.”

Page 628, line 4 from the bottom.]—“Whistered,” introduced here from Edit. 1563, may be supported from vol. viii. p. 170, line 23.

Page 629, line 16. “*What you have to say.*”]—“Have to say,” Ed. 1563: later Editions, “can say”: the Latin, “Nunc audiant quod pro te afferre poteris.”

Page 632, line 24. “*So I am able,*” &c.]—“Igitur ut dnos hos locos simul per Scripturam conjunxi, idem et in cæteris articulis omnibus licebit facere: Quorum necessaria fides ex Divinæ Scripturæ manifesta interpretatione colligenda est.” Lat. Ed. p. 574. All the Editions after 1563 insert “and” before “by the manifest word of God to expound them,” which seems redundant.

Page 633, line 32. “*And thereunto both the spiritually,*” &c.]—In this sentence, all the Editions after 1563 improperly insert “was” before “gathered,” also “and” before “gave:” the Latin says, p. 576, “Secundum hanc itaque a reliquis pronuntiatum est, qui tum ex utraque multitudine et laicorum et ecclesiasticorum conveniebant, suaque tum suffragia et consensum juxta scripture censuram accomodabant.”

Page 634, line 28.]—“At idem nec materia nec natura ipsa panis dicendus est.” Lat. Ed. p. 577.

Page 634, note (5). “*Naturæ suæ contraria.*”]—See bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. vi.

Page 635, line 31. “*Making a great process.*”]—The Latin (p. 578) says, “Post hæc D. Chedseius altè repetito principio multa mecum habuit, quorum hujusmodi fere summa erat.”

Page 635, line 15 from the bottom. “*A good meany.*”]—All the Editions subsequent to the first read “many:” but see note on p. 639, infra. “Aderant id temporis (sit Deo gratia) ex nobilitate reliquisque ordinibus complures boni viri.” Lat. Ed. p. 578.

Page 636, line 6.]—Philpot here, and at p. 683, distinctly confesses to the authorship of the “Disputation in the Convocation House” in 1553: see vol. vi. p. 395. At p. 660, by a corruption of the text, in some Editions, Philpot is made to speak in a manner which might possibly be misinterpreted to imply that he was not the author: see the note infra on that page.

Page 636, line 8.]—All the Editions read “Hertford,” except the first, which has “Harforde:” the Latin (p. 579), “Hatfordiæ.”

Page 637, line 7. “*Except (I say) these three parts be first performed.*”]—These words are not found in the Edition of 1563; but they are in the Latin (p. 580): “Quocirca nisi verbis iis accedant insuper tres illæ reliquæ partes, quæ Sacramentum integrum absolvunt, gratiæ nimirum pro Christi redemptione actæ, annuntiatio mortis ejus ad redificationem ecclesiæ, acceptio item et manducatio, non fit Sacramentum. At in missa vestra formula hæc non observatur: certe verborum illa pronuntiatio, quæ ultima pars est Sacramenti, nec locum habet, nec quicquam efficere poterit.”

Page 637, line 11. "*No did, master doctor?*"—In the Notes and Queries, First Series, vol. vii. p. 520, we have a number of examples of this idiom, taken chiefly from this and the next volume of Foxe: see "*No did?*" pp. 648, 690; "*No will you?*" pp. 644, 651; "*No will?*" pp. 295, 658; "*No doth?*" pp. 661, 663; "*No do?*" p. 665; "*No have?*" viii. 164; "*No dost?*" *ibid.* We have also "*Yea do?*" twice at p. 663.

Page 637 line 32. "*Philpot: Let him revoke,*" &c.]—This answer differs so much from the wording in the first Edition (p. 1411), that it may be best to give it as it appears there:—

"Let him revoke that he hath sayd, and then must it nedes folowe, that this is my body hath no place, except blysse take and eate duely goe before. And because the same do [not] goe before, thys is my body, in your sacrament of the Masse, it is not the sacrament of Christ," &c. Foxe's "Errata" supplies the above "not." The reading in the text, however, is closer to the Latin Edition, p. 581.

Page 637, line 11 from the bottom.]—The words between stars from the Edition of 1563 are likewise agreeable to the text of the Latin Edition.

Page 638, line 13 from the bottom. "*Master Dee, and a bachelor of divinity.*"—See notes above, on pp. 77, 85. Foxe's text of 1563, 1570, says "Master Dee, bachelor of divinity." But the bachelor of divinity was "alter nescio quis;" see note on p. 642. Dee was never B.D., the words "and a" have therefore been introduced. After 1570 this whole clause is omitted.

Page 639, line 23. "*A meany of prentices.*"—The Latin Edition, p. 583, says: "Superiori die sese cum adolescentibus aliquot Londinensibus oblectantes, supra domus testudinum plumbeo obductam tectorio conscenderunt," &c. "Meany" seems to mean here a *company* or *retinue*, as in vol. iii. pp. 11, 306; vol. vi. p. 630: the word is so used by Lambard, in his *Perambulation of Kent* (p. 76, edit. 1826), "the Archbishop of Canterbury (through the multitude of his *meiny*) obtained the better;" and *suprà*, p. 635, "a good meany of noblemen." (See also note above on p. 462.) In several of the later editions of Foxe, and in reprints from him, this word has lost its peculiar meaning, from "of" being omitted.

Page 642, [middle.]—"Inter hæc subingressus est alter nescio quis, theologiæ candidatus atque ex clientela episcopi Londinensis, qui tum Grecam literaturam Oxoniæ profitebatur." (Latin, p. 386.) See the Addenda.

Page 642, note (8).]—Foxe here, as well as at p. 616, corrects Philpot's error about Athanasius; for he translates this passage thus: "In eo enim concilio præsidebat non Romanus episcopus, sed alius." (Basil, 1559, p. 587.)

Page 644, line 2.]—The words, "of their own setting up," do not appear in the Edition of 1563.

Page 645, line 2.]—"Hæ sunt tuæ, dignæ videlicet episcopo, eleemosynæ." Lat. Edit. p. 589.

Page 646, line 4 from the bottom. "*We think it lawful to swear for a man,*" &c.]—The words "for a man," &c., are connected in construction with "lawful,"—"lawful for a man," &c. "Nequaquam illicitum juramentum esse arbitramur, modo si quis jure publico in apertum forum legitime vocatus jurat." Lat. Edit. p. 591. It would seem more natural to have put this observation into the mouth of the *prisoners*, than into Philpot's; the Latin and all the English Editions, however, give it to Philpot.

Page 648, line 7.]—"A great many of houses" is the reading in the old Editions, where "many" means "multitude." (See Todd's Johnson.) The Latin Edition (p. 593) says, "Summa ædificiorum multorum culmina tantum prospicere liceat."

Page 651, line 20. "*With St. Augustine's Epistles, saying.*"—Instead of "Epistles," the reference should be apparently to the *Sermones*; and to that *De tempore* 251, now placed in the Appendix (as not coming from Augustine himself), tom. v. Edit. Bened. No. CCLXXX. § 3.

Page 651, line 26. "*And [specially] on the Sabbath,*" &c.]—"And" is put in from the Edition of 1563, "specially" from the Latin, p. 597, "maximè diebus festis et dominicis."

Page 651, line 7 from the bottom. "*Is used as that was.*"—Altered after the Edition of 1563 into, "is used as then it was." "Quod nisi vos demonstrare possitis vestram hanc missam similiter ad horum temporum exempla quadrare, nunquam efficietis ex hoc nomine missæ," &c. Lat. Ed. p. 598.

Page 653, line 32. "*Eril you knew by me.*"—See note above on page 106: and to the examples of "by" there given, add 2 Thess. ii. 1: "Now we beseech you, brethren, *by* the coming," &c. *i.e.* with respect to, Gr. ὑπέρ.

Page 653, line 35. "*When we met in disputation in 'Parvis.'*"—Parvise, Lat. Parvisium, contracted from Paradisus (Gr. παραδείσος); a church porch: where schools were kept, and courts held, and other matters transacted. (See Glossary of Architecture, Oxford, 1840, and Ducange.) Fosbroke says that in the middle ages schools were generally held in a room, called *Parvis*, over the church porch. (Encyclop. of Antiqu.) See Warton's Eng. Poetry. ii. 213 note, edit. 1810.

"*Parvis.*" Fr. contracted from *Paradis*, Παραδείσος, τόπος ἐν ᾧ περιπάτου. Hesych. *Locus porticibus et deambulatoriis circumdatus.* A portico, or court, before a church, Fr. Gl. in *Paradisus*. The place before the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, called "*Parvis*" in Chaucer, "*Romaunt of the Rose,*" 7158, was anciently called "*Paradis.*" (Glossary to Urry's Chaucer; see also Richardson's Dictionary, *in voc.*) Hence the word seems to have been applied to the public schools at the Universities, which were perhaps formerly built in a quadrangle, over porticos, like Nevil's Court, Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Latin Edition (p. 600) thus expresses this portion of the narrative:—

"Philpotus. Nihil mali (opinor) Oxoniæ unquam perpetravi, cujus me valde insimulare queas.

"Harpsf. Nihil mali in moribus unquam deprehendi. Attamen in diatribis parvuli quum essemus, si meministis, pertinax semper eras sententiæ semel susceptæ assertor, unde haud facile repelli posses.

"Philpotus. Domine Harpsfelde, dum in scholasticis diatribis adhuc adolescentibus simul exercebamur," &c.

Foxe, who made this Latin translation of Philpot's examinations, does not appear to have understood the particular meaning of *Parvis*, as a phrase for *the Schools*.

Page 655, line 20 from the bottom.]—"Very," in this and the next line, is from the Edition of 1563: the Latin has "*valdè proximus*" in the first instance, and "*proximus*" in the second.

Page 655, line 17 from the bottom. "*That the father shall be,*" &c.]—"Dissideret" (Lat. Ed. p. 603), "should be:" "*suæ veritatis causâ*" (*ibid.*), all Editions after 1563 read erroneously "*my truth's sake.*"

Page 658, line 32. "*It is even the saying of St. Bernard.*"—The expression appears in Tertullian '*De Præscrip. Hæret.*' § 28, and in the treatise '*De Virg. Veland.*' cap. 1.

Page 659, line 12.]—"Primum custodiæ Doctoris Chadsei, deinde Doctoris Rayi [Dayi], magni illius (sic enim appellavit) exorcistæ." Lat. Ed. p. 607. See Edition of 1563, and note on p. 77.

Page 659, line 16 from the bottom. "*I cannot tell for what purpose, I.*"—"In quem usum planè incertum habeo." Lat. Ed. p. 608.

Page 660, line 14.]—The Editions 1563, 1570, read here "because *it* [*i.e.* the book] setteth forth:" the Latin (p. 609) supports this reading by making Philpot speak in the first person, "*Hoc unum veræ deest narrationi, quod in tuis factis traducendis nimis calamo pepercerim, multa interim suppressim ac dissimulans, quæ tu ibi in me tum archidiaconum, tum nec omnium infimum, in eâ disputatione evomisti.*" All Editions after 1570 corrupt "*it*" into "*he,*" which makes Philpot speak as though, not himself, but some one else were the author. See note above on p. 636.

Page 660, line 34. "*Whiles I bring my lord of Durham going.*"—"To bring one going, to bring one on one's way, to accompany a person part of a journey." (Halliwell's Archaic Dict.) See viii. 429. In Greek it is προπέμπειν; see Acts xv. 3.

Page 661, line 4.]—"Si quæ dicit comprobet." Latin Ed. p. 610.

Page 661, note (2). "*Ad Romanos . . . perfidia accedere non potest.*"—How true this is, and has been, of the church of Rome for ages, of course needs no pointing out. But neither does this, nor any of the passages quoted from the Fathers—just admitting the interpretation put upon them to be correct—prove that St. Peter was invested with a *sovereign* directing authority either over his co-apostles, or the church universal. So little, indeed, have the bishop of Rome and his admirers been content to rely on the imaginary evidence of either Scripture or Tradition alone, that it has been found necessary to help the case out by corrupting Ambrose, Cyprian, Augustine, and even Pope Gregory himself (see James's Corruption of Fathers, Councils, &c., edited by Rev. J. E. Cox, pp. 75—129), to testify in behalf of the Roman pontiff's supremacy. The Decretal books of course aided and shared in giving support of this description to the exclusive advantage of the said bishop (as in Dist. 93, § 3), making, among other, free use of the forged Decretal Epistles, which though learned members of the church of Rome now occasionally abandon, yet at other times they will quietly trade with; just as Dr. Lingard, the English historian, thinks it as well to retain *some* hold of the Nag's-head fable. "Retinuit (writes Boehmer) Gratiani Decretum eam auctoritatem illibatam usque ad sæculum xvi., quo *Centuriatores* has Decretales in jus vocarunt, eisque litem super legitimis natalibus moverunt, quorum in castra quoque se retulit *Anton. Contius* in Præf. editionis Corp. Juris Canonici Antverpiæ typis exsculptæ, an. 1570, quæ ea de causa a censoribus Rom. suppressa et mutilata est, ut observarunt J. P. Gibertus in Corp. J. C. per regulas expos. tom. i. in Proleg. p. 260; et *Florens*, tom. i. Oper. Jurid. p. 44. Hæc vero censura veritatis, integritatis, atque bonis literis inimica, silentium imponere non potuit eruditibus, etiam qui sacris Rom. ecclesiæ addicti fuerunt: imo hodie omnes unanimi consensu agnoscunt, eas ab impostore fabricatas, et sic merito rejiciendas esse; quorum catalogum pleniorum exhibet Justus Fontanus in præf. ad. Decretum Gratiani nova methodo concinnatum." (Boehmer Corp. Jur. Canonici, vol. i. p. xix.) See Rivet's 'Catholicus Orthodoxus,' tract. ii. quæst. 4, § 11—19, for replies to arguments from the ordinary passages in the Fathers; or Dr. Elliott's 'Delineation of Roman Catholicism' (Lond. 1844), pp. 615—620.

Page 662, note (3).—This story is told above, vol. i. p. 184.

Page 663, line 25, and 13 from the bottom. "*Yea do?*"—See note on p. 637.

Page 665, line 15. "*I ween it be,*" &c.]—"Ego potius suspicor spiritum esse tabernæ cerevisiariæ." "Apparet ex oratione magis te familiarem videri in rebus tabernariis quam in Divini Spiritus negotiis." Lat. Ed. p. 615. By way of illustrating the expression "spirit of the buttery," we may here give a passage, furnished by Dr. Maitland, from a contemporary work:—"Many times this hath been seen, that the clerk hath left the cross behind him, and the priest his gospel-book, and scant found the right way home, they have been so cumbered with malt wormes and mised with the spirit of the buttery." Sig. D. viii. b (xxx. 8. 20. 8vo.) The full title is, "A Dialogue or familiar talke betwene two neighbours concerning the chiefeest ceremonies that were by the mighti power of God's most holy pure worde suppressed in Englande, and now for our unworthines set up agayne by the Bishoppes, the imps of Antichrist: right learned, profitable, and pleasaunt to be read, for the comfort of weak consciences in these troublous daies. Read first and then judge. From Roane, by Michael Wodde, the xx of February, Anno Domini M.D.L.III."

Page 666, note (1).—See 'The genuine remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Bishop of Lincoln;' Lond. 1693, pp. 185—88.

Page 669, line 7. "*When the vice-chancellor,*" &c.]—"Non multum absimilem ludens fabulam ei, quam olim nebulo Latamerus Cantabrigiæ designarat. Qui quum non veniret, accersitus a procancellario ejus Academiæ, cui tum ob hæreses daturus esset excommunicationis pœnas, domi se intra cubuli parietes continuit, moxque persentiens ad se adventantem procancellarium peste se decumbere simulabat, eoque commento Procancellarium astutè eluserat." Lat. Ed. p. 621.

Page 671, line 30. "*Afore God you are bare arst in all your religion.*"—"*O Deum, mundus jam totus vos nudos videt in omni religione vestra, et tamen ut nihil pudet!*" Lat. Ed. p. 264. "Bare arst" is the reading in all

the old Editions, which means "objects of contempt," like David's ambassadors when dismissed by Hanun. The word has already occurred in this sense at p. 664.

Page 676, line 13. "*To maintain your vain religion, you are void of all good ground,*" &c.]—"Quod sæpe dixi, iterum atque iterum repeto, nihil firmi habetis aut solidi fundamenti, quo religionem vestram tueamini. Cæci estis et cæcorum duces (nam quid apud vos dissimulem, quod officium est dicere?), verè hypocritæ, vi ac tyrannide veritatem opprimentes, quam alioqui legitimis rationibus revincere non valetis. Postremò ipsi doctores," &c. Lat. Ed. p. 689. The Edition of 1563 reads, "by just order you are able to do by no means."

Page 676, line 4 from the bottom. "*For he is irrecoverable.*"—"Irrecoverable" is restored for "irrecoverable" from the first Edition, p. 1441. Instances are furnished of this word in Chaucer's 'Testament of Love,' bk. ii. p. 491, Edit. 1721, "Thus irrecoverable joy is went;" and in Hall's Chronicle: see Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic words.

Page 679, line 16. "*Then sheriff.*"—The margin of Foxe improperly reads "Sheriffs:" it appears from Maitland's History of London, that John Machil was sheriff with Thomas Leigh in 1555-6: Sir Martin Bowes had been sheriff in 1540-1, and Lord Mayor in 1545-6.

Page 681, line 10 from the bottom. "*And yet I think it will not be reformed,*" &c.]—In the first Edition (p. 1445) in a somewhat different order: "But for that it concerneth spirituall thinges, and such as I knowe fewe or none dare or will speake therein. And yet I think," &c.

Page 687, line 37. "*Which be not overcome.*"—In the 'Letters of the Martyrs,' p. 217, Edit. 1564, "which be not *overthrowne.*"

Page 689, line 32. "*Counterfeit illusion.*"—In the 'Letters of the Martyrs,' p. 221, "collusion" is the reading.

Page 690, line 14. "*And not set cock in the hoop.*"—See Nares' Glossary, or Todd's Johnson.

Page 693, line 36. "*Commend me to master F.*"—In 'Letters of the Martyrs,' p. 229, "maister Fokes."

Page 705, line 31. "*Which be the earnest-penny.*"—"This word (Airles), or some modification of it, having generally been used in various languages, to express a present given by the man to the woman on entering into an engagement to marry, it was easy to transfer the term to denote any other engagements. And hence, by a course that is common in the history of languages, it came in process of time to be applied, in almost all of them, to money given to bind any bargain whatever; and by a still further deviation from the original word, is now metamorphosed into *earnest*. It is also not unfrequently called *God's-penny*." (Boucher's Glossary, which has a long article on it.)

Page 706, line 20 from the bottom. "*To my great grief, it vaded away.*"—To *vade away* is to vanish away. (See Todd's Johnson *in voc.* See also Jewel's Replie to Harding, p. 95, Parker Soc. Edit.)

Page 713, line 17. "*Fellow bite-sheeps (bishops, I would say).*"—This is the reading in a copy of this letter given by Strype: the Edition of 1596 reads, "fellowes, bite-sheep bishops I would say." Strype's reading, however, is no doubt the true one. (On the idiom "I would say," see note on p. 506, *suprà*, and for "bite-sheep," see p. 248, line 11.)

Page 715, bottom.]—These articles are given from the first Edition, p. 1452, where they are rather more full, and no doubt more genuine than in later Editions.

Page 718, middle. "*Jurisdiction of London.*"—The first Edition adds, "Wytresses on Boner's side producted and examined against the foresaid parties, *Thomas Morton, priest. Edmund Buttes. Thomas More. Rowland Harrison.*"

Page 738, lines 15, 17. "*John Pulline.*"—"John Pullan, B.D., in king Edward's days, parson of St. Peter's Cornhill, did under Queen Mary preach

privately to the brethren, somewhere in Cornhill assembled, afterwards went beyond sea to Geneva." (Strype's Annals, chap. 28, vol. i. pt. i. p. 492, edit. 1824. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Bliss. vol. i. 345.)

Of Michael Rinneger, or Ryneger, there are occasional notices in Strype's works. There is a letter from Ryneger to Bullinger in the Parker Society's Reformation Letters, p. 374; he is also mentioned at vol. viii. p. 404.

Page 742, line 22. "*Loute whom you list with change.*"]—To "lout" is to disappoint, befool (see vol. v., p. 406, note), and has been restored to the present Edition of Foxe from that of 1563, p. 1465; a reading which subsequent impressions have corrupted into "love."

Page 744, line 2. "*And Berard the Frenchman.*"]—The 'Letters of the Martyrs' (p. 559, Edit. 1564) have "and Gerard," which is probably the better reading.

ADDENDA.

Page 17, line 13.]—The proper names in this and the next paragraph have been collated with those in the Book of Depositions, Harleian MSS. 420, Art. 27, and the following corrections and information obtained:—*Richard* (not David) ap Richard of Bettus is mentioned at folios 129, 147, as the 24th and 55th witness:—*Jean* (not Jem) ap Ruddz of Kennarthe, folio 148, as 56th witness:—Griffith ap Howell Guyn of Kennarthe, folio 148, as 57th witness:—Lewis David, folio 146, as 51st witness:—David ap Harvey, folio 155, as 72nd witness:—Sir Harrie Gough, alias Morgan, folio 138, as 41st witness:—Griffith Donne, folio 112, as 2nd witness:—William ap *Jem* (not Jenkins) vicar of Abergwillie, folio 145, as 50th witness:—John *Jem Guyn* (not Benguy) of Abergwillie, folio 152, as 68th witness.

Page 24, line 14 from the bottom.]—The following is from Ed. 1563, p. 1099:—

Articles conceyved and ministred by the Byshop of S. Davids, against
Maister Ferrar.

Firmiter credo et teneo, ac profitebor, non licere ulli religioso expresse professore, nec ulli presbitero post sacros ordines susceptos, uxorem ducere, nec cum illa tanquam cum uxore cohabitare.

Firmiter credo et teneo, ac profitebor, in Eucharistia sive altaris sacramento verum et naturale Christi corpus, ac verum et naturalem Christi sanguinem, vere realiter ac substantialiter esse sub specie panis et vini, omnipotentia verbi post consecrationem a legitimo sacerdote legitime prolatam, non tantum quoad fidem communicantium ut Zuingliani perniciosissime docent, sed vere et reipsa, etiamsi a Turcis et Paganis reciperetur sacramentum post verba consecrationis legitime a ministro [*sic*] prolatae, ac substantiam panis et vini in Eucharistia non manere sed esse mutatam in substantiam præciosi corporis et sanguinis Christi.

Firmiter credo et teneo, ac profitebor, missam esse sacrificium novi testamenti propitiatorium tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, non, ut Cœcolampadiani somniant, esse impium cultum aut blasphemum.

Firmiter credo et teneo, ac profitebor, concilia generalia legitime congregata in dissolvendis religionis catholicæ controversiis nunquam errasse, nec errare posse.

Firmiter credo et teneo, ac profitebor, non sola fide justificari homines coram deo, sed, ut vere justi sint coram deo, opus esse spe et charitate.

Firmiter credo et teneo, ac profitebor, ecclesiam catholicam, quæ sola habet autoritatem agnoscendi et interpretandi scripturas, componendique religionis controversias, ac statuendi quæ ad publicam disciplinam pertineant, esse visibilem, et civitatem supra montem positam, omnibus notam atque manifestam, non absconditam, obscuram, latitantem atque incognitam, ut hæretici nostræ ætatis docent et affirmant.

Page 44, bottom. "*Low Sunday*"]—in A. D. 1554, fell on April 1st.

Page 48, line 9. "*Within few days after.*"]—*i.e.* after his interview with Bishop Cotes at Lancaster. Foxe states, at vol. vi. 565, that Marsh was "three-quarters of a year" in Lancaster Castle "before he was removed to Chester." See also Marsh's two letters, dated June 28th and August 30th.

Page 52, line 11 from the bottom.]—It is singular, that the Latin account (Basil 1559, p. 432) says at the beginning of the account "die Aprilis 24," and at the end "Mense Martio."

Page 53, line 13 from the bottom.]—Bishop Cotes died, according to Godwin, “*exeunte anno 1555.*”

Page 85, line 17 from the bottom.]—The last three paragraphs of this page are extracts from the Privy Council Book.

Page 98, middle. “*But what paradise.*”]—The edition of 1583 here reads “*paradise,*” but all the other old editions read “*place.*” “*Paradise*” is retained because it is the reading of the Latin. (Basil 1559, p. 445.)

Page 100, line 11 from the bottom. “*The principal is.*”]—The first edition reads “*principle;*” the Latin (p. 449) says: “*atque reipsa eandem habes formulam. Summa quidem est et caput rei, In nomine, &c. . . Porro quod præcipuum est in hoc sacramento desideramus, . . . te nihilo magis notans quam ceteros tui ordinis.*”

Page 102, line 11. “*A point for your fagot.*”]—“*Flocci facio fasces ac fasciculos tuos omnes.*” (Latin, p. 450.)

Page 127, line 9. “*Upon the 13th day.*”]—Machyn, in his Diary, published by the Camden Society in 1848, p. 90, says “*the xiiii,*” which may be more correct, as a day would in all likelihood precede its actual publication.

Page 143, line 33. “*He departed from the Temple in London.*”]—The following trace of Bradford’s residence in the Temple is from the MS. Admission Book, Inner Temple, London: “*Anno primo Edwardi VI.*—“*Johannes Bradford de Exton in comitatu Rotelandiæ, octavo die Aprilis; plegii, Richard Chamber, Thomas Sampson.*”

Page 143, line 34. “*Went unto the university of Cambridge.*”]—Under date of May 12th, A. D. 1548, he writes to Traves, that he intended leaving London for Cambridge “*afore Midsummer*” (p. 281 of this volume): and soon after he wrote to Traves, “*This present day, by God’s grace, I take my journey towards Cambridge;*” “*I will lie, God willing, this summer, at Katharine’s Hall*” (p. 282): and a subsequent letter is dated, “*This Assumption Day [August 15th] in Katharine’s Hall, in Cambridge*” (p. 283).

Page 143, line 38. “*The University did give him the degree of a master of arts.*”]—This was Oct. 19th, A. D. 1549, as appears by the following extract from the MS. Grace Book of the University of Cambridge, fol. 24, in the Registrar’s office.

Bradford
admissus
19 Octob.
[1549], et
numera-
tur inter
regentes
superi-
oris anni.

“*Item conceditur Johanni Bradforde, viro constantis jam ætatis et probatæ vitæ, ut studium octo annorum in literis humanioribus, artibus, et sacrarum literarum diligenti lectione, in quibus plurimum profecit, sufficiat ei pro completis gradu et forma magisterii in artibus; et ut hodie, si fieri potest, alioquin ad placitum, admittatur sine ulla magistrorum visitatione. Nam diutius hunc gradum sine magno suo dispendio expectare non potest, ut qui illi hoc tempore amplioiorem vitæ conditionem adferre potest, quam sine eo assequi non potest. Ita ut ejus eruditio prius examinetur et approbetur per magistros Pylkington seniore et Carre; et teneatur præterea proximis comitiis combinare cum cæteris ejus anni.*”

The “*amplioiorem vitæ conditionem*” here alluded to was a promised fellowship at Pembroke, which he could only hold as an M.A. See Bradford’s letter to Traves, dated October 22nd, p. 284 of this volume.

Page 143, line 40. “*Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college with him.*”]—See Bradford’s letter to Traves, p. 284; which says, “*I am now a fellow of Pembroke Hall:*” it speaks of a debt to be repaid him “*by Candlemas*” [Feb. 2nd, 1550].

Page 143, bottom.]—Bradford’s ordination at Fulham as deacon, Sunday, August 10th, A. D. 1550, is thus recorded in the Ridley Register, folio 319 verso:—

“*Die Dominica, decimo videlicet die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo, . . . ordines subscripti collati et celebrati fuerunt, per reverendum in Christo patrem ac dominum, Dominum Nicholaum, miseratione divina Londinensem episcopum, in capella sive oratorio infra manerium suum de Fulham, juxta morem, ritum, et formam hujus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, nuper inde saluberrimè editam et ordinatam. . . . diaconi. . . .*”

Magister Johannes Bradford, socius perpetuus collegii nuncupati Pembroke Hall in universitate Cantabrigiæ, oriundus in villa de Manchester in comitatu Lancastriæ, Cestrensis diocesis."

Page 144, line 5. "*He obtained for him a license to preach.*"—In the diary of King Edward, Dec. 18th, A.D. 1551 (see Burnet's Reformation), we read:—

"It was appointed I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four always absent in preaching: one year, two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year, two in the marches of Scotland, two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, two in Hampshire; fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex, &c.: these six to be Bill, Harley, Perne, Grindal, Bradford, and Knox."

Page 144, line 6.]—Bradford's institution to the prebend of Kentishtown, in St. Paul's, is thus recorded in the Ridley Register, folio 312 verso:—

"Vicesimo quarto die mensis Augusti idem Reverendus pater Dominus ^{Prebenda} ^{&c. Cant-} ^{lers alias} ^{Kentyshtowne.} Nicolaus Londinensis Episcopus canonicatum et prebendam in ecclesia cathedrali Divi Pauli London. dictam Cantlers alias Kentyshtowne, per mortem naturalem Willielmi Layton, clerici, ultimi canonici et prebendarii eorundem, vacantes, et ad collationem ejusdem reverendi patris pleno jure spectantes, dilecto sibi magistro Johanni Bradford, artium magistro, contulit caritatis intuitu; eumque canonicum et prebendarium dictorum canonicatus et prebendæ, de expressè renunciando pretensæ et usurpatæ jurisdictioni auctoritati et potestati episcopi Romani, ac suprematam serenissimæ regiæ majestatis juxta leges, &c. fideliter agnoscendo, necnon de fideliter observando statuta ordinationes provisiones ac laudabiles dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis consuetudines, quatenus eum ratione ipsorum canonicatus et prebendæ tangunt et concernunt, ac quatenus legibus et statutis ac provisionibus hujus regni Angliæ non adversantur, &c. primitus juratum, rite et legitime instituit et investivit, &c. Et recepta ejus obedientia legitima scriptum fuit decano et capitulo dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis ac eorum vicesgerentibus, &c. pro ejus inductione et installatione suis."

Page 145, line 19. "*Committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons.*"—To the Tower, August 16th, 1553 (p. 230); to the Marshalsea, Feb. 6th, 1554 (viii. 593); to the King's Bench, on Easter Eve, March 24th, 1554 (p. 146, viii. 593); to the Counter, January 30, 1555 (p. 165); to Newgate, June 29th; burnt July 1st.

Page 147, line 15. "*The keeper's wife.*"—Bradford's keeper in the Counter was Claydon: pp. 183, 190.

Page 147, line 15 from the bottom. "*Walter Marlar's wife.*"—See a letter to May Marlar, Bradford's Works P.S.E. ii. 181, dated Feb. 22nd, 1555; and a probable allusion to her, *ibid.* 215.

Page 157, line 19. "*The lord chancellor was appalled.*"—The Latin Foxe (p. 475) says: "his verbis perculsus fractusque non mediocriter, modestius ad hæc respondit." In the separate edition of these Examinations by Griffith, 1561 (P.S.E. p. 481), the reading here is "appeased;" but we ought probably to read "apased," *i.e.* checkt. See Philpot's Examinations, p. 647 of this volume, where the Latin (p. 593) is "Paulo mitior factus."

Page 157, line 10 from the bottom. "*In the mean time.*"—In Griffith's edition, 1561, this "talk" with Hussey and Seton is placed first in order of the 'prison-conferences.'

Page 157, line 3 from the bottom.]—Griffith's edition says "for old acquaintance sake: for I [Bradford] was at Muttrell journey a paymaster, in which he was, and had often received money at my hands." The siege of *Montreuil*, in Picardy, was conducted by the Duke of Norfolk, at the same time with that of Boulogne, A.D. 1544.

Page 158, line 9 from the bottom. "*But John Bradford kept still one answer.*"—In Griffith's edition, "But still I kept me to my cuckoo."

Page 162, line 6. "*And did deceive his master of seven-score pounds.*"—Some writers represent this matter as if Sir John Harington had been the real sinner, and Bradford only guilty of connivance. But the Rev. E. C. Haring-

ton, collateral descendant of the knight, writing to the "Notes and Queries" (New Series, vol. i. p. 125), places the subject in a very different light. From the statements of Strype, and even of Sampson, Bradford's intimate friend, he contends that Bradford was guilty of defrauding the king's exchequer, in his master's name but without his knowledge; and that when Bradford, under the stings of conscience, confessed his crime to his master, the knight, on the fraud being proved to him from the books, generously undertook to satisfy the king, and accepted Bradford's security for repayment to himself. Archdeacon Hone, however, in his "Life of Bradford," thinks that the fraud was committed for his master's advantage, not his own. The knight himself, however, seems to have been quite innocent in the matter.

Page 165, line 20.]—The process and sentence on Bradford, in Latin, are preserved in Harleian MS. 421. fol. 40, 42—4. The MS. seems to be a transcript from the original register. It is printed, but somewhat incorrectly dated, in the Parker Soc. Bradford, vol. i. p. 585. It thence appears, that Bradford was first brought up for examination "die Martis xxix^o. die Januarii," 155 $\frac{1}{2}$, and remanded "ad comparendum crastina die inter horas viii. et x ante meridiem." Accordingly, "die Mercurii tricesimo sc. die, Januarii," he appeared; when the bishop, finding him immovable, "tulit contra eum condemnationis sententiam definitivam;" which then follows, dated "die Mercurii, tricesimo die Januarii, Anno Domini juxta cursum ecclesiæ Anglorum, 1554." See Document No. X. at the end of this volume.

It may be added, that the same Harleian MS. contains the processes against John Hooper, John Cardmaker, John Rogers *alias* Mattheue, Rowland Taylor, Edward Crome, and Laurence Saunders.

Page 174, line 10.]—After the words "they departed," the "Examinations" of 1561 add some talk of Bradford with Claydon and others the same day after dinner, occupying three pages in the Parker Soc. Edition, i. 515—518.

Page 190, line 26. "To be at a point."]—This phrase, meaning "to have made up one's mind," is common in Foxe: we have it at p. 534; also vol. iii. p. 327; viii. 18, 587, 691.

Page 190, note (1).]—See p. 256 of this volume.

Page 196. "*The Letters of Bradford.*"—Bradford's Letters have been collected from different sources, to the number of CL., by the Rev. Aubrey Townsend, editor of Bradford's Works for the Parker Society, to which the reader is referred for much valuable information. He discovered the autographs of many of them among the Emmanuel Coll. MSS. at Cambridge. The letters printed by Foxe correspond with those in Mr. Townsend's Collection as follows, "aut." indicating autograph:—Foxe, p. 196, P.S.E. XVIII.:—p. 198, P.S.E. vol. i. p. 434:—p. 201, P.S.E. vol. i. p. 441:—p. 204, P.S.E. vol. i. p. 448, aut.:—p. 208, P.S.E. vol. i. p. 455, aut.:—p. 210, P.S.E., XV.:—p. 212, P.S.E. XC., aut.:—p. 214, P.S.E. LIX.:—p. 215, P.S.E. LXVI.:—p. 216, P.S.E. LXV.:—p. 217, P.S.E. LXXVII.:—p. 218, P.S.E. XXIX.:—p. 219, P.S.E. XIX.:—p. 222, P.S.E. XXXII., aut.:—p. 225, P.S.E. LXXXV.:—p. 227, P.S.E. LV.:—p. 229, P.S.E. XXXVII.:—p. 230, P.S.E. XVI.:—Ditto, P.S.E. XLI., aut.:—p. 234, P.S.E. LII.:—p. 235, P.S.E. XXXV.:—Ditto, P.S.E. XXV.:—p. 237, P.S.E. LXXI.:—p. 238, P.S.E. XXIV.:—p. 239, P.S.E. vol. i. 407:—p. 241, P.S.E. XCVI.:—p. 242, P.S.E. LXXXVIII.:—p. 244, P.S.E. XCIX.:—Ditto, P.S.E. LXXXII.:—p. 246, P.S.E. LIII.:—p. 249, XCVIII.:—p. 250, P.S.E. XXVI.:—p. 251, P.S.E. LVI.:—p. 252, P.S.E. vol. i. 375:—p. 254, LXXXV., aut.:—p. 255, LIII.:—p. 256, P.S.E. XCII.:—p. 257, P.S.E. XXX.:—p. 258, P.S.E. XLII.:—p. 260, P.S.E. XXI.:—p. 262, P.S.E. CI., aut.:—Ditto, P.S.E. vol. i. 297:—p. 264, P.S.E. XXVIII.:—p. 266, P.S.E. C.:—Ditto, P.S.E. vol. i. 401:—p. 267, P.S.E. XLVIII.:—p. 274, P.S.E. XII.:—p. 277, P.S.E. II.:—p. 278, P.S.E. IV.:—p. 281, P.S.E. VI.:—p. 282, P.S.E. VII.:—Ditto, P.S.E. VIII.:—p. 283, P.S.E. X.:—p. 284, P.S.E. XI.:—p. 285, P.S.E. XIV.

Page 201.]—Bradford's Farewells to Cambridge, to Lancashire and Cheshire.

and to Walden, are preserved in his autograph at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Page 203, line 6 from the bottom.]—"Buskel" or "Buskle" means "to prepare"; the word occurs again at p. 400. See vol. viii. note in Appendix on p. 551: "thee bowne" is introduced here from Bradford's autograph: "bowne" means "ready" (Jamieson's Scottish Dict.).

Page 204, line 16. "*Ready to the stake.*"]—These words are introduced from Bradford's autograph.

Page 210.]—"B." and "C." probably mean Bernher and Careless.

Page 214, line 9 from the bottom. "*For holiness is the end.*"]—"Holiness" is the reading in the autograph MS. at Emmanuel; the printed editions read "holy." The two following short paragraphs are printed by Mr. Townsend for the first time from the autograph:

"Thus in few words I have declared unto you my good will, my dearly beloved in the Lord, praying God to use it as a mean to comfort you in spirit, as you have done to me in body: the which God our Father in the last day give you to find eternally.

"I heartily pray you to pray for us your afflicted brethren."

Page 219, bottom.]—This letter occurs five times among the Emmanuel College MSS., in two of which it is attributed to Latimer. See P. S. Bradford, Letter XIX.

Page 226, line 17 from the bottom. "*You know this is our alphabet.*"]—Alluding to the figure of the Cross then prefixed to the alphabet for the young. See note on the Appendix on p. 209.

Page 227, line 5. "P"]—is given as "Punt" in the MS.

Page 227.]—The lady indicated by "M. H." was Mrs. Mary Honeywood, of whom see an account in a note to Letter XXXVII. P. S. E.

Page 230.]—"W. P." may mean William Punt or William Porrege.

Page 230, bottom.]—The opening of this letter in the autograph at Emmanuel is as follows:—"Ah, my dearly beloved, and most dearly beloved in the Lord, how pensive is my heart presently for you by reason of the terrible and fearful judgment of our God! which even now I heard for truth by Richard Proude, where tofore I did not believe it, because your last letters, delivered safely to me upon Monday last past, did thereof speak nothing."

Page 233, line 9. "Sparred"]—*i. e.* barred or shut.

Page 248.]—The copy of this letter in Coverdale's "Letters of the Martyrs" dates "From the King's Bench."

Page 252, line 14 from the bottom. "*To play wily-leguile*"]—To deceive. See Ray's Proverbs, p. 46, Ed. 1817.

Page 262.]—This letter to Bernher is in the P. S. E. CI, dated "near the end of June 1555." Mr. Townsend found the autograph at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, whence he supplies many corrections. Thus the autograph, at line 6, after "through him" inserts, "as far as Master Clayden can think. He hath been with me an hour this afternoon. He thinks" I shall be burned, &c. That there were slanders against Bartlet Green appears from his letter at p. 734: see also his letter at p. 743. In the original there are several sentences addressed to Mrs. Hales.

Page 264, line 3 from the bottom. "*Godly and learned company.*"]—Bradford was in the King's Bench with Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot, as he had been for a time in the Tower with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. This letter is probably from the Tower, about Feb. 24th, 1554.

Page 267.]—The initials "N. S." and "R. C." mean Nicholas Sheterden and Robert Cole.

Page 274.]—The nine Letters of Bradford to Traves printed by Foxe are not arranged in their chronological order: they should be arranged as follows: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 9: Mr. Townsend heads the whole by a letter of Traves to Bradford, written probably at London about February, 1548, from Harl.

MS. 416, no. 22, fol. 33, 34; and he adds another letter of Bradford to Traves written at Manchester, probably about Christmas, 1549, from MS. Harl. 416, no. 25, fol. 37.

Page 276, top.]—Thomas Hall was a priest, whence his prefix "Sir."

Page 280, line 12 from the bottom. "*Wolstoncross.*"—Mr. Townsend (P.S.E. Letter IV.) states, that the true name is "Worsyncroft," as supplied from the MS. visitation book of Bishop Bird. Mr. Townsend has printed the answer of Traves to the foregoing letter of Bradford from MS. Harleian. 416, no. 23, folio 34 verso.

Page 284, line 12 from the bottom.]—Sandys was Master of Catharine Hall, and Ridley Master of Pembroke.

Page 305, note (1).]—John Bland's sentence from the first Edition of Foxe, p. 1230, the words in the margin being Foxe's comments:—

"THE SENTENCE OF CONDEMPNATION AGAYNST MAYSTER BLAND.

O stuporem. "In Dei nomine Amen. Nos *Richardus Throneden** sacrae theologiae professor, episcopus Dover. in hac parte officialis et commissarius specialis, ac aliter sufficienter autorisatus, cum aliis (vidt.) *Richardo Fawcet, et Roberto Collins, &c.* in quodam negotio haereticæ pravitatis contra te *Johannem Bland* clericum, dudum de *Addisham Cant.* dioceseos, coram nobis in iudicio personaliter constitutum et comparentem, ex officio nostro rite et legitime, etiam cum pio favore procedentes, auditis, visis, et intellectis, cognitisque, et rimatis, ac matura deliberatione discussis, et investigatis dictæ causæ meritis et circumstantiis, pro tribunali sedentes, ac Christi nomen prinitus invocantes, eundemque solus † præ oculis habentes.

Sordes. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Barbariem. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Nugas. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Furorem. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Proditionem. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Fucum. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Hipocrisin. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Papisticæ eloquentiæ. "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, proposita et exhibita, nec non per confessionem tuam coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factam, repetitam, et recognitam liquet evidenter et apparet, te nonnullas hæreses et damnatas opiniones, contra determinationem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, et contra ipsius dogmata, et præcipue contra veritatem corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiæ, prout in actis nostris et responsis tuis liquet, dixisse, asseruisse, credidisse et affirmasse, ac pertinaciter et impie defendisse, nec nos potuisse te ullis salubribus monitis aut consiliis ad meliorem et sanioerem sententiam gremiunque ecclesiæ reduceret &c.; te præfatum *Johannem Bland*, demeritis et culpis tuis per dictam tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, et id exigentibus in hac parte sic confessatis, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ redire volentem, hæreticum, pertinacem, obstinatum, impœnitentem, ac incorrigibilem judicamus, ac sententialiter et diffinitive condemnamus, ac te ob præmissa de jure fuisse et esse [ex]communicatum, proque excommunicato pronunciamus, decernimus, denunciamus et declaramus; teque tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, et pertinacem ex nunc sæcularis potestatis iudicio, sive curiæ sæculari, ut membrum putidum, ac corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore debere similiter pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; rogando tamen attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi severitatis ultio et executio de te, et contra te, in hac parte fienda et habenda taliter moderetur et mitigetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus ad pœnam, sed quod clementia sit ad salutem et salvationem animæ tuæ, hæreticorumque extirpationem, metum, et terrorem, atque eorum conversionem ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem; de quo hic publice protestamur per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus cum consensu prædictorum commissariorum in hiis scriptis."

Page 322, note (3).]—Dr. Maitland, besides the geographical illustration of this passage from Oudiette, also quotes the following extract from Miles Hoggart's work, "The Displaying of the Protestants and sondry their Practises, &c." 16mo. London, 1556, as throwing light on Carver's history: "Also about xii. monethes past, before the Reverende father the bishop of London, there were arraigned in the consistorie of Paules for their opinions against the Sacrament of the Altar, iiii Sussex men, the one of them was a *ducheman*, and dwelled besides Lewes, who being demaunded among others, what baptism

* Sic.

† Sic.

was, the one answered it was a sacrament. Then he was demanded whether a man might be a christian without it, Yea doubtles qd he; for it is but an externe signe and worketh little grace. 'For,' said he, 'like as a man doth wash his hands in a bason of water signifying that the hands are clean ever, so the child is washed at Baptism to accomplish the exterior figure.' Then was objected unto him the saying of Christe, 'Unles a man be borne agayne with water and the holy ghooste he could not be saved.' 'Tushe,' saithe he, 'the water profiteth nothing, it is the Holy Ghost that worketh;' who, with the rest, most worthily were condempned and burned in Sussex.—f. 11. b.

Page 328.]—James Abbes's martyrdom is briefly recorded by Machyn in his Diary, p. 92.

Page 331, bottom.]—This Process against Denley is among the Emmanuel MSS., 2. 2. 15, No. 146.

Page 342, line 8 from the bottom. "*Elizabeth Warne . . . this month of August.*"—"The xxiii day of August was bornyd . . . a woman [wife] of John Waren, clothworker." Machyn's Diary, p. 92. For her husband's martyrdom see above, pp. 77—84.

Page 369, line 20. "*A rase of ginger.*"—"*Rayz de gingebre,*" Spanish; a root or sprig of ginger: more properly "*raze.*" (Todd.) The word occurs again at p. 549, line 18 from the bottom.

Page 369, bottom.]—These verses are given to Hooper as what he "wrote on the wall with a cole in the Newe Inn in Gloceter, the night before he suffered." See his Later Writings P.S., Biogr. Notice, p. xxx.

Page 370, line 8 from the bottom. "*The latter end of August.*"—Machyn in his Diary (p. 94) dates Hale's burning August 31st.

Page 399, line 3.]—The Articles against Cornelius Bungey, transcribed from the Chancellor's Register, are in the Harleian MSS. No. 421, fol. 80: also his reply, dated August 3d, 1555.

Page 400, line 19 from the bottom. "*Agnes Glover his wife.*"—The Articles against her, transcribed from the Chancellor's Register, are among the Harleian MSS. No. 421, fol. 67; also her recantation made in Lichfield Cathedral, dated 15th January, 1557, and signed with her mark, fol. 85.

Page 413, line 23. "*Hoc est nescire,*" &c.]—See the Addenda to vol. vi., note on p. 503.

Page 427, middle. "*Crazed.*"—An abbreviated form of "*acrased*" (see viii. 518), which means "*debilitated.*"

Page 450, middle. "*Diffuse.*"—On this word, meaning "*obscure,*" see the Addenda to vol. vi., note on p. 410.

Page 452, line 12. "*Notwithstanding the maugre.*"—The word "*maugre*" as a substantive and signifying "*ill-will, dislike*" (restored, we may observe, to the present edition of Foxe), is rather uncommon. It appears, however, in Fabian, p. 618, edit. 1811; or, as extracted, in Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 46, edit. 1830: "*Shortly after all was ruled by the quene and her council . . . to the great maugre and obloquy of the quene.*"

Page 453, note in the Appendix.]—From the Edition of 1563, p. 1308:—

THE summe and effect of both their letters, as they stande recorded, & regestred, here folowe to be seen.

Summa literarum quas Redmannus misit Latimero.

GRATIA tibi, et vera pax in xpo Iesu. Obsecro et obtestor te per charitatem, ne ita velis obfirmato animo prudentiæ sensus tui inniti, neque velis tuū vnus singulare iudicium in rebus religionis et dogmatis controuersis tot tantis eruditiss, imo toti ecclesiæ catholicæ, antepone, præsertim cum neque vllum apertum dei verbum habeas quo te tuearis, neque vllius probati scriptoris testimoniū. Quin potius (obsecro) cogita te hominem esse, et mendacium et vanitatem (quæ nonnunquam transfert se in angelum lucis) posse tibi imponere. Noli tam temere de nobis iudicare, sicut ille nequā tibi suggessit. Scias nos tui curam habere, et tuam salutem optare, et de nostra quoque sollicitos esse. Demitte

quæso animum, et spiritum humiliato, neque tui cordis duritia sinas ecclesiam vulnerari, neque eius unitatem, et tunicam Christi inconsutilem, quantum in te est dirumpi patiaris. Audi quid sapiens dicit, et obtempera: Ne inuitatis prudentiæ tuæ. Dominus Iesus &c.

Summa literarum Latimeri Redmanno.

SUFFICIENT mihi, venerande Redmanne, quod oves xpi non nisi vocem Christi audiunt, et vos non habetis aduersum me vllā vocem Christi, et ego habeo cor cuius voci Christi parere paratum. Valet, et nolito me tuis literis amplius a colloquio dei mei turbare.

Page 497, line 5. "*The blind eateth many a flie.*"—This proverb forms the epigrammatic close of one of Chaucer's ballads (p. 558, edit. Urry) against "deceitful women," seven stanzas ending with "Beware, therefore, *the blind eateth many a flie.*"

Page 506, line 3 from the bottom. "*Banbury glosses.*"—"BANBURY. Howell gives two proverbs concerning this town. 1. 'Like Banbury tinkers, who in stopping one hole, make two.' 2. 'As wise as the mayor of Banbury, who would prove that Henry III. was before Henry II.' According to Grove, a nonsensical tale is called a 'Banbury story of a cock and bull;' so that from these evidences it would appear, that the Banburians were not remarkable for sagacity." (Halliwell.) The term, as applied by Latimer, seems to mean "blundering, clumsy:" it was probably so applied by Latimer for the first time, for there is no allusion to the phrase in Beasley's History of Banbury.

Page 509, line 5. "*The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation.*"—Latimer in this and several subsequent sentences of this letter alludes to a Royal Proclamation, issued soon after that of the bishops, but apparently unknown to the historians. There is a copy of it in the Cotton MSS., Cleopatra E. v. folio 321, dated "Mense Junii, anno Henrici Octavi xxii." It is printed thence in Wilkins's Concilia, iii. 740. Mr. Burt discovered an imperfect copy of it at the Chapter House, Westminster. (See "Notes and Queries," N. S. i. 125.) Beside Latimer's testimony in next page to its sad effect, we have that likewise of the contemporary "*Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London,*" published by the Camden Society in 1852, which states: "the xxvi day of September was burned at Powless crosse a gret multytude of Ynglych bokes, as Testaments and other books, the which were forbydyn by proclamation by the kynge's commandment before." This proclamation will be found among the Documents at the end of this volume, No. III.

Page 532, line 15. "*Stark of his limbs.*"—See Appendix to vol. viii., note on p. 105.

Page 552.]—The larger part of Bp. Ridley's "Last Farewell" exists in his autograph in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS. 2. 2. 15, Nos. 58, 59.

Page 555, last paragraph. "*Although the cause of the true man,*" &c.]—The Emmanuel MS. begins here.

Page 558, line 22. "*Farewell, Rochester.*"—Between this and the preceding paragraph the Emmanuel MS. inserts the following paragraph:—

"Farewell, Shoame Vicarage, my cure for a little time, and yet, as I acknowledge, that little was too long, both for that after my receipt of the benefice I did not nor indeed could abide in thee, and also for that he whom the college and I placed in thee after my giving over, now, as I hear say, doth yield to the trade of the world, contrary to his conferences had with me before, and to his own handwriting and subscription unto the Articles of religion in matters of controversy."

Ridley was vicar of Soham from May 17th, 1547, to 1552: Richard Hebb, fellow of Pembroke, was instituted as his successor Sept. 5th, 1552.

Page 560, line 18 from the bottom. "*Are fallen from Christ.*"—With these words the Emmanuel MS. breaks off.

Page 562, line 13. "*Would at these my words.*"—With these words the Emmanuel MS. resumes, and goes on to the end in p. 567, omitting the paragraph in large type in p. 563.

Page 592, line 29. "*As Cardinal Wolsey did.*"—The edition of 1563, page 1383, adds, "(who as he had used conjuration before, so after he had poisoned hym self by the waye, at his buriall was so heavy that they let him fall did geve suche a savoure that they coulde not abide him, with such a sodain storm and tempest aboute him, that al the torches wente out and coulde beare no light)." In the margin opposite to this sentence we read: "Ex relatu eujusdam qui interfuit, et morientem Cardinalem brachio sustinuit."

Page 597, note (1). "*The book of John Elder, sent into Scotland.*"—Pp. 164, 165, as it appears in the reprint subjoined to the "Chronicle of Queen Jane and Mary" (Camden Soc. 1850); where Elder affirms, "that almighty God, of his divine providence, hath preserved and kept 3 persons, as lode-stars and chief guides, for the defending, inbringing, and restoring of England thus to the unity of Christ's church. . . . And the third is my Lord the Bishop of Winchester."

Page 597, line 29.]—See note in the Appendix on this passage.

"Who taught us that Thomas Becket was no saint, but a devill, no true subject, but a false traitor, that did disobey and contend with his Prince, and took part with the Pope? And yet that precious perle of prelacy that constant Constance [Gardiner] Lord with what pain did he busy himself to saint him again! Who (I pray ye) put into the prayers of the Primer: From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, O Lord, deliver us? and whether the acts of our blessed Bishops, the Pope's executioners, have been such as we have needed (if we mought) so to pray still, I report me to you. Who made it one chief part of their matter in pulpits, still to shew us of his intolerable arrogance and abuse of Princes, of his tyranny, war, quarrelling, avarice, apostacy, simony, sacrilege, whoredom . . . malice, pride, poysonings, and all kinds of wickedness and abominations beside, so continually exercised by him, and all his whole holy company his Cardinalls and court? Who taught us that his dispensations, his pardons and Bulls, were but false trumpery, wicked for him to give and folly for us to receive, and utterly damnable for any to trust in? Who taught us that Scripture never made mention of Purgatory after this life, or if there were any such peines, yet were they not redeemable by the Pope's pardons, by Monks' masses, or Priests' penny-prayers? Who taught us, that it was meetest for us to have the law, that we all professed, and to have divine service in that language, that we best knew? Who taught us that sacraments were ever most faithfully ministered in that tonge that the people best understood? and specially those whereby we made any covenant or promise to God, or received any comfort of his mercy and goodness; as Baptism, Matrimony, and the Holy Communion? Who taught us to pluck images out of churches for doubt of idolatry? Who taught us to make our prayers, not to our Lady, nor any other bisaints, but only to God? Who taught us all this, *and ten times more* than I have leisure to tell, or ye to hear, and now can recant it every whit? Who, I say, who and who, I pray ye? Mary who but even they and they of their coat? Our Bishops, our Suffragans, our Doctors, our Deacons, our Parsons, our Chaplains, our hedge Priests and all, whereof many yet alive both quick and queathing." ('A speciall grace, appointed to have been said after a banquet at Yorke, upon the good nues and Proclamation thear, of the entrawnce in to reign ever us, of our lady Sovereign lady Elizabeth, in November 1558;' signature D. i. and iii.) There is a copy of this scarce tractate in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. See Strype's Cranmer, book ii. chap. 7.

Page 616, note (3). "*As Hosius . . . would assume that position.*"—In mentioning Hosius as *probably* president of the Council at Nice, it was not intended to exclude others, or to say that he had the *best* claim of any. If that question were started, he would perhaps be anticipated by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, who is plainly mentioned in Theodoret (Hist. lib. i. cap. 9). The probability is that he *shared* the station with others. Richerius, after giving the Synodical epistle of the Nicene Fathers from Theodoret, writes:—"Hinc claret Alexandrum Episc. Alexandrinum, velut Patriarcham, Concilio cum aliis Patriarchis, ut præsidēs solent in actionibus Parliamenti, præsedisse." (Hist. Conc. Gen. cap. 2, § 8); and Eusebius, by speaking plurally of presidents,

τῆς συνόδου προέδροις, supports, and is sufficient authority for, such a view of the subject (vide Vit. Constant. 3, § 13). At all events, Hosius certainly did not represent the bishop of Rome on that occasion: vide 'Casauboni Epistolæ,' p. 625, edit. Roterod. 1709. Philpot commits the same error again at p. 642. See Strype's Life of Grindal, book i. chap. 2; and a Letter of Grindal's, noticing the error, Parker Soc. Grindal, p. 222.

Page 642, middle. "*Scholar.*"]—This no doubt was Edridge, professor of Greek in the University of Oxford at that time, and who is mentioned on a previous page (514), as suggesting that Ridley should be gagged. See Warton's English Poetry, Edit. 1840, vol. iii. p. 237, note.

Page 645, line 2. "*Oppress us.*"]—"Us" is supplied from the separate edition (1559), and the Latin says "nos studetis opprimere."

Page 665, last line. "*Lo!*"]—The position of this exclamation is rather peculiar. Joye has so used it in his "Refutation of the Bishop of Winchester's Declaration," 1548: "a goodly shameless shifte, *lo!*" fol. ix. verso; and again on fol. cxxxiii., "No, he parteth it betwene himselfe and our ladye; *loo!*"

Page 712.]—The copy of this Letter, as given by Strype (Mem. Mary, Originals, No. L.), differs both in length and matter from this of Foxe; the latter being written subsequently to the condemnation of Philpott, the former in prospect of it.

Page 715, line 14. "*About the 27th of January.*"]—The 22d, according to Machyn's Diary, p. 99.

Page 734, note (5).]—See note in the Appendix on p. 77.

Page 746, line 11. "*The 27th of the same month.*"]—In Machyn's Diary (p. 99), this martyrdom and that of the six others are placed on the 22d: "they wer all bornyd by ix at iii postes; and ther wer a commonment thrughe London over nyght that no yong folke shuld come ther, for ther the grettest [number] was as has byne sene at shyche a tyme."

Page 750, middle. "*After these seven . . . on the 31st of January.*"]—Sampson, in a letter to Bullinger, says they suffered on the 27th: p. 175 of "Original Letters relative to the English Reformation," Parker Soc. 1846.

Page 771, note on page 449, line 15 from the bottom.]—It is possible that he may have been confounded at first with William Buckenham, who was at this time Master of Gonville and Caius College, which was dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary: thus we read in the Book of Institutions of Norwich Diocese, March 22nd, 1531, that H. Barker was instituted to the Rectory of Telnitham, Suffolk, "ad præsentationem Gulielmi Buckenham, Custodis sive Magistri Collegii Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ in Cantabria aliorumque ejus collegii sociorum."

DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE EPISTLE OF ROBERTE GLOUER SENT TO HIS WIFE DECLARYNG THEREIN HIS CONFLICTES WITH HYS ENEMIES.

(See Note in the Appendix on p. 387.)

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1273.

“THE quietnes of conscience which passeth all understanding, wyth all gladnes, consolation, & bolde speaking in the holy ghoste, increase and multiply eternally in thine heart, by the lyuely stable and constante faith, in the only and moste dearest sauour Jesu Christe. Amen.

“The letters which thou sentest to me in prison, I haue receuyed, and geue thee good wife moste hartye and ample thankes for the same, whiche not without teares I perused agayne and agayne: I saye not without teares. but certainlye not for anye grieffe or dolour conceyved, but for incredible ioye and gladnes, that aboundantlye flowed in me, assone as I behelde the wonderfull workes of God planted in thee: Fyrste in that thy unfayned repentance: Secondlye in thy humble and true reconciliation: and laste of all, in the lowly obedience of thy harte, committynge thy selfe and all thyne to goddes holye wyll and pleasure: whiche all when in those thy letters, as in a playne Index and table I hadde seene and vewed, especiallye perceiuyng it to procede of a symple and inwarde motion of thy hearte. I coulde not but all weepynge abundantlye geue thankes to our Lorde for thee, whoe for hys singuler goodnes hathe vouchesafed to poure and shewe vppon thee, but muche more vppon me hys mercye and clemency. These thy wrytynges, and the often relation of our frendes to me of thy profytyng and constancye in the knowledge of God, doe greatlye lighten and daylye dymynyshe the sorrowes of myne imprisonmente, whiche wyll bee for thee at the latter daye a sure and perfecte testimonye agaynste manye deyntie, nice, and luxurious dames, more addicted to the ragynge pleasures of this worlde, then to God, hauyng neyther regarde (as they seeme) of themselues nor yet of other. So longe as I shall lyue, I wyll not cesse continually to pray for thee, that that whiche the goodnesse of God hathe happily layde and grafted in thee, maye euerye daye more and more haue better progression and successe, to the glorie of his holye name: And that he woulde vouchesafe so to arme thee with the secrete strengthe of hys holye spirite, and so to guyde, and rule thee in all thy doynge, that we both lincked together in one spirite and fleshe, maye shewe and celebrate hys prayse in the worlde to come, to the euerlastynge ioye and consolation of vs bothe. As longe as thou by goddes permission shalt lyue in thys worlde, chieflye and before all other thinges geue thy selfe to continuall prayer, accordyng to the admonishment of Saint Paule, lytyng vppe thy pure handes to almightye God, beeynge voyde of wrathe, contention, or staggering, remembering no iniurye, but forgeuyng all the worlde, as Christe hath forgeuen us. And the more bente and readye you are to forgeue the iniuries done agaynste you (besydes that you shall profite your selfe no litle thereby, in calling to remembrance the greate and houghe trespasses, which Christ hath and dothe daylye forgeue and pardonne vs of) the sooner thereby it wyll come to passe (as Sainte Peter sayth) that we embracing mutuall charity, maye forgette and forgeue one an other oure offenses committed, althoughe neuer so greate and heynous: And because by the worde of God we are taughte and instructed howe and after what manner we shoulde praye, What we shoulde followe or eschewe in thys

lyfe, that pleaseth or displeaseth God: and finally, when hys word as the Lorde testifieth, that he spake, shall iudge vs all at the latter daye: Directe therefore especiallye youre prayer to thys ende, that oure Lorde of hys infinite goodnesse woulde euerye daye more and more vouchsafe to enspire thyne hearte wyth the verye true knowledge of hys woorde, and so to gouerne and dyrect thy lyfe, that thy fruite maye bee correspondent and aunswere thy knowledge. And further, because thys woorde is called by the holye ghoste, the woorde of affliction, as to the which for the moste parte do cleaue the incommodities of thys world, as hatred, perills, persecutions, and losse of goodes, (by daylye experience as you doo see) the more earneste you muste bee in callinge to God for hys helpe, and before to trye wyth your selfe, whether you shalbee able to beare the charge vppon you or no. And thus you hauyng leauied and layed a sure and stronge foundation by deuoute prayer, you shall by the helpe of the holye spirite stande faste agaynste all manner of stormes and tempestes: Calle often tymes that into youre remembrance, whyche happened to Lots wyfe, lookinge backe on those thynges which she lefte behynde her. Bee you by that example instructed and made the wyser, leste you in anye waies bee caried and moued wyth those thynges which are displeasent beefore the syghte of almightye God. And because nothyng maye or canne more greuoulye offense him then Idolatrye, which is the false worshypping of God, beware in anye wyse and take good hede, leste that at any tyme you pollute your selfe with the idolatry of the blasphemous masse, which is playnelye against the woorde of God, and evidentlye repugneth agaynste the example and institution of Christ. For what is he, be he neuer so little sene in the readyng of the holye Scriptures, that doth not belene all thyng now executed in the Englishe church, to bee done aswell agaynste the doctrine of the holye woorde, as the edification of Christes church, when all thynges therein is ministred and doone in a straunge and vnknowne tongue, contrarye to the expresse will and commaundement of the spirite of God? In deede with great bragge they obiecte that they are the church, chalengyng by this title faith: whome I aunswere on thys wyse, that the true church of Christe dothe confesse and acknowledge no head but Iesus Christ, the onely sonne of God. But he forsaken, you do take in hys place to youre heade the Pope of Rome, which is the sonne of perdition and aduersary to Christ. For the church of Christ heareth only his voice, & is taught & ruled only by his word, according to the saiyng of the lord, my shepe do heare my voice. If you shall dwell in me and my worde in you, then are you my disciples, &c. But contrary their church, the symple doctrine of Christ beeyng neglected, doo intrude and thruste in her tradicions by violence, when the church of Christ dothe nothyng adde nor dyminishe from gods holy Testament, or is in anye thinge preiudiciall to the same.

“ But these men are not ashamed [not] onely to abolishe suche things as are to our soules healtie taught by Christ: but also to reuell and route in their inuentions, reioycing in the workes of their owne handes: But contrary the church of Christ hath euer hitherto (wheresoeuer it hath or shalbe) adioyned to it the crosse, oppressed thorough the so great multitudes of troubles and miseries of this worlde. So that it is not of the world, when these mē hauyng no respect or difference, do persecute, slaye, burne, and destroye all they fynde to arreste in the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, and finallye spareth none, otherwise beeing neuer so qualified & endued with vertu and excellency of learning. Furthermore Christ and his church do willingly geue & preach his doctrine, offering it to bee tried and discussed by the mysticall fountaine of the holy Scripture suffering all men freelye to conceyue and iudge thereof: saying, searche ye and trye out the scriptures. But farre otherwise is the state of theyr church, wherein they vtterly do interdicte al mē the liberty of the worde, suffering neither learned or unlearned to make exploration of theyr actes, and to conferre them with the places and maximes of the holy scripture.

“ The true church of god striued euer in al that it mighte, to resiste the illecebrous desyres and vnbridled temptacions of the flesh, the world, and the deuil: when most parte of these men (as thou maiest see) do wallowe in all kynde of fylthy lustes, committing secret abominacion (as Paule reherseth) the names whereof I abhorre to expresse. By these, and the like reasons they shewe what they are, manifestly declaring therby, that they be not of the church of Christ, but are belongyng to the Sinagoge of Sathan. It were not

farre out of the waye, to compare the doynge and sayinges of them, with the examples of those, whom the worde of god approueth to be as members of Christ and his church. for in so doying you may no lesse augment their judgement and strength, then therby the boldlier resist and withstand their iniquitie. Wherefore I may most aptly as it seemed to me, and as I then tould them, apply and liken them to Nemerod, whom scripture doth compare to a mightie hunter or valiant champion: for when they cannot compasse what they woulde, with wordes, by and by they passe it by the sworde: And yet wil they be coüted for the church, & who say nay. Therefore with safe conscience I called (as once Christe did) the chiefest of them, the diuels sonnes: For euen as the father of them the diuel, is bothe a lyar and a murderer: so is their kingdome (and churche as they terme it) builde and founded upon slaughter and lyes. Wherefore in anye wise deare wyfe, meddle not wyth their doctrine or traditions, leste you bee made partener thereof with them, to whome eternall damnation is due, vnlesse the sooner they do repent. Beware of their priuy whisperyngs, wherby they wyll entyce the to folowe tymes, and serue the worlde. For God in such kynde of matters wyll not bee deceyued and mocked. It is horrible (saith the Saincte Paule) to fall in goddes handes. Remember the saying of Elie the Prophete. Why (saith he) doo ye halte and leane to bothe parties? Is it not the Lorde &c.? Agayne the wordes of Christ are these. He that putteth hys hande to the ploughe, and looketh backe, is not woorthye of me: And because the chiefest capitayn & emperour Christ hath placed thee in the forefronte, lyke a talle and valiant souldiour, you must not now, leauyng thy standing and ensygne, ronne awaye lyke a dastarde and beastely coward. Saincte John amongs them which deserveth to bee throwne into the lake or quarrye of Brimstone dothe accompte them which timorouslye and cowardlye behaueth themselues in the Lordes quarrell: Haue now before your eyes the example of them, whiche wyth inuincible courage dyed in Christes quarrel, fightyng valiantly against theyr enemies: suche as among the olde champions were Stephan, Paule, Daniell, the three Hebrues in the furnace, and suche as in our latter dayes were, Anne Askue, Saunders, and Bradford, with many other of that bande, and most faithfull Martyrs of Christe. In no wyse (saith S. Paul) be you asfeard of your enemies, which is to them the cause of perdition, and to you of saluation. And in lyke maner Christe exhortheth vs: Feare not those which slayeth the bodye. &c. We wyll not follow the example of hym whiche in the Gospell with muche intercession obtayned leaue, fyrste to salute their friendes, and then to returne, which if we doe, we shall fynde but fewe, but that wyll rather go backwarde then forwarde, in thys moste blessed race of life. We reade in diuers places, howe that John, Andrewe, and Symon, beeyng called to serue and follow the Lord incontinently, without tariance to salute their Parente and friendes, and in all hast after the most wisest maner leauyng their goods and possessions, rose and folowed hym.

“Christe in an other place compareth the kingdome of heuen to treasure lyeng, hid in the field or a precious iewell whiche a man founde, and for ioye thereof went and solde all that he had, and boughte that field: But the moste men now adayes may be likened to the Cocke in Esopes fables, which fyndyng a precious stone had rather haue one Barley corne then al y^e precious stones in the world: Euē so but a few god knoweth, understandeth how costly & precious a iewell the worde of god is, before which they prefer worldly things: which as of themselues are but vain: so if they be compared in estimatiō with the word of god, are more vile and worse, than any corne of Barley or other grayne. Indede if I should haue any mynde or regarde to worldly things, I should haue many stoppes, as the desire and loue of thee my wife, and of our children dere, who are yet in their youg and tēder yeres, and prompt of nature to all euil, and therefore more nedeful of their fathers helpe in bringing them up.

“I wyll not speake of my goodes and laudes, which surmounteth the common sorte of mens lyuynge: Besydes this, I neuer tooke any sacred orders, nor euer had any ecclesiastical promotion to mayntayne me therewith. Fynally, I myght alledge, (whyche may iustly be feared by this my imprisonment) leaste for sicknesse and feeblenesse, I should perhappes dye, before I came to myne answer, and so to be profitable to none. But all these thynges I thanke God, through Christe oure onely Sauour, neuer troubled me: although at the

begynnynge (as I must nedes confesse) whan first myne aduersaryes attempted to apprehende me, I some thyng trembled, beyng dismayed at the sodeynnesse of the perylle. But yet by the prouydençe of almyghtie God I was deluyered of that quandarie before I was caste into prison. The shiriffe whan he tooke me, I demaunded of hym the cause of myne arreste: who told me that I should know when I came before the magistrates of the town, and so caried me forth with him: I verily thinking that he wold haue brought me forthwith to the Yeldhall, a place of iudgemēt, and there wold haue laid in his accusatiōs, if he had any, against me. But he shewynge no cause why, nor commensynge any action, oute of hande caried me innocente to prison against all law and equitie. But doutles I force not therof: for the more vnrightously they deale with vs by the lawes of thys world, the brighter and clearer the celestial cōsolatiō wil shine vpon vs in our afflictions, presently lightnyng the same. For those which are addicted and geuen to the world, are of it by all kinde of meanes imbraced: But they contrarye which are not of the world, of the same worlde hated, be despised, and set at nought. And so within a while after, entring into a certain hal, was brought into a chamber, where hauing some intermission, the teares for ioye abundantly issuing from mine eies, I began this to thinke and saye with my selfe. O lorde of all lordes, what am I sely poore wretch, and most vnworthy of all men, whome thou of thy singuler goodnes hast vouchsaued to electe me as worthy of suche a benefit among that blessed and holy number, which shall suffer for the gospell sake? whē that therefore I doe compare my vnworthines and impure synfull life, with the greate goodnes of god which hath called me to that felicitie: all astonied with feare, and rauished with ioye reasoned and debated with my selfe after this maner. O lorde which geueth strengthe to the weake, maketh wise the foolish, & forgeneth the sinfull: who shall forbid the to elect whoō & where thou pleasest? As I haue therefore euer hitherto with all imbrasings vnfaignedly confessed the truthe, so neuer did I accompt my selfe worthy of such honor, as to suffer affliction for the same.

Nicholas
Hopkins.

“ Not long after this, came vnto me M. William Brasburge, Katherin Phines, and Nicholas Hopkins, who perswaded me all that they might to put iu suerties for my forth comming and I should be deliuered oute of prison. To whom I gaue this answer. Because the rulers of the citie hauynge no cause against me, hath comitted me to prison, if I should so do, I mighte make my selfe giltye of that wherein I was neuer faultye. And therefore for that they haue caste me into prison for nothyng, they maye yf it please them nowe deliuer me without putting in of sureties. For why, if I whiche am innocent shold enter bondes by suretiship, what should I do otherwise I beseeche you, then to bewray mine own innocencie, and cloke their vniust doings? They contrarye replied, & broughte in many reasons sounding more to safety then honesty, shewing by what policie I might yf I would bothe disappoint y^m & also rid my selfe out of al ieopardy. To whom I answered, that I had fully perswaded my selfe in that behalfe: But yet they not contented, promised me that the bondes should be conceyued of so light conditions y^t it should be no great matter to breake them. Finally when thus in perswading of me, they would not cease, I prayed them to be contented, and said to maister Hopkins: that as the quietnes of conscience was a choise and tender thing, so was it a most precious iewel without all comparison.

“ And then hauing some time and space to bethinke my selfe, euen from the bottome of mine harte, praied softly to almighty god, beseeching him of his aide and redye counsell, and that he would vouchsafe in that moment to inspire with his secret grace as should seme most best to hys gracious goodnesse. But when they hadde done their talk and ended their exhortations, me thought that there succeded straight wayes in me a meruelous consolation of my selfe: and not longe after came one maister Dudley, and perswaded with me as the former did, whom I answered as before. And so at length comming to my selfe, and with good deliberation pondering this and that, considered what great shame and ignominie should redownd vnto me, if I (which alwayes encouraged myne acquaintance to constancie and the defence of the truthe sounding and willing them not to yelde or geue place to the aduersaries of the Gospell) nowe shoulde leaue my standynge, and castynge away of my weapon, shoulde come out of the fieelde lyke a coward. But what occasion of grieffe and offence shoulde thys tourne to their ghostly warriors of Christ: and contrary what

cause of reioycing and derision were it to the aduersaries. and might not this of right (I pray you) be spoken of me, and caste in my teethe? Beholde and see howe our woorthie champion and expert captayne, whyche with wordes of late boldly dyd animate us to constancie of doctrine, and stoutely to stycke to it, nowe retireth, and ouercomme with feare sheweth no example of fortitude, whyche he so bragged and bosted of. Wherefore I thought it my dutie, bothe to God and manne, (especialle for that the syngular grace of God hath playnly called me to that scope) to despise worldlye minaces and fleshlye prouocations, and finallye wyth manfulnessse to stande to so honeste and good a quarrell. Besydes, what impudencye and dastardye were it for me, that when I beyng oute of all ieeperdye, was author to all the reste, and encouraged them to goe through the thicke and thinne, in the trade and course of godlines which they hadde begunne, nowe when tyme and cause requireth, not to performe the same? Tossing therfore too and fro these thynges in my mynde, at laste wyth muche quietnes of conscience, perswaded my selfe rather to serue the maner of cause and my calling, then any priuate affection. Wherefore I am redye to suffer and sustaine all thynges, that the violence of the Romaine Antichrist, maye or can inferre. Beyng hartened also the more, for that I dydde understande of the Bishoppe hys commynge shortly into these parties, beyng not ignoraunte how the conscience of the weake shoulde thereby bee molested and tormented.

“ I doe therefore nowe remayne in pryson at Couentry, tenne or twelue dayes, duryng all whiche my abode there, no man hadde anye thyng to burden me wythall, bothe agaynste the common lawe of this realme, and all priuate righte and equitie, no man hauing anye commission, or commaundement to apprehend me. In deede the authors thereof layed all the faulte in the Officers necke: and yet he, when he was called to question for the same, stiffelye denyed, that he had in commaundement to apprehende me, but John mine Elder brother. I besече God that they maye fynde more mercy at Christes hands in the latter daye, then hitherto I haue founde at theirs.”

But¹ now because mention hath bene made of the Elder brother, I thought good to speake some thyng of him, aswell for that the order of thys tragedye so requireth, as because hys vertues and qualities were suche as I coulde in no wayes committe them to silence. Thys mans name was John Glouer, some thyng Elder then Robert, a Gentleman borne and heire to hys father, a man of fayre landes, but not so aboundyng in worldlye gooddes and possessions, as nourished with heauenlye cogitations and vertuous doynge. The whiche manye yeres hadde professed and acknowleged the blissefull, and gracious knowledge of the Gospell: shewyng no lesse by hys lyfe and example the same, muche vnyke our gossellers nowe adayes, whiche suppose the profession of the gospell to consist in wordes. But thys man vsed an other kynde of professyng of it farre differente, conuerting all hys care that he mighte appeare a gosseller, as well wythin as withoute, Not so muche that he shoulde so seeme afore men, as that he myghte fyrste frame hys lyfe correspondent, and worthy his profession before God. He sawe and perceiued, (as in deede it was) the Summe of Christianitie not to consyste in stoute disputations, contentions, reasonynges, loude clamours, stronge diffinitions, and ambitious pertinacie of mynde: but rather in orderyng and subduynge affections, in the quiet and silente mynde, in good conscience and deuoute prayer: and laboured euer to thys ende, not so much to bragge and talke of the Gospell, as to shewe the same by example of his lyfe. And therefore he gaued not daylye diligence to the readyng of the Gospell onelye, to collect thereof, (as manye doo) common places, but aswell to bee instructed thereby with good mynde and conscience.

He was a greate studente of Diuinitie: the occasyon whereof, was not the desyre of nouelles, arguyng and talkyng, or that he myghte seeme the more learned to other, but that he hymselfe myght bee the better for it. And also not so muche to be the more instructed, to the conflictes of ydle contention, as to be the readyer and meeter for the kyngdome of Christe. To bee shorte, he redde the Gospell of Christe, not so muche to collect therof any Common places, as to gather necessarye matter of edifyenge, whereof he daylye sucked those

(1) The next two pages are a digression of Foxe's.—ED.

thynges, whyche no lesse made for the confirmation of hys faythe and godly lyfe, than for the knowledge of Christ and hys saluation. And doubtlesse by this hys assiduous labour he profyted meruaylouslye, as by the syngular fruites and example of hys lyfe, sufficiently is declared, whose mynde was alwayse vpon our Sauour Iesus Christe and hys workes, even so muche that he contemnyng the worlde, and beeyng all wholy possessed wyth the earnest zeale of Godlynes was in euery place as well abroad as at home, a Lanterne of godlye luyng to all the reste. And also beeyng as one placed in heauen, and deadē in thys worlde, he bothe meditated and ledde a lyfe altogether celestiall, beeynge a worlde to see, how that he abhorred the Prophane doynge: No nor yet hys talke in any wyse differed from hys lyfe: throwyng out neuer anye ydle, vyle, or vayne language. The moste parte of hys landes beeyng distributed amonge hys brethren, and cōmitted the guye of the rest to his seruantes & officers, that the more quietlye he mighte geue hymself to hys Godly study, as to a continuall Sabboth reste. And besydes these his great nūber of vertues, he was well learned, although his brother Robert was better sene in y^e literature which doth polish and bring a man to eloquence. Yet in those things which appertained to heauenlines, & good conscience, was far more exercysed: lyke disposition and mynde were in both, hauyng wit and memories most happily grafted in them. And as concernyng good zeale and loue toward religion, wherunto they semed by nature indifferently to be borne, they were so matched, and so like one to another, that a mā could not tel who excelled the other, vnlesse because Robert, as he was the bigger of stature, so he was a more earnest & myghtier Champion, against the aduersaries of the truth.

But yet John lesse feared perill, although he thys Robert suffered as a martyr, and was as much desirous of Martyrdome as he, & more to. And verily I cannot tel whether in this case of felicitie John gaue place to hys brother Robert or no, who also myght be counted a martyr, ye and croniced for a double martyr. For the said Robert was quickly and out of hand dispatched with the sharpe and extreme tormentes of the fyre. But this the moste blessed martyr of all, what greuouse passions, boyling heates of the fyre of hell, so many yeres both in body & soule he suffred and sustained, no tōgue can expresse. Being a younge man, I my selfe was ones or twice with him, whom as parte by his talke I perceived, and parte by mine owne eies sawe, to be so worne and consumed by the space of v. yeres, y^e neither almost any brooking of meat, quietnes of sleepe, pleasure of lyfe, yea and almost no kynde of senses was left in him: And doubtles I haue greatly wondred at the meruailous workes and operation of Christe, shewed vpon him, who vnlesse he had releued betimes his poore wretched shepe, so many tymes in distresse, with continuall consolation, it could not possible be, that he should haue sustained so vtollerable paines and tormentes. And yet the occasion therof was not of so great momēt and weight: But this we see commonly among holye and blessed men, that the more deuout and godlye they are, hauyng the feare of god before their eies, the more suspecte and mistruste they haue of themselves: wherby it commeth to passe that often they are pinched and vexed with very small sinnes as most greuouse, when that contrary, you may see very many, whom the greatest crimes of the worlde doe not ones moue or trouble. The occasion of this was, that he being first called by the light of the holy spirite to the knowledge of the gospel, & then fallyng thence, as we commonly see to his former trade of lyfe, began to mistrust himselfe, as one that rashly & sodenly had forsakē his vocation: and therupon was in beliefe, that he had sinned againste the holy ghost: Euen so muche, that if he had bene in the depest pitte of hell, he could haue dispaired no more of his saluation. Here redily euery goodman may iudge of himself, what terrors, boylings, & conuulsions, troubled in the meane time his most holye brest. Although it is moste harde for any man to iudge the greuousenes therof, vnlesse he which hath had experiment of the like. In comparing nowe the tormentes of all Martyrs, with his paines, I praye you what paines, punishmente, and flames woulde not he willingly haue suffered, to haue hadde some respiration and tyme of breathyng: but thanks be to Christ our lord, his continual keper, which suffreth not any man to be tempted aboue his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperitye of euils, that [not] onely they doe not withstand them, but also oftentimes falleth out to a further com-

moditie, then is looked for. Whiche thing didde appeare as muche in this John, as euer did in any one: who albeit as we haue said, suffered many yeres so sharpe temptations, yet more happie to hym than tongue can tell: which heaped so many and greate vertues in hym, with reconciliation of his tranquillitie, and so vanquished him from all worldly affections of the same: in so muche y^e nothing could be more blessed and purer than his lyfe, nothing more quiet or more feruent to Christ, and his waies: Nor truly it was any meruail if this his ardent and vehement zeale toward the gospell of Christ in this turbulent tyme of persecution (as in deede it did not) either coulede or did lye hid in him. what nedeth manye wordes? Assone as the B. of Couentry hard the fame of this John, so to be spred out of hande, wrote to the Maior and Officers, to apprehende hym as soone as might be. But it chaunced otherwyse by god his holy prouidence, which disposeth all thing according to his secret pleasure, and contrary to the expectation of man. And although the thys John tooke it more inwardlye then anye tongue can expresse, when he beyng euer desirous of death, saw in his stede his brother to be caried to his deth: yet doutlesse it was provided by y^e singuler grace & iust prouidēce of god. For he seyng his olde and trusty seruant, so many yeres with so extreme & many torments brokē & dried vp, wold in no wise heape so many sorowes vppon one poore sely wretche: neyther woulde committe hym to the flames of fyre, who hadde ben scorched & so consumed with the sharpe fyres of his mynde, and hadde susteyned so many burnyng dartes and conflicts of Sathan so many yeres: God of his diuine prouidēce thought thys too muche, whose custome was neuer so to deale with his seruantes: and therefore he provided, that Robert either for his learnyng sake, or soundnesse of his strengthe, shoulde stoutlye suffer and susteyne thys conflicte. And although there lacked no stomacke in the other to suffer martyrdom, yet our lord thought rather to vse this mans stomacke & knowledge, in refutyng the aduersaryes argumentes, & so to be more expedient to y^e cause & his saluation. But howsoeuer the matter stode, Robert was taken in the steade of John, and that not without y^e singuler wil and loue of God, to either of thē. For assone as the Maior of Couentry had receaued y^e Byshops letters, he sent forthwith a priuie watchworde to John, to conuaie away hymselfe: Who with his brother William was not so sone departed out of hys house, but y^t yet in syght of the Shrieve and other the searchers came and rushed in to take hym, accordyng to the Byshops commaundement: Whom when he could in no place be founde, one of y^e officers going vp into an vpper chamber, founde there Robert the other brother, lying on his bed, and sicke of a lōg disease, who was by hym brought before the shrieve: And although the shyriefe fauouryng Robert, and hys cause, woulde fayne haue dymissed him, saying, that he was not the man, for whō they were sent: Yet being feared with the stout wordes of the officer, contending with hym about hys staying, whyle the Bishop commyng, caryed him away against his will, and layed hym fast, whyle y^e Bishop came. And thys so much concernyng John: now wil I returne to Roberte hys letters, from whence I haue made some digression.

“The second daye after the Bishop commyng to Couentrye, about. iiii. of the clocke in the after noone, came one D. Warren, commyng to the Yeldehal, & commaūded Amon chiefe Gaoler to brynge me before hym, where I beinge placed before hys Mastership, dyd expostulate with hym, whye he so cruellye thyrsted after my bloud, which he denied & earnestlye by al way y^t he could, went about to purge hymselfe thereof. But I affirmed it stil it was true, sayig, it could not be auoyded, but that he was giltye before God of my bloude, as if he had kyllid me with his owne handes. Who at lengthe goyng away, sayd, y^t I had no cause to feare any ioperdye, if that I woulde forsake myne opinion, and agree to hys religion. Oh Lorde, if it bee thy pleasure, open the eies of his harte, and graunt hym to confesse and acknowledge the lyghte of thy trueth, that bothe he and his complices, whiche so fearsely and cruellye pursueth after the Christians, maye vnderstand, vnlesse the soner they take better wayes, they shall suffer shortelye inextinguyble punyshment, with the deuil, and hys Angels, in the fyrye lake of hel, & thē to late shal aske forgeuenesse for the same, hauyng verye little reliefe or nothyng at all, of them whom they before in their iolytie had so cruellye & impetuouslye afflicted. Thus beyng then brought before y^e bishops presence, in one Deutons house: He fyrst making a

certain preface, declared vnto me, that I was of his diocesse, and he was myne Ordinarie, exhortyng me to submytte my selfe vnto hym. I answered, y^t I came not thether to accuse my selfe, to dissēble but desired to vnderstād of him, what he had to lay to my charge. First he asked me whether I was learned, whō I answered, but basely: Then his Chancelor standyng by, told hym, that I hadde taken degrees of the schoole, and was Master of Arte, wherupon the Byshop did expostulate with me why and what the cause was that I woulde not goe to the Church, and heare the diuynē seruyce there: Here althoughe I mighte haue righte easilye without any difficultye by denial frustrated the Bishoppes action, as well for that I had not bene longe vnder hys Jurisdiction, as that there was none in the cite that coulde accuse me thereof: yet playnly by the power of god, and simply, euē as it was answered, that hitherto I had not ben at church nor yet hereafter wold come thyther, as long as Masse was vsed & ministred in theyr churches: although I had v. hundred lyues, and by my going myghte saue thē all: demaundyng whether they could fynde any iote in the holy scriptures wherby they could defend the Masse? The Byshop tolde me he came to teache, and not to bee taught: I replyed y^t I was most desyrous bothe to heare and learne of him, if that out of the holy woorde he would teach me any thing. Who then shal be (quod the Byshop) iudge of the said holy worde? Christe I answered. For he as also Paule dyd, refused not to geue hys doctryne to be examined and construed of the people, with the perscrutacion of the holye Scriptures. And now therefore not to be lawful, that he should challenge more authoritie and priuiledge then they dyd permytte to them selves. And if thys woulde not suffice him, I moreover added, that I would stande to the iudgement of the primatiue church, which was next after the Apostles time, and that to be a iudge betwene them, if it shoulde please hym. Neyther to this he said he would stand to, but that he was mine Ordinarie: and therefore it was my part to beleue as he dyd, & to be of his iudgement. Yea should? (quod I) what yf you shold say, black were whyte, and darknesse light? should I therfore of necessitie grant it to you because you are myne Ordinarie? And why I praye you, fynde you fault with the people, and rebuke them for folowing Latimer, Hooper, and other suche Bishops in their fayth, as well as you folow your bishops in your fayth? Bicause, sayd he, they were heretykes. What! (quod I) cannot error fal as well upon you, as them? I loked all thys whyle of him for learned talke and bishoplyke geare. But he only vrged me with his bare authoritie, obiecting agaynst me, that I dissented and was gone from the Catholyke Church, byddyng me to shewe him, where my Catholyke Church was before Kyng Edward his dayes. And thā I asked of him, wher their church was become in the time of Elias? or what lyghte it had in the tyme of Christ? Elias (sayd he) onely complainyd agaynst the company of X. trybes which made defections from y^e house of Dauid, whom he called heretykes: I answered, y^t there was at that time no prophet left in the other 2. tribes besides, which he could shew and alledge unto me. Whereat whan he was dumpe, stepped in one Roger, a Magistrate of y^e citey, and made as though he woulde answere to y^t texte of Scripture. But the Byshoppe interruptyng hym, commaunded me to bee caryed frō thence, to some strayghte and more close prison then y^e towne Gaole was, if there were any, declaring that he woulde fynde a meane at hys retourne, to weede and dispatche suche kynde of wolues oute of the waye, the sayd Roger counsellynge hym not to trouble hys lordship any more therwith that night, whyle that further considering the matter, they shoulde appoynte what should be done with me: Whereunto I said: My Lord, wheresoeuer you shall commaunde me to bee caryed, I shalbe redye and obedient: Doe with me your pleasure. And so was caryed to the cōmon prison from whence I came.

Master
Roger.

“The nexte daye it was tolde me earely in the mornyng, by one of my fellowes in prison, that I should make my selfe redye, with all speede to take my iourneye, for that it was appoynted, that the same day I with my fellowes prisoners shoulde ryde from thence to Lychefelde, & there such order to bee taken with vs, as should seme beste to the Byshop. which tydynges at the begynnyng brought to me no lyttle care, fearyng lest by occasion therof, eyther for the Byshops euill entreatyng of me, or ells for weakenesse which had bene so long sycke, I shoulde dye in prison before I came to myne auswere. But strayghtwayes gathering better testimony out of the word of God, I easely

remoued and cast away thys my fayntenes and lacke of fayth, & reuolued thus with my selfe: What? Is not God as stronge in Lychefeld, as at Couentrye? Is his promise distynguyshed by cityes and regions? Is it not throughout vniuersally al one? Dyd Abacuke, Danyell, Mysac, and Jeremias thynk God to be lesse present with them, when they were in prison and exile, then when they were in their owne land and natiue countrey? He assuredly knoweth where we are, what we neede of: Who hath in number euery heare of our heades, without whose wil and care, no not y^e least sparow lygeth or falleth on y^e ground: howe muche more then hath he care and regard on vs, which beleueth in hym, and vpon whom he hath vouchsaued to bestowe the benefite and honour, that we may be witnesses of his truth? As long as we put our trust and confydence in hym, he will neuer deceaue vs, neyther in prison, nor out of prison, neyther in sickenes, nor in health, neyther in our lyfe tyme, nor at the houre of death, neyther yet when we be before Prynces, Byshops, or rulers. In synce, no not the deuill hymselfe with the gates of helle can preuayle any thyng agaynst vs, much lesse than feble man his mynister, can annoy vs. In ponderyng these and the lyke, at length I got my stomacke to me, and called backe agayne Consolation almost gone: Even so much that whā I heard reported of diuerse, that sufficient cōpany of horses coulde not be provided for vs in the citye, I care not (quod I:) All one is to me, if we bee caryed in a dung carte: Albeit at y^e request of my frendes, I wrote to the mayor and Aldermen of the citie a letter, of thys tenor that foloweth.

A Letter of R. Glouer to the Mayre and bench of Couentrye.

“ I Thinke your vvisedomes are not ignorant, (as bothe my keper, and other inhabitantes hereaboute can testifie) hovv that these. vii. yeares I haue been greuously sycke of a long and continuall maladie, so that I can not be remoued from hense vvithout the playne ieopardie of my lyfe. And because I at your commaundement was committed to your prison, I vvould gladly if I myght, come to myn ansvver before you, vvhich if by your autorite may be brought to passe you shall so pleasure me, as neuer I shall forgette your equitie and goodnes in that behalfe: if not, I pray god that the Lord imputeth it not to you in that day, vvhan all vve vvithout any respect of persons, shall stande before his face and iudgement, there to geue and receiue an account of our doynges in our lyues tyme.

“ Your captiue in the Lorde always
myndfull of you. Rob Glouer.

“ But no answer of these my letters I receaued: The occasion whereof as I beleue was the Byshop and hys Chancelor which intercepting my letters, after the syght of them, hastned the rather therby my departure: taking as I suppose, occasion rather to oppresse me in close prison, thenne that I shoulde defende openly my cause. Being therefore certayne appoynted to conueye vs to Lychefeld, we were commaunded to take horse on frydaye, aboute. xi. of the clocke, being brought forth into the open market, to be wondered at of the people there assembled. And for that they woulde more inkyndie the peoples hartes & myndes agaynst vs, euen at that tyme they caused y^e letters to be proclaymed, concernyng the abolyshyng and defacyng of certayne Bookes, as wel of diuerse good authors, as of the holy Scripture it selfe. Being forward therefore on our journey, within a few houres we cam to Lichopedium, that is, Lichfeld, or the felde of wolves, hauing it so named, not withoute cause. Where we lighted at the signe of y^e swanne, and ther was honestly vsed: And after Supper came to vs one Jephcott the Chauncelors seruaunt, to whose custodye we were then committed. Who at much intreatye fyrst graunted vs to lye in the Inne al y^e nyght for that as yet there was nothing in the prison to susteyne the myserye and hardnes thereof. But afterward, whether by occasion of other, or els for the nonce, he brake hys promyse, and caryed vs to prison, the people being gathered on euery side and wonderyng at vs. I counselled Jephcott to vse his offyce with mercye and clemencye: Otherwise I tolde hym he shoulde lacke it when he woulde haue it. Of whom I receaued thys mercy for my good councill, that he cast me into the depest dongeon in the prison, but one a veye horrible and filthye pytte, stronge and narrowe, very darke and voyde of all lyght, but that whiche appeared through a little hoale frome a backe syde,

Glouers
letters
to the
Maior &
Bench of
Couentrye.

Jephcott
the chau-
cellors
seruaunt.

suffering me to haue all that nyght neyther stoole, seate, or table, but a little bundell of strawe in stede of my bed. God of his infynite goodnesse gaue me pacience to susteyne all, euen so much that if I should haue dyed that nyght, I coulde full well haue borne it out. But the nexte daye betymes in the morning, Jephcot with one Percy the Bishops seruant, who euer after was my keper, came vnto me. To whome I complained of theg reate and extreme rigour that was shewed vnto vs, beseching God to indue vs with his grace, patientlye to suffer and beare them: Whereat I had licence of them to prepare my self a bed, where I coulde. But yet for all that being so sicke as I was, I coulde haue no accesse or helpe of any man, neither yet permytted to haue penne and inke, or any booke, but a latine testament, and an other of praiers, which I secretly hyd frō them. Within .ii. days after, came vnto me in the euenyng y^e Chauncelor and one Temsea a prebendary there: and by all kynde of meanes that they coulde exhorted me to submitt my selfe to the Byshop and the Church, declaring there that they wyshed no more harme to me thā to themselues, being as glad of my soules health, as of their owne: And the occasion why the Chauncelor so sayed, I thynke was, for that before at Couentrye I burdened hym that he cruellye & vniustely had soughte my destruction: whom I answered on thys wyse, that I wold be gladly obedient and morigerous to that Church which submytted it selfe to the worde of God, and wold be ruled thereby. But how, quod he, can you come to the knowledge of the worde of God, but as you be led and taught by the Church? Whose argument I thus refelled: The Church by premonstration declareth what is y^e worde of God. Ergo, is the Church aboue y^e worde of God? Thys argumente amonges learned men is nought & of no efficacye. No more thā if you wold saye, John Baptist doth shewe Christs commyng to y^e people. Ergo, John Baptist is aboue Christ. Or as if I shoulde shewe the King to one, who knoweth hym not, and telle hym thys is he, by and by you shoulde saye, that I was aboue the Kyng. The Chauncelor answered, y^e he came not to dispute, & so departed with a blank, leauing the argument in the myddes. After thys whyle the Byshops comming no man came to trouble me in the prison, by the space of .vii. dayes, all which vacation I bestowed in meditations & deuout prayers: And y^e I thanke God not without fruite of body and soule: For daylye more & more the violence of my disease decreased, and peace of consciēce increased: being sent vnto me diuerse & sondrye consolations by the secrete vnction of the holy spirite, sensible felyng and tastyng of a blissefull lyfe, to folowe by the onely sonne our Lorde: to whome be honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen.

“And yet in the meane season the olde serpent and enemye of oure saluation ceased not to circumuent me with diuerse craftes and cogitations, shewing howe vnworthye I was of that honorable vocation to be in the catalogue of thē whiche shoulde suffer violence for Christ & hys Gospel. But these flying and bryckell cogitations I easelye repressed, by resortyng to the worde of God for succour, and reasonyng thus with my self: And what were those whom God at the begynnyng chose to be witnesses of hys worde and doctryne? Were they not men as other were, subject to sinne, iniquitie, & diuerse infirmityes? Was not Noe, Abraham, & Dauyd such? I will not rehearse Paule, Barnabe, and the reste? Who fyrste gaue hym (as Paule sayth) that he should be repayed again of God? and speakyng at once and to all menne, what haue you (sayth he) that you haue not receaued? And John in lykewise sayd, that of hys plentyfulnesse we haue receaued: no man at any time hath brought any thyng to God, but al thinges procedeth frome hym, nor they elected and loued hym fyrst, but he them, when yet they were hys enemyes & voyde of all vertue. The Lorde is Lord of all, and chiefe ouer all, and aboue al men that calle vpon hym without any respect of persons euen to the consumation of y^e world. And agayn in another prophet: the Lord is at hand with them y^e calleth vpon him, being redy to heare euery man, at all tymes, & all places, whiche with fayth & repentaunce crieth for hys clemencye: And therefore it is no poynt of arrogancye or presumption, that we trustyng vpon hys promyses, doe chalenge as our ryghte hys helpe and ayde, in whatsoeuer peryll and dystresse we are put to, not for that we doe of oureselues deserue any thyng, but onely for the confidence and truste whiche we haue of hys promyses in Christ our Lord, in whom & through whom he that will attayne to

the throne of hys grace, wythoute all fayle shall receaue that which shal be expedient for the health, not only of hys body but also of hys soule, and that farre more liberally and abundantlye than euer he hoped or trusted: hys word cannot fayle or lye. Call upon me, saith he, in the day of tribulation, and I will heare thee, and thou shalt glorifye me &c. I answered also on thys wyse the aduersary: I acknowledge and confesse my self to be a synner and altogether vnworthy to bee accepted amonget the blessed witnesses of his worde. What of that? Shal I therefore because I am a sinner and unworthy, forsake the tutele and defence of such a cause? But what other thyng is thys ells, I praye you, but to heape synne vpon synne, and to make me of an vnworthy person more vnworthy? for what more haynous an offence may be committed, than to denye the trueth of the Gospell, Whereupon Christ sayth, Whosoever is ashamed of me before men, hym will I be ashamed of before my father and his Angells. And by that reason all other hys commaundementes and godlye offices are to be forsaken of me: As if in case the aduersarye do obiecte agaynst me, beyng in my prayers, that for myne vnworthynesse I should not lifte vp myne eyes to almyghtye God, In no wyse therefore I will praye, nor yet cease from periurie, theft, and homicide, for that I am vnworthy to execute Goddes commaundementes. these be the snares and wrynces inuented of the author Satan, which are to be resisted and conuincd by holy prayer, and other remedies out of the holy Scripture of God are to be reprov'd.

"The Bishop was not so soone come to Lichefelde, but I was sent for. And appearing before hym in hys vtter chamber, I found about him none ells but only hys Chaplens, and other of hys house, excepte one or two olde munsibus Priestes. Whereat being fyrst dysmayde, I lifted vp myne harte to almyghty God, beseching hym of hys helpe and ayde in thys doubtfull and dangerous case. Where fyrste the Bishoppe begynnyng, demaunded of me howe I lyked the Priestes? Whereto when I woulde make no answer, leauing that talke perswaded me to be a member of hys Church, which had bene of so long a continuance, declaring that my Church was but fresh and new, taking the originall in Kyng Henrye the. viii. and Kyng Edwards times, and neuer before was knowē or heard of: I tolde hym that I was a member of that Church which was founded vpon the Apostles and Prophets, the chiefe & principal pillar and corner stone being Christ Jesu: alledgyng a place out of S. Paule, declaring that thys Church was euen from the begynnyng. And no maruel is it, although accordyng to the course and rase of thys world, it doth not shew forth the externall lyghte, for that it is afflicted with continuall crosses, euen that there is no tyme or respite granted to it from feare and tyrannical vsage. The Byshop on y^e other side manfully contended that he was of the church. So (said I) the whole congregation of y^e Church once cryed to the hierosolomyes agaynste the Prophetes, the Temple of the Lorde, the Temple of the Lorde: But when I sayed any thyng for my selfe, by and by the Bishop interrupted me, saying, Holde thy peace: I cōmaund thee vpon thy alleageance, hold thy tonge, calling me a proude & arrogant heretyke. I on the other syde desyred of him, if he had any particuler thyng to obiecte agaynst me, that he woulde conuince it by learnyng & Scripture. Whereupon he proposed certayne questions to me: whereunto I denied to answer in hugger mugger, besechyng him that it might be done in the open face of the worlde. Whereat whē he being very earnest, and vrging me thervnto I denied his pleasure, he threatened me to prison from whence I came, and there to be kepte wythoute meate & drynke while I woulde answer hym. And so finally hauyng my mind attent vpō god, secretly with my self eftsoones desyred of him to geue me grace frely & without feare to answer, so as should be agreyng vnto his will & worde.

"The fyrst question was, howe many Sacraments wer instituted by Christ? I answered y^e Sacrament of Baptisme, & the supper. And no more? (sayd he). Yes truly, I graunte that to thē whiche shewe a true and vnfaigned repentance of their former life, with a ful confydence in the death of Christ y^e ministers by the worde of God haue authoriye to pronounce foryeuenesse of their sinnes. Here the bishop would nedes haue it, that I called it a Sacrament, & would not be perswaded to the contrarye. I would not strue further hereabout, for that it seemed not much to the purpose. Although I was falsely borne in hand to holde it as a Sacrament.

"Afterwardes he required, whether I allowed confessiō or no? I denied it.

At length we came to the presence of the true body in y^e Sacrament, wherin he commaunded me to say my minde. I answered, that their Masse neither semed to me a Sacrament, nor yet a sacrifice, for that they differ frō the true institution of Christ, takyng cleane away the same: Whch whē they will restore, I then (sayed I) woulde answere what I thought of the presence of Christ in y^e sacramēt."

And thus being preuented and letted by sufferyng his martyrdome, he wrote no more. Who was burnte at Couentrye with one Cornelys Bungay the. xix. of September, in the yeare of our Lorde God 1555.

No. II.

(See Note in the Appendix on p. 449.)

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1307.

THIS preaching of master Latimer, as it was then fruitfull, and plausible to all honeste and good natures: so againe, it was as odious to the contrary parte, such as were his aduersaries, of whom was then in Cambridge a greate nūber, that preached against him: As y^e bishop of Ely, who then in the kinges College preached against him. D. Watson, M. of Christes college. D. Notaris M. of Clerehall, D. Philo M. of Michaell house. D. Metcalfe, M. of Saint Johns, D. Blith of the kinges Hall. D. Bullock. M. of quenes College. D. Cliffe of Clement hostle. D. Donnes of Jesus College. D. Palmes. M. of S. Nicholas Hostle. Bayne of S. Johns, Bach. of Diui. & after Doc. All these aduersaries did maister Latymer susteine: but especially a blacke frier, the Priour of our Lady fryars, called then Domine Labia, was a great doer against him: who about the same time of Christmas, whan maister Lat. brought forth his Christē Cardes, (to deface belike the doings of the said Latimer) he brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience cinque & quater: meaning by y^e cinque fve places in the newe Testament, and the foure doctors by the quater, by which his cinque quater he would proue that it was not expedient the scripture to be in englyshe, least the ignoraunt and vulgar sort through the occasion thereof, might happely be brought in daunger to leaue their vocation, or els to runne into some inconuenience: As the Plowman when he heareth this in the Gospell, no manne that layeth his hand on the plowgh, and loketh backe, is mete for the kyngdome of God, might peraduenture hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the Baker when he heareth that a lytle leauen corrupteth a whole lumpe of dow, may percase leaue our bread unleauened, and so our bodies shalbe vnseasoned. And the symple man, whan he heareth in the Gospell: if thyne eye offende thee, plucke it out, and cast it from thee, maye make him selfe blynde, and so fyll the worlde full of beggars. These with othermo, this clarkely fryar broughte out to the number of fyue, to proue his purpose. To whome maister Latimer answereth againe briefly, requiring no more but this, that the scripture may be so lōg in englyshe, vtill the people thus dooe as he hath saide, and he would aske no more.

Notwithstanding the withstanding of this Friar, and the malice of all his enemies, maister Latimer with maister Bynley, continued yet in Cambrydge a certayne space, where he with the sayd Bynley vsed much to conferre & companye together, inso muche that the place where they moost vsed to walke in the fieldes, was called longe after the Heretykes hyll.

D. Bnknā.

Bylney &
Latymer
ioynt com-
panions.

From the Parker MSS. in C. C. C. Cambridge, Cod. cxix. 15.

H. Latimerus ad Doctorem Greene.

(See note in the Appendix on p. 437.)

Quando hesterno vesperi Kymboltoniam inde in patriam discessurus veneram, amplissime pater, ex M. Thropo et aliis haud vulgari fide hominibus, post mutuas salutationes et gratulationes, facile didici nihil posse hoc tempore M. Wynfyldo evenire jucundius quam in Luffvelli locum apud nos succedere, et quicquid ille habuerat muneris obtinere: non quod tantillo salario sit opus tam honorifico viro et rerum omnium affluentia tam insigniter locupletato, sed pro liberali sui animi generositate quam maxime cupit cum literatis viris et Musarum cultoribus familiaritatem contrahere. Et hæc res tam serio agitur, et tam grato atque adeo tam ardenti petitur animo, ut quum nihil præter fidem antea venerando Moro datam causari supererat nobis, exoratur jam Morus, sed regia id quidem (ut fertur) intercessione, ut Wynfyldo cedat, liceatque nobis citra omnem ignominiam notam Wynfyldi votis obsecundare. Certumque est eum heic quoquoersum amicos singulari humanitate conciliare, et conciliatos beneficiis devincire, denique omnibus benefacere. Tua ergo prudentia viderit. Ex te uno vel maxime pendet totius rei summa, et Academiæ commodum, decus, ornamentum. Thropus nobis unus admiratissimus, et amantissimus semper tui, hanc concessionem nostræ reipublicæ tam commodum fore existimat ut nihi magis. Nam ut de Wynfyldo perstringam, cui (quæso) vel major his diebus apud regem fides, vel promptior alloquendi eundem pro suis voluntas, quam uni Wynfyldo? Aut quis ex profanis proceribus literarum observantior? At ego videbor fortasse officiosior quam prudentior, quod tam audacter ad tuam dominationem scribo. Sed Thropus impulit, studium pietas observantia in nostram reipublicam impulit. Parce erranti et bene volenti.

Valeat tua dignitas. Has scripsi intempesta nocte, post pluvios equatorios, et cum eram ardore solis in ciborum fumis et reliqua ingurgitatione veluti suffocatus, et mentis impos.

Ex Kymboltonia postridie Edvardi [Oct. 14, 1524]

H. Latimerus.

Reverendo Doctori Greene, Gymnasiarchæ.

From the Harleian MSS. No. 6989, Art. 90.

Latimer to Greenwood.

(See Note to Document No. VII. infra.)

Master Greenwood, salutem in Christo Iesu. I pray your goodness be charitable, and redime nobiscum tempus. In hac dierum malitia non omni credendum est auditui; but if all be truth that I hear, cogor equidem desiderare in te Christianæ caritatis non nihil: satis est adversariorum, si tu amicus esse pergeres; sat perversi obloqui, si tu etiam sileres: de otioso verbo rationem reddes; quanto magis de perniciosis? Quod ad rem a me prædicatam attinet, vel prædicandi consilium, ut non sum mihi conscius erroris, ita nec errorem sum publice fassus: though, peradventure, more out some time than well-advised; not entreating justum verbum, quod potest salvare animas, with such reverence, majesty, or gravity, as either I ought or I would have had; nor with due discretion at all times, having respect to the time, and the rudeness and the rashness of the people. And yet, in this behalf, I would I were alone without fellows, though more uncomfortable. Report ever as ye would be reported, well and not evil, truth and not otherwise; for else statim in foribus peccatum erit. Et caritas multitudinem peccatorum operit, falso impingit multum; and yet peradventure the misbehaviour of the people might as well be imputed to other things as to my preaching: but yet I will not be contentious. As to the people, though I will have more respect to their capacity, yet as to my old preaching, I will not change the verity; and I will with all diligence, according to my promise in my scriptis, do all that is in me to reprove their infirmity. There is no wretch living had more need to say with David than I, Redime, Domine, a calumniis hominum, ut custodiam mandata tua. Of this foolish scribbling ye may know my meaning. Vale. Tuus Latimerus.

No. III.

PROCLAMATION OF HENRY VIII. AGAINST HAVING HOLY SCRIPTURE AND OTHER BOOKS IN ENGLISH, &c.

(See Note in the Addenda, on page 509.)

From the Cottonian MSS., Cleopatra v. folio 336.

MENSE JUNII ANNO REGNI METUENDISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI REGIS
HENRICI OCTAVI XXII.

A PROCLAMATION, made and divysed by the Kyngis Highnes, with the advise of his Honorable Counsaile, for dampning of erroneous bokes and heresies, and prohibitinge the havinge of Holy Scripture translated into the vulgar tonges of englishe, frenche, or duche, in suche maner as within this proclamation is expressed.

The Kinge, our most dradde Sovereigne Lorde, studienge and providyng dayly for the weale, benefite, and honour of this his most noble realme, well and evidently perceiveth, that partly through the malicious suggestion of our gostly enemy, partly by the yvell and perverse inclination and sedicious disposition of sundry persons, divers heresies and erroneous opinions have ben late sown and spredde amonge his subjectes of this his said realme, by blasphemous and pestiferous englishe bokes, printed in other regions and sent into this realme, to the entent as well to perverte and withdrawe the people from the catholike and true fayth of Christe, as also to stirre and incense them to sedition and disobedience agaynst their princes, souveraignes, and heedes, as also to cause them to contempne and neglect all good lawes, customes, and vertuous maners, to the final subversion and desolacion of this noble realme, if they myght have prevayled (which God forbyd) in theyr most cursed persuasions and malicious purposes. Where upon the Kynges highnes by his incomparable wysedome, forseinge and most prudently considerynge, hath invited and called to him the primates of this his gravis realme, and also a sufficient nombre of discrete, vertuous, and well-lerned personages in divinite, as well of either of the universites, Oxforde and Cambrige, as also hath chosen and taken out of other parties of his realme; gyvinge unto them libertie to speke and declare playnly their advises, judgments, and determinations, concernyng as well the approbation or rejectyng of suche bokes as be in any parte suspected, as also the admission and divulgation of the Olde and Newe Testament translated into englishe. Wher upon his highnes, in his owne royall person, callyng to hym the said primates and divines, hath seriously and depely, with great leisure and longe deliberation, consulted, debated, inserched, and discussed the premisses: and finally, by all their free assentes, consentes, and agrementes, concluded, resolved, and determyned, that these bokes ensuyng, that is to say, the boke entituled the wicked Mammona, the boke named the Obedience of a Christen Man, the Supplication of Beggars, and the boke called the Revelation of Antichrist, the Summary of Scripture, and divers other bokes made in the englishe tonge, and imprinted beyonde y^e see, do conteyne in them pestiferous errors and blasphemies; and for that cause, shall from hensforth be reputed and taken of all men, for bokes of heresie, and worthy to be dampned, and put in perpetuall oblivion. The Kingis said highnes therefore straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every his subjectes, of what estate or condition so ever he or they be, as they wyl avoyde his high indignacion and most grevous displeasure, that they from hensforth do not bye, receyve, or have, any of the bokes before named, or any other boke, beinge in the englishe tonge, and printed beyonde the see, of what matter so ever it be, or any copie written drawn out of the same, or the same bokes in the frenche or duche tonge. And to the entent that his highnes wylbe asserteyned, what nombre of the said erroneous bokes shal be founde from tyme to tyme within this his realme, his highnes therefore chargeth and commaundeth, that all and every person or persones, whiche hath or hereafter shall have, any boke or bokes in the englishe tonge, printed beyonde the see, as is afore written, or any of the sayde erroneous bokes in the frenche or duche tonge: that he or they, within fyftene dayes nexte after the publishyng of this present proclamation, do actually delyver or

sende the same boke and every of them to the Bisshop of the diocese, wherin he or they dwelleth, or to his commissary, or els before good testimonie to their curate or parisshe preest, to be presented by the same curate or parisshe preest to the sayd Bisshop or his commissary. And so doynge, his highnes frely pardoneth and acquiteth them, and every of them, of all penalties, forfeitures, and paynes, wherin they have incurred or fallen, by reason of any statute, acte, ordinance, or proclamation before this tyme made, concernynge any offence or transgression by them comytted or done, by or for the keypnge or holdynge of the sayde boke. Forseen and provided alwayes that they from hensforth truly do observe, kepe, and obey this his present gracis proclamation and commaundement.

Also his highnes commaundeth all Mayres, Sheriffes, Bailliffes, Constables, Bursholders, and other officers and ministers within this his realme, that if they shall happen by any meanes or wayes to knowe that any person or persons do herafter bye, receyve, have, or deteyne any of the sayde erroneous boke, printed or written anywhere, or any other boke in englishe tonge printed beyonde the see, or the saide erroneous boke printed or written in the frenche or duche tonge, contrarie to this present proclamation, that they beynge therof well assured, do immediatly attache the saide person or persons, and brynge hym or them to the Kynges highnes and his most honorable Counsaile; where they shalbe corrected and punisshed for their contempte and disobedience, to the terrible example of other lyke transgressours.

Moreover his highnes commaundeth, that no maner of person or persons take upon hym or them to printe any boke or boke in the englishe tonge, concernynge holy scripture, not before this tyme printed within this his realme, untill suche tyme as the same boke or boke be examyned and approved by the ordinary of the diocese where the said boke shalbe printed: And that the printer therof, upon every of the sayde boke beynge so examyned, do sette the name of the examynour or examynours, with also his owne name, upon the saide boke, as he will answere to the Kynges highnes at his uttermoste peryll.

And farthermore, for as moche as it is come to the herynge of our sayde Sovereigne Lorde the Kyng, that reporte is made by dyvers and many of his Subjectes, that it were to all men not onely expedient, but also necessarye, to have in the Englishe tonge bothe the newe Testament and the olde, and that his highnes, his Noble men, and prelates, were bounden to suffre them so to have it: His Highnes hath therefore semblably there upon consulted with the sayde primates, and vertuous, discrete, and well-learned personages in divinite forsayde, and by them all it is thought, that it is not necessarye the said Scripture to be in the englishe tonge, and in the handes of the comen people; but that the distribution of the said scripture and the permitting or denyenge therof dependeth onely upon the discretion of the superiours, as they shall think it convenient. And that having respect to the malignite of this present tyme, with the inclination of the people to erroneous opinions, the translation of the new Testament and the olde in to the vulgare tonge of Englysshe, shulde rather be the occasion of continuance or increase of errors among the said people, than any benefyte or commodite to warde the weale of their soules. And that it shall now be more convenient that the same people have the holy scripture expounded to them by preachers in their sermons, according as it hath ben of old time accustomed before this tyme.

All be it if it shall here after appere to the Kynges highnes, that his said people do utterly abandon and forsake all perverse, erroneous, and sedicious opynions, with the newe Testament and the olde corruptely translated into the English tonge, now beynge in printe; and that the same boke and all other boke of heresy, as well in the french tonge as in the dutch tonge, be clearly extermynate and exiled out of this Realme of Englande for ever: his highnes entendeth to provide, that the holy Scripture shall be by great lerned and catholyke persones translated in to the Englishe tonge, if it shall than seme to his grace convenient so to be. Wherefore his highnes at this tyme, by the hoole advise and full determination of the said primates, and other discrete and substantiall personages of both universites, and other before expressed, and by the assent of his nobles and others of his moste honorable Counsaile, wyllth and straitly commaundeth, that all and every person or persones, of what estate, degre, or condition so ever he or they be,

whiche hath the newe Testament or the olde translated in to Englysshe, or any other boke of holy scripture so translated, beinge in printe, or copied out of the bokes nowe beinge in printe, that he or they do immediatly brynge the same boke or bokes, or cause the same to be broughte, to the Bysshop of the dyocese where he dwelleth, or to the handes of other the sayde persones, at the daye afore limytted, in fourme afore expressed and mencioned, as he wyll avoyde the Kynges high indignation and displeasure. And that no person or persons from hensforth do bye, receyve, kepe, or have the newe Testament or the olde in the englysshe tonge, or in the frenche or duche tonge, excepte suche persones as be appoynted by the Kinges highnes and the Bissshops of this his realme for the correction or amending of the said translation; as they will answere to the Kynges highnes at theyr uttermost perils, and wyll avoyde suche punishment as they, doynge contrary to the purport of this proclamation, shall suffre, to the dredefull example of all other lyke offenders.

And his highnes further commaundeth, that all suche statutes, actes, and ordinances, as before this tyme have been made and enacted, as well in y^e tyme of his moste gracious reigne, as also in the tyme of his noble progenitours, concerning heresies, and havynge and deteynyng erroneous bokes contrary and agaynst the faythe Catholyke, shall immediatly be put in effectuall and due execution over and besyde this present proclamation.

And God save the Kyng.

THO. BERTHELETUS Regius impressor excusit. Cum privilegio.

No. IV.

LATIMER'S FIRST CONVERSION, AND HIS APPEARANCE BEFORE CARDINAL WOLSEY.¹

(See Note in the Appendix on p. 454.)

From the Harleian MSS., No. 422, fol. 84.

WHEN as it pleased Almighty God to call Mr. Heugh Latymer unto the knowledge of the truth of God's holie worde by the godlie Lecture of divinity redde by Mr. George Stafforde in the universite scole at Cambridge, and of a Saule hadd as it were made hym a very Paule: For otherwise all the daies of his lif he hadd bestowed his tyme in the laberynth stodie of the scole doctors, as in Dunce, Dorbell, Tho. of Aquyne, Hugo de Victore, with suche lyke; insomoch that being mightily affected that way he of purpose (perceyving the youth of the universite inclyned to the reading of the scriptures, leaving off those tedious authors and kynds of studie, being a bachyler of divinite, and for his gravitie and yers preferred to the keping of the Universitie crosse, which no man had to do withall but such a one as in sanctymony of lif excelled other) cam into the Sophanie scole emonge the youth, there gathered together of dailie custome to keep their sopheries and disputacons; and there moste eloquentlie made to them an oration, dissuading theym frome this newe fangeled kynde of studie of the Scriptures, and vehemently persuaded them to the studie of the scole authors, which he did not long before that he was so mercifullie called to the contrary. And as he felte by this his divine vocation that all his other studie litle profited hym, but was rather a stumbling block unto hym than entending to preche to the worlde the syncere doctrine of the gossell, so he mightelie tractyng no tyme preached dayely in the universitie of Cambridge, both in English and *ad clerum*, to the great admiration of all men that aforetyme had knowne hym of a contrarie severe opynyon. Insomoch that bishop

(1) Strype considers this to be the production of Ralph Morice, Cranmer's secretary.

Weste than bishop of Ele, hearin of this Mr. Latymer's newe conversion, deterned with hymself to come to here hym preache; but that sholde be sodden and withouten any intelligence to be gyven to Latymer. And so it came to passe that on a tyme when Mr. Latymer had prepared to preche in the universitie church a sermon *ad clerum* in Laten, the bishopp hering therof came secretelie and soddenlie from Ele, and entered into the universitie church, accompenyd with certen men of worshipp (Latymer then beyng well enteryd into his sermon); whose approche beyng honorable Latymer gave place, and surceased of frome farther speakyng, untill the byshopp and his retynewe were quietlie placed. That done, after a good pause, Latymer begynnyth to speake to his auditorie after this sorte: It ys of congruence mete (quod he) that a newe auditorie, namelie being more honorable, requirerth a newe theme, being a new argument to entreat of. Therefore it behoveth me now to diverte frome myne intended purpose, and somewhat to entreat of the honorable estate of a byshopp. Therefore lett this be the theme (quod he) *Christus existens pontifex futurorum bonorum*, &c. This texte so fruitefullie he handeled expounding every wourde, and setting forth the office of Christe so syncerlie as the true and perfeite paterne unto all other bishoppes that sholde succede hym in his church, that the bishopp then present might well think of hymself that he nor none of his fellowes were of that race of bishoppes whiche Christ mente to have succede in his church after hym, but rather of the feloweshipp of Cayphas and Aunas.

This notwithstanding the Bishopp being a verie wise and politique worldlie man, after the sermonde fynished called to hym Mr. Latymer, and said, Mr. Latymer, I hartelie thanke you for your good sermon, assuring you that yf you will do one thing at my requeste, I wyll knele down and kysse your fete for the good admonition that I have receyved of your sermon; assuring you, that I never harde myne office so well and substantiallie declared before this tyme. What ys your lordship's pleasure that I should do for you? quod Mr. Latymer. Marie, quod the Bishopp, that you will preche me in this place one sermonde againste Marteyn Luther and his doctrine. Saied than Mr. Latymer againe, My lorde, I am not acquaynted with the doctrine of Luther, nor we are not permitted here to reade his wourks, and therefore it were but a vayne thing for me to refute his doctrine; not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinion he holdeth. Suer I am, quod Latymer, that I have preached before you this daie no manys doctrine, but onelie the doctrine of God oute of the Scriptures. And yf Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there nedeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understande that he doith against the Scripture teache, I wilbe readie with all my harte to confonde his doctrine, as moche as lieth in me. Well well, Mr. Latymer, I perceyve that you somewhat smell of the panne; you will repent this gere one day. And so the Bishopp never a white amendyd by the sermond practized with Mr. Latymers foees frome that daie forwards to put hym to sylence; insomoch that grevous complaynt was made of hym by divers papists of the universitie, as by Mr. Tirrell and other, unto cardinnal Wolsey, that he preached verie seditious doctrine, infecting the youth of the universitie with Luther's opinions. Whereapon the Cardynall sent for hym to Yorke place; and there attending upon the Cardynall's pleasure was called before hym into his inner chamber by the sound of a litle bell, whiche the Cardynall used to ryng when any person sholde come or approche unto hym. When Mr. Latymer was before hym he well advysed hym and saied, Ys your name Latymer? Yea forsoth, quod Latymer. You seme, quod the Cardynall, that you are of good yeres, ne no babe, butt one that sholde wiselye and soberly use yourself in all your doyns; and yet yt ys reported to me of you, that you are moche infected with this new phantasticall doctrine of Luther and suche like heretiques; that you verie moche harme emonge the youth and other light headds with your doctrine. Saied Mr. Latymer againe, Your grace ys mysinformed, for I ought to have some more knowledge than to be so symple reported of, by reason that I have studied in my time both of the aunciente doctors of the church and also of the scole doctors. Marie that ys well said, quod the Cardynall: I am glad to here that of you; and therefore, quod the Cardynall, you Mr. doctor Capon, and you Mr. doctor Marshall (as I suppose both being ther present), saie you somewhat to Mr. Latymer touching some question in Dunce. Whereupon doctor Capon propounded a question to Mr.

Latymer. Mr. Latymer being freshe than of memory, and not discontinued from studie as those ij doctors hadd byn, answered verie roundely; somewhile helping them to cite their own allegations rightlie, where they had not perfectlie nor trulie alledged them. The Cardynall perceyving the rype and redye answering of Latymer saied, What meane you my masters to bring suche a man before me into accusation? I had thought that he had byn some lighte heddyd felowe, that never studied such kinde of doctrine as the scole authors are. I prairie thee Latymer, tell me the cause why the Bishopp of Elie and other doth mislike thie preachings: tell me the trueth, and I will bear with thee upon amendement. Quod Latymer, Your grace muste understande that the byshop of Elie cannot favor me, for that not longe agoo I preached before hym in Cambridge a sermon of this text, *Christus existens pontifex &c.* Wherein I described the office of a bishopp so uprightlie as I might according to the texte, that never after he colde abide me; but hath not onlie forbydden me to preche in his diocese, but also founde the meanes to inhybite me frome preaching in the universitie. I prairie you tell me, quod the Cardynall, what thou dydst preche before hym upon that texte? Mr. Latymer playnelie and symplie (committing his cause unto Almighty God, who ys director of princes harts) declared unto the Cardynall the hole effecte of his sermon preached before the Bishop of Elie. The Cardynall nothing att all mislyking the doctrine of the wourde of God that Latymer hadd preached, saied unto hym, Dyd you not preche any other doctryne than you have rehersed? No suerlie, saied Latymer. And examynynge thoroughlie with the doctors what els colde be objected againste hym the Cardynall saied unto Mr. Latymer, Yf the Bishop of Elie cannot abide suche doctrine as you have here repeted, you shall have my Lycence, and shall preache yt unto his barde, lett hym saie what he will. And thereupon after a gentill monition gyven unto Mr. Latymer, the Cardynall dischargyd hym with his Licence home to preache thoroute England.

Now when Latymer cam to Cambridge every man thought there, that he hadd byn utterly put to sylence. Notwithstanding the nexte holyday after he entryd into the pulpet and shewed his Lycence contrary to all expectation. Not longe after yt chaunced the Cardynall to fall into the kyng's displeasure. Whereupon divers reported that Mr. Latymer's Lycence was extincted. Mr. Latymer answarynge therunto in the pulpawd saied, Where ye think that my Lycence decayeth with my lord Cardynalls temporall fall, I take yt nothing so: for he being I trust reconciled to God from his pompe and vanyties I nowe sett more by his Lycence than ever I did before, when he was in his moste felicitie.

No. V.

LETTER FROM RICHARD MORYSON TO [? CRANMER],
VENICE, DEC. 30th. [? 1533].

(See Note in the Appendix on page 454.)

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, vol. B. 3. 2. folio 77.

Quanquam satis tutum hodie non est, cuiquam melioris fortunæ adeptionem, aut (ut rectius dicam) ampliorem honoris gradum, gratulari, quòd et quamplurimi sunt qui ad certum tempus desumpta honestatis larva eam tum deposituri cum ambitionis itinere confecto divitias sibi pararint, et paucorum annorum molestias facile devorent, ut per omnem deinceps vitæ cursum reliquum voluptatibus deliquescant; tibi tamen optime præsul hanc illustrandi animi tui materiam jampridem fuisset congratulatus, nisi nunc primum te episcopum esse factum audirem. Sed quod tum ex more hominum fecisse videri poteram, id nunc voluntatis meæ coactu facio, lubensque facio. Quis enim est, aut quis tandem erit, quem perpetuo bonum nos nobis polliceamur, si vita tua anteaacta damni infecti sponsor, si Christus animo tuo inclusus, præcisa omnis fugæ spe, si Christus prædes assiduus omnem fraudis culpam præstiturum se polliceatur? Adolescens sum, nec per ætatem multa vidisse potui: vidi tamen, et sæpe vidi, quantam innocentiae labem quantam honestatis ruinam pietatisque pestem nova

quorundam dignitas, novi honores, invexerint. Vix credibile est, virtutis simulationem virtuti tam esse similem. Deus bone, quantus hic error, ea bona iudicare quæ possidentem deteriorem semper faciunt! Divinitus, ut omnia, Platonis ille Socrates hoc ab Hypparcho sciscitatur; *φέρει γάρ, εἴαν τις χρυσίου σταθμοῦ ἤμισυ ἀναλώσας, διπλάσιον λάβῃ ἀργυρίου, κέρδος ἢ ζημίαν εἰληφεν*; si certum est damnum, certa jactura, nosne luculentum lucrum fecisse nobis videmur, cum pietas perit, parva paratur pecunia? Cum honestatis assem amittimus, vix falsi honoris unciolam paraturi, tantine est pecunia humanæ felicitatis perturbatrix maxima, ut a sacris ad sordes, a rationis tribunali ad libidinis forum, a veritatis aula ad gratiæ, simulationis, adulationisque culinam, hujus causa velimus descendere? Quid amplum, quid divinum, quid homine majus, imo quid homine dignum ab hoc expectas, cujus non modo orationem sed cogitationes omnes ambitio sibi vendicat? Una hæc res, hæc una res, non regnis solum sed religioni interitum pene attulit, quod omnes cum ditissimis de pecunia certant, nemo de virtutis possessione contendit. Sed hæc cur ad te scribo? dicam. In te et Latomero religio spem omnem reditus sui collocavit, vos suos recuperatores delectos a Deo videt, in vobis esse situm cernit eam non modo restituere sed restitutam his præsidii vallare, ut hostium insidiis nullus ad lædendum aditus sit relictus. Cœpisse, nisi perficias, rempublicam turbasse est non juvasse; neque cogitatis post vos successores alios qui prudenter incepta felicius quam vos absolvant. Quot pictores, et quanta arte præditi, frustra sudarunt in illa Apellis Venere perficienda! Nescio quomodo, facilius est non nullis in rebus auspicata jam nunc jam nunc absolvere, quam ad interrupta longo post tempore supremam manum addere. Principem nacti estis, qualem vix a superis optare potuistis; nobilitas pene tota contra superstitionem à religione stat, non ignari ceremonias excitandæ honestatis causa institutas jampridem in quæstum et sordes esse translatas: populus favet: hoc unum reliquum est, ne occasionem vobis ostentarem, non dicam brevem, ne male ominari tam honestæ causæ tam sancto negotio videar; superest (inquam) unum hoc, rei bonæ agendæ tempus tam optatum, tam insperatum, ne amittatis. Cavete ne Carthaginensis ille Barcha, quod Annibali dixit, vobis dixisse potuerit, Vincere scis Annibal, victoria nescis uti. Julius Cæsar recte Pompeium accusavit, qui aciem instructam et pugnandi jam tum avidam apud Pharsalum consistere hostemque operiri maluerit, quam vim impetum divinumque animorum ardorem rectâ in hostium castra sequi. Mora comes periculorum. Socordis animi, spem oblatam experiri nolle: certam vero non aggredi non arripere victoriam, optandum quidem in his, qui pro turpi causa bellum gerunt: in vobis vero, qui Christum ab avitis agris deturbatum in possessionem suam restituere conamini, flagitium vix ullo thure expiabile. Vincite, Vincite; neque vincite solum, sed victoriæ vestræ usus commodaque populo exhibete. Sed de republica satis. De me nunc pauca accipe. A literis me abduct inopia, nisi ejuspiam boni viri liberalitas illam a me abducat: si commode potes aliquid beneficii in mea studia contulisse, conferres id in hominem et egentem et (quod unum audeo polliceri) non ingratum. Si me non nosti, sique ad rem pertinere videtur, is sum qui a Cardinalis ædibus abhinc quinque annos ad Cantabrigiam Latomeri cognoscendi causa veneram. Gonellus¹ me in tui amorem rapuit: cum Gonello veneram ad te bis aut ter, credo: semel tecum pransus. Sed cur hæc? Inops sum. Vocor Ricardus Morysonus. Vale. Venetiis, 3^o Calendas Januarias.

No. VI.

LATIMER'S APPEARANCE BEFORE THE CONVOCATION,
MARCH 1532.*(See Appendix, note on p. 458.)*Ex Registro Convocationis, et Excerptis Heylinianis :
Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 746.

Sequenti II die Martii comparuit in Synodo "convocatus Hugo Latymer, et ostensis articulis prius ministratis, reverendissimus requisivit eundem Latymer subscribere prædictis articulis, qui sic requisitus penitus recusavit: Deinde

(1) William Gonellus, an intimate friend of Erasmus, and tutor to Sir Thomas More's children. (Tanner).—Ed.

requisitus per alios episcopos et prælatos, recusavit subscribere: Tertio requisitus ut subscriberet, recusavit. Quare reverendissimus pronuntiavit eum contumacem, et in pœnam contumaciæ eum excommunicabat cum consensu confratrum suorum. Quo facto, reverendissimus decrevit prædictum Hugonem Latymer remanere in salva custodia in manerio suo de Lambeth.

“Sequenti 21 die Martii prolocutor cum clero intrans in donum capitularem habuit longum tractatum inter reverendissimi locumtenentem (episcopum London) et alios episcopos super articulos ministratos contra magistrum Latymer, ubi decretum est, quod si ipse velit subscribere XI. et XIV. articulis, absolvetur a sententia excommunicationis, et quod ipse Latymer apparet in proxima sessione. Quo die prædictus Latymer comparuit flexis genibus coram domino locum-tenente, et submisit se, et veniam petiit, et recognovit se errasse in prædicando contra articulos prædictos, sub hac forma verborum: My Lords, I do confess, that I have misordered myself very farre, in that I have so presumptuously and boldly preached, reproving certain things, by which the people that were infirm hath taken occasion of ill. Wherefore I ask forgiveness of my misbehaviour; I will be glad to make amends; and I have spoken indiscreetly in vehemence of speaking, and have erred in some things, and in manner have been in a wrong way (as thus) lacking discretion in many things; et petiit humiliter se absolvi a sententia excommunicationis. Et postea differebat dominus locum-tenens juramentum ad subscribendum articulis prædictis et ad præsentandum se coram reverendissimo 10 Aprilis, vel ejus locum-tenente, ad audiend. voluntatem dicti reverendissimi, ac etiam ad audiend. voluntatem judicium auctoritate convocationis deputandorum, viz. reverendissimi Edwardi, Ebor. archiepiscopi, Stephani Winton. Joh. Roffen. et Joh. Exon. episcoporum, et Ric. Wolman, Ric. Sampson, Edw. Fox, &c. Et tunc prædictus Latymer exceptis articulis xi. et xiv. subscripsit voluntariè, et consignavit sua manu propria. Unde fuit absolutus a sententia excommunicationis, et monitus ad comparandum 15 Aprilis ad audiendum ulteriorem processum.”

From the Tunstall Register, folio 142, and the edition of 1563, p. 1334.

Articles devised by the bishops for Latimer to subscribe.

xxj^o. die mensis Martii Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo xxxj^{mo}, Mr. Hugo Latemer in sacra theologia baccalarius studens in Universitate Cantabrigiæ, de fide et erronea prædicatione notatus et suspectus ac desuper coram reverend^{mo}. patre Cant. archiepiscopo. Joh. Lond. episcopo, ac cæteris prælatiis et clero Cant. provinciæ in convocatione sua tenta apud Westm. vocatus, confessus est et recognovit fidem suam sic sentiendo prout sequitur.

1. Sentio purgatorium esse pro animabus defunctorum purgandis post hanc vitam.

2. Sentio quod eadem animæ in purgatorio juvantur missis, orationibus, et elemosinis superstitum.

3. Sentio quod Sancti Apostoli et martires Christi a corporibus exuti sunt in cœlis.

4. Sentio quod iidem sancti in cœlis tanquam mediatores orant pro nobis.

5. Sentio quod iidem sancti in cœlis a nobis honorandi sunt.

6. Sentio quod conducit Christianis sanctos invocare, ut ipsi pro nobis ut mediatores Deum deprecantur.

7. Sentio quod peregrinationes et oblationes possunt pie et meritorie fieri apud sepulchra et reliquias sanctorum.

8. Sentio quod qui voverunt castitatem perpetuam non possunt ducere uxores nec votum solvere sine dispensatione pontificis summi.

9. Sentio quod claves ligandi et solvendi traditæ Petro perseverant in successoribus suis pontificibus etiam si male vivant, nec ullo modo nec unquam laicis commissæ sunt.

10. Sentio quod homines per jejunia, orationes, et alia pietatis opera, mereri possunt à deo.

11. Sentio quod prohibiti ab episcopis tanquam suspecti cessare debent a prædicatione, donec se apud eosdem vel superiorem legitime purgaverint fuerintque restituti.

Hugo Latemer.

Iste erat beneficiatus in dioc. Saris. ac postmodum episcopus Wigorn. ac deinde amotus ab eodem ac famosus jurisperitus Johannes Bell promotus ad eundem episcopatum, regnante illustrissimo Rege H. vij.

12. Sentio quod jejuniū quadragesimale et alia jejunia, a canonibus indicta et christianorum moribus recepta, sunt (nisi necessitas aliter exigat) servanda.

13. Sentio quod Deus in quolibet septem sacramentorum merito passionis Christi confert gratiam ritè suscipienti.

14. Sentio quod consecrationes, sanctificationes, benedictiones, usu Christianorum in ecclesia receptæ, laudabiles sunt et utiles.

15. Sentio quod laudabile est et utile ut venerabiles imagines crucifixi et sanctorum statuatur in ecclesiis in memoriam honorem et venerationem Jhesu Christi et sanctorum ejus.

16. Sentio quòd laudabile est et utile easdem Imagines ornare, et coram eisdem lucernas ardentes statuere in honorem eorundem sanctorum.

No. VII.

LATIMER'S TROUBLE IN THE CONVOCATION, APRIL 1532,
RESPECTING MR. GREENWOOD.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 458.)

Ex Registro Convocationis, et Excerptis Heylinianis :
Wilkins, iii. p. 748.

Antequam autem finis sessioni xcviii. [die Lunæ April 15, 1532] imponeretur, Magister Latymer ad synodum evocatus fuit ad respondendum in causa literarum ab ipso ad mag. Greenwood in universitate Cantabrig. scriptarum,¹ et monitus ad comparandum personaliter die Veneris proximo 19 Aprilis ad audiend. voluntatem reverendissimi. Quo tempore jussus ut "præstaret juramentum de respondendo fideliter die Lunæ proximo, respondit, quod appellavit ad serenissimum dominum nostrum regem : cui appellationi voluit stare." Die Lunæ April 22 (Sess. c.) "Episcopus London commissarius archiepiscopi tractavit de materia appellationis mag. Latymer; et tunc Episcopus Winton. significavit regium beneplacitum super materia appellationis prædictæ, qui remisit eum ad reverendissimum et convocationem prædictam, ut ipsi decernerent. Unde dictus Latymer exhibuit se personaliter, et flexis genibus dixit quæ sequuntur, viz. That where he had aforetime confessed, that he hath heretofore erred, and that he meened then it was onely error of discretion, he hath sythens better seen of his own acts, and searched them more deeply, and doth knowledge, that he hath not erred only in discretion, but also in doctrine; and said that he was not called afore the said lords, but upon good and just ground, and hath been by them charitably and favourably intreated. And where he had aforetime misreported of the lords, he knowledgeth, that he hath done yll in it, and desired them humbly on his knees to forgive him : and where he is not of ability to make them recompense, he said, he would pray for them. Qua submissione facta receptus est in gratiam ad specialem requisitionem domini regis ; ita, si postea relapsus fuerit, præmissa tum objicerentur eidem. Et illic episcopi protestati sunt, quod ista submitio non extenderetur ad aliquam abrenunciationem, quæ fieri consuevit in talibus casibus. Deinde facta fide per eundem Latymer de parendo juri et servandis mandatis ecclesiæ, Dominus London. locum-tenens absolvit eundem, et restituit eum sacramentis ecclesiæ."

No. VIII.

INHIBITIONS BY STOKESLY, BISHOP OF LONDON, AGAINST
LATIMER AND OTHERS PREACHING IN HIS DIOCESE.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 460.)

From the Chapter House Documents, Rolls House, A. 1. 15, p. 164.

Johannes permissione divina London episcopus dilecto nobis in Christo christofero Botterell literato, necnon universis et singulis rectoribus vicariis capellanis curatis et non curatis clericis et literatis quibuscunque, per civitatem

(1) See a Letter, supposed to be that here referred to, in the Parker Soc. Latimer's Remains, p. 356, from Harl. MSS. No. 6989.—Ed.

dioc. et jurisdictionem nostras London ubilibet constitutus, Salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Sane ex fide dignorum relatione ipsâque rei evidentia ad nostram jamdudum pervenit notitiam, quod licet secundum canonicas sanctiones sanctorumque patrum decreta nemo prohibitus vel non missus præter auctoritatem ab apostolica sede vel catholico loci episcopo susceptam sibi prædicationis officium usurpare debeat, Quidam tamen malignæ mentis prædicatores suæ salutis immemores ad ecclesias et alia loca nostræ dioc. accedentes ac (ut asseritur) novam quandam periculosam imo perniciosam et pestilentem doctrinam circumferentes, absque licentia de Jure et provincialibus constitutionibus sufficiente, contra canonicas et provinciales sanctiones in ea parte legitime editas et promulgatas, ad prædicandum se temere hactenus ingesserunt ac quotidie se ingerere præsumunt, Quo fit ut sacri ordinis ministerium contempnatur et populus Christianus multipliciter decipiatur. Unde nos, Johannes episcopus antedictus, de prædictis magnopere dolentes cura pastorali super grege nobis commisso diligenter invigilare et remedia oportuna præmissis adhibere cupientes, vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus auctoritate nostra inhibeatis et interdicatis inhiberive et interdicti faciatis peremptoriè omnibus et singulis personis tam secularibus quam regularibus exemptis aut non exemptis cujuscunque status gradus aut conditionis extiterint, ne infra civitatem diocesim et jurisdictionem nostras London in locis exemptis aut non exemptis præterquam in suis propriis ecclesiis prædicare aut officium prædicationis in se assumere sine licentia nostra speciali præsumant nec præsumat eorum aliqua, sub pœna juris: Et quid in præmissis feceritis nobis debite certificare curetis, cum ad id congrue fueritis requisiti. Datum sub sigillo nostro xxiiij. die mensis Aprilis, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo xxxiiij°, et nostræ consecrationis Anno tertio.

Johannes permissione divina London Episcopus, universis et singulis Rectoribus Vicariis capellanis curatis et non curatis clericis et literatis quibuscunque per civitatem et dioc. nostras London ubilibet constitutis, Salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Quia nos nuper cuidam Hugoni Latemer presbitero certis de causis justis et legitimis nos et animum nostrum in hac parte moventibus, et præsertim propter perniciosos errores determinatos jam per ecclesias in decretis decretalibus consuetudinibus provincialibus sive locorum synodalibus contrarios, quibus sua artificiosa illecebra et (ut fertur) fraudulenta et pestifera dicendi et prædicandi figura populum passim inficere et corrumpere atque ita à receptis et approbatis ecclesiæ dogmatibus seducere prætentitur, auctoritate nobis de Jure et provinciali constitutione in hac parte concessa et competenti inhibuimus et interdiximus ne infra civitat. et dioc. nostras London in locis exemptis aut non exemptis nisi licentia nostra spirituali suffultus prædicaret sub pœna Juris; Ac nihilominus (ut accepimus) idem Hugo Latemer, spreta et contempta inhibitione nostra hujusmodi infra nostram diocesim London tertio instantis mensis Octobris temere absque licentia hujusmodi prædicare præsumpsit, in Juris ac inhibitionis nostræ vilipendium et contemptum: Vobis igitur conjunctim et divisim committimus et firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus ex causis præmissis denuo et secundo auctoritate nostra inhibeatis et interdicatis ac inhiberi et interdicti faciatis peremptoriè præfatum Hugonem Latemer, cui nos etiam tenore præsentium sic inhibemus, ne infra civitatem diocesim aut jurisdictionem nostras London in locis exemptis aut non exemptis prædicare aut officium prædicatoris in se assumere præsumat, donec et quousque ad nostrum justum arbitrium defectum suum purgaverit et ad prædicandum legitime fuerit restitutus et literas testimoniales juxta tenorem et formam canonicarum sanctionum seu constitutionum provincialium in hac parte editarum legitime impetraverit et in quocunque loco deinceps prædicare voluerit realiter exhiberit, sub pœna et pœnis in Jure et constitutionibus provincialibus contentis et expressis. Ac insuper vobis et cuilibet vestrum conjunctim et divisim committimus et mandamus, quatenus universis et singulis abbatibus prioribus et religio-sarum domorum tam exemptarum quam non exemptarum præpositis ac eorum vices-gerentibus quibuscunque, necnon universis et singulis rectoribus vicariis presbyteris cleroque et plebi ubivis infra nostram diocesim etiam in locis exemptis constitutis, ac præsertim e regio viro, fratri Georgio Browne sacræ

theologiæ professori priori domus sive conventus fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini civitatis et dioc. London, prædictam inhibitionem nostram, sic ut præmittitur auctoritate nostra prædicta factam exequenturque fuisse intimetis et significetis, eadem auctoritate ac eisdem de causis inhibentes omnibus et singulis prædictis ne præfatum Hugonem Latemer ad prædicandum in ecclesiis suis qualibuscunque seu infra præcinctum domorum suarum seu infra earum aliquam, sub pœna et pœnis in Jure et constitutionibus provincialibus contentis et expressis, admittant seu aliquis eorum admittat, nisi prius sic ut præfertur, se purgaverit et literas sufficientes super restitutione sua (ut præmittitur) realiter eisdem exhiberit. Datum sub sigillo nostro quarto die mensis Octobris Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo Tricesimo tertio, et nostræ consecrationis anno tertio.

No. IX.

PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES OF LATIMER
AT BRISTOL IN 1533.

(See Notes in the Appendix on pp. 454, 466.)

From the Cotton MSS. Cleopatra E. v. p. 363.

Letter from Richard Browne, priest, to some person¹ in the Convocation,
Worcester, March 18th, [1533].

Ryght worshyppfull mastyr, my dewty unto you rememberyd: Efte sons itt may lyke you to be advertysyd, that up on the Second Sondag thys Lentt att Brystowe, ther prechyd on Lattemare. And as itt ys reportyd he hath done moche hurte amongyst the peple by hys seyde prechyng and sowyng errors. His fame ys ther and in most parte of the diocese. He seyde that owr lady was a synnar, and that she owght nott to be worshyppte of the peple ne any other seyntt. Exclaimyng up on pylgrimage. And also wher the Gospell that seyde Sondag specifying of the woman of Canene, calling up on Christe to helpe her; and the disciples prayde for her seying, *dimittite eam, quia clamat post nos*: the same Latemer declaryd in hys sayd prechyng that the woman of Canene by the desire and prayar of the disciples to Christ for her she rather fard the worse than the better by the prayar of them: with divers other opynions in hys preching, fully a genst the determynacion of the cherche. Wherby he hath very sore infect the seyde towne of Bristowe, as itt ys reported. The same Latemer is assignyd for to preache agenn at Brystowe the Wensday in Ester wycke, excepte by yowr comaundment un to the deane ther, he be denyd and forbode to preche. The good catholicke peple in the seyde towne do abhorre all soche hys prechyng. The felowe dwellyth with in the diocese of Bathe: and certen tymys commyth in to my lords diocese of Worcester, thus doyng moch hurtt. I ame requiryd to certify your mastyrshype of thys worschyd being in his abusyons, and that ye wolde wrytte un to the deane of Brystowe to forbode and deny the seyde Latemer to preche ther or with in any parte of my seyde lord's diocese. Itt ys reportyd that he ys commandyd nott to preche with in the diocese of Bathe. Thys ye knowe now what ys to be done, as itt shalbe yowr pleasure; and owr Lord God send you good spede in the Convocacion, and send you mery home to Worcester. This xviiiith day of Marche.

By yowr trewe obedient servant,

Rychard Browne, Prest.

(1) Strype conjectures Peter Vannes, archdeacon of Worcester.—ED.

Ex Reg. Convoc. Wilkins, iii. p. 756.

Proceedings of Convocation concerning Latimer.

“Primo die [Convocationis, Martii 26, 1533] habita fuit communicatio de examinatione Latimeri et subscriptione ejus certis articulis facta de purgatorio, de veneratione sanctorum, et de peregrinatione, contra quos ille in villa Bristolliæ contra promissum suum prædicasse dicebatur; ubi decretum fuit quod hujusmodi submissio in ea parte facta et manu sua subscripta mitteretur ad aliquem probum et doctum virum in partibus illis ubi idem Latimer prædicasse asserebatur, aut prædicare contigerit in futurum.”

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, A. 1. 9. p. 111.

The seyng of Mr. Hyberdyn yn the pulpytte within the towne of Bristoll from Easter Eve tyll litle Éaster Sunday [Palm Sunday April 6th.]

ANNO R. R.
HEN.
VIJVI
XXIIII^{to}.

{ *Da[ta] est mihi potestas in Cælo et in terra, &c.*
{ proveth that the pope is kyng and prynce of all the
{ worlde, &c.

{ *Beati pauperes spiritu*
{ proveth purgatory, and there he seide that Richesse and
{ povertie yn spiryte wyll not stonde to gether.

{ *dabo leges et scribam in cordibus eorum*
{ proveth that no man can do Idolatry.

{ The Churche knoweth those things that Christe preched
{ and dyd, which were not wryten in Scripture.

{ Mary Magdalen knewe nott Christe to be God before his
{ Resurrexion.

{ The Pater Noster to be seyde to Saynts.

{ The bludde of Christe is not sufficyant for us without the
{ bludde of marturs.

{ It was not necessary for Scripture to be wryten.

{ *Oravi pro te Petre, &c.*
{ proveth that Rome cannot be destroyed, nor can erre,
{ and all that it speketh is Scripture.

{ Lett all the kyngs in the worlde do the uttermoste that
{ they can, and yett shall they never destroy our holy
{ father the pope nor Rome, for which he broughte a pro-
{ phete.

{ The Gospell in English bringeth men to heresy.

{ God wolde not here the woman of Canany until she gate
{ the Apostylls to be petycyoners for her.

{ If the pope himself or the bishop of Canterbury give
{ license to any preacher without the license of the bishop
{ of the same diocese, the maire with all the council should
{ take stoues and cast at such preachers' faces.

{ He broughte in a parable at St. Thomas Churche under
{ a colour of the nightingale and the Crowe, which prop-
{ erty of the Crowe he said was, that wether the kyng
{ came by, or the maire, or any other honest man, that he
{ called them knaves, kuaves.

Ibidem. fol. 113.

Doctor Powell seying as foloweth in the pulpytte within the town of Bristol upon Sent Mark's daie [Friday April 25th,] and on the Sunday folowinge Anno r. r. Henr. viijth xxv^{to}.

Memorandum, that doctor Powell yn his Sermonde spokyn at Seynt Augustyns grene seide very seducyously to the grete inqyetyng and steryng of the people, When he entreted of the Cheire of Pestylence, seying that two maner of people sytt thereyn: one and the firste be those which corrupteth and enfecteth the people with opyn synnyng and yll ensample of lyvynge. As he that doth putte away his first wiffe and taketh a nother without assente or dispensacion of the Church. And specially in a hedde or a governor as in a Kyng, which doth occasion other that hereth and seeth the same to folowe and to do likewise, as kyng Davyd with his adultery sate also in the Cheyre of pestylence: which his seying sounded to the hyrerers to the reproffe of the Kyng their governor, and to their no litle offence and greffe.

Also upon Sunday after he noted upon this texte *Virga directionis* the sacrament of Order: and there he noted that kyngs and prynces are subjecte to prests and prelates: with vehement enhauncysng of the same, and then spake no thinge of their subjection of prests and prelates to the prynces and governors: which offended the people not a litle.

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, A. 1. 7, p. 157.

Letter from some unknown person to [? Latimer].

Sir the cause why you have not in your prechings moved your parishons to pylgrymages so instantly as you have to the werks of charite ys (as I suppose) for lack of scripture to beare you to the same. Wherefore [for] your better Instruction I nowe sende to you one of doctor Powells fynding, which ys this, Math. 19. *Omnis qui reliquerit domos, fratres, sorores, patrem, matrem, agros, propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet in hoc seculo, et vite æternæ sortietur hereditatem tandem.* So, quod he, whosoever goith a pylgrymage to Master John Shorne, Walsyngham, to sainte Anne in the wode, &c., leaveth father and mother, suster & brother, domos &c. for the tyme that he ys from home. Therefore putt in the boxe what he wille, he shall have a hundredth tymes as myche here in this worlde, and att the last everlasting lyf. Suche ys the preaching att Bristowe. And the vii. Sacraments he pyked oute of the Psalm *Dominus regit me.* 22. [23] baptism, Ibi—*super aquam refectionis*: confirmacion, Ibi—*baculus meus*: extreme unction, Ibi—*impinguasti in oleo*: matrimony, Ibi—*virga*: and in the same *virga* he did find Sacramentum Ordinis, but [for this purpose he] borrowed of another psalme [110.] *Directionis*: the sac[r]ament of the] Alter, Ibi—*parasti in conspectu meo men[sam]*: the sacrament] of penance, Ibi—*animam meam convertit*

Tuus L

Vene

[Venando C]¹

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, A. 1. 9, p. 115.

Evidence respecting Mr. John Floke deane of Bristowe.

Memorandum, that the xth. day of May, in the xxvth yere of the reigne of our Soverayne lorde Kyng Henry the Eight, I Thomas Smyth coroner to our saide Soverayne lorde of his towne of Bristowe had certen communicacyon with one Morgan Thomas and in their commnyng the said Morgan shewed unto the said Thomas Smyth, that he and John Ameryk and Roger Davys with certen other persons were at henbury in the county of Gloucester the viijth daie

(1) Erased in the original.—Ed.

of the said moneth. And there one Robert Feyllond fermor of henbury forsaïd and the parish clerke of the same shewed unto them that Master Floke deane of the said towne of Bristowe hadd commaunded the curatte of the said henbury in secrete, not to reherse our soverayne lorde the kyng nor quene in his pulpytte to be prayed for, But onely the spirytualtye the temporalie and for theym in the peynes of purgatory. And I the said Thomas Smyth with other being the king's true subjects thoughte that the said commaundement of the said deane was not doone like no true feithful subject of the kyng, but by our estimacion it sounded agenst his highnes. Wherefore I, the said Thomas Smyth, to knowe the trueth and circumstance of the prenysses wente and soughte the said Robert Feyllonde, whom I found at one William Glaskyryans howse, being within the saide towne of Bristowe, pewterer, which said Robert Feyllonde seide in the presence of me the said Thomas Smyth, William Glaskyryan, John Barrette Tyler, John Clarke Bruer, Gryffith Norrys Carver, and one Pullen servante to Mr. Welshe, and one other called Pullen, which belongeth to the Lord Chief Justice, with dyverse other persons, then being presente, how that the said Curatte of henbury tolde it to hym in secrete, and that he shuld not publishe hit. And the said Robert Feyllonde supposed that it were not for the kyng's honor to have suche secretts kepte and concealed amongs certen prests, but that the kyng shuld be prayed for by name as hath been custumably used, [and] thought like a true subjecte to our said Soverayne lorde the kyng that he wolde kepe no suche secretnesse, but to declare and publishe it abroad: yn someoche that it came to the said deane's eare that his secretnesse was opnyed. Whereupon he hath byn with dyverse of them that yt was opnyed unto, and desired them to speke noo more of the mater.

From the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv., fol. 140, and the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, A. 1. 7, p. 162.¹

Letter from Dr. John Hylsey, prior of the black friars at Bristol, to Dr. Baggard, chancellor of the diocese of Worcester: Bristol, May 2nd.

Master chawnselar, I commende me unto you as hartly as I may thynke, trustynge yn Gode that you be (the which lesu contynewe) yn good prosperyte. Yt is nott owt off your mastershyppys remembrance, that yn the Lent I dyd wrete unto you off the grete dyvysyon that was (ye and yett ys) amonge the peple yn the towne of Bristowe, off the whyche I wrote unto yowe that hyt came by the prechynge of owne Mr. Latymar, a man nott unknowne. I wrote to you alsoe that he spake of pylgremages, worshyppynge off seyntes, wurshyppynge off ymages, off purgatory, &c. yn the whyche he dyd vehemently perswade towarde the contrary, that the peple ware nott a lytle offendyd. I wrote alsoe that some men thought necessary to preache agenst hym, the whyche I supposyd nott best, except that he sholde be put to sylence, for fere off fardyr dyvysyon (the whyche by this cause ys nowe happenyd yn dede); and some thought hyt metur to have hym before hys ordynarye to be examynyd, and soe the trewthe to be knowen; and yn thys thynges I desyrd you to do that you thought metyst to reforme your peryshynge flocke, to whome I wrote as to the shepparde of the sayd flocke. Nowe upon thys my byll men hathe craftly usyd them selfe, ye and craft was usyd to me or thys byll camme from me: but that makyth nott nowe, the lettre ys off myne owne hande as thys ys, and nowe seyng that men hathe fownde the way to convey hytt to you otherways then they ynformed me that they wolde, I cannott denye mye hande, nother wjll nott; wherefore puttyng asyde all thinges that sholde seme to excuse myn acte, thes war the occasyons of my letter: fyrst the fame that I harde of thys man, master Latymer, before that I knewe hyme, the whyche fame decevyd nott only me butt other as well lernyd as I; seconde was the vehement perswadyng ayenst the abuse off the thynges, as ys above wretyn, wythe

(1) The Cotton MS. seems to be the original, but it is imperfect, for it stops at the signature of John Hylsey: the Cotton MS. is printed in Wright's 'Letters on the Monasteries' (Camden Soc.), p. 11: the "chawnselar" is there erroneously supposed to be Cromwell, and Dr. Baggard's name and the remainder of the letter are here supplied from the Copy in the Rolls House.—ED.

more, as off massys, off scala celi, pardons, the fyre off hell, the state off the sowlys yn purgatory, off faythe wytheowt good wurkes, off ower lady to be a synnar or noe synnar &c. The whyche I and syche other dyd suppose that he dyd preache to the yntente to confownde thes thynges; wherapon bothe the worshypfull men, master Doctor Powell, master Goodryche, master Hyberdyne, master pryour off Seynt Jamys, and I, dyd preache agenst, approvyng purgatory, pylgremages, the wurshyppyng off seyntes and ymages, alsoe approvyng that feyth wytheowt good wurkes ys but deade, and that ower lady beyng full of grace ys and was wytheowtte the spott off synne. But when we had duune, I reken we laboryd but yn vayne, and browht the peple yn greter dyvysyon then they war, as they doe hytherto contynewe. I beseeke God to helpe hytt, for ower kryyng owne agenst another ys not frutfull, nother takyth onny effecte; ffor sens I have communyed wythe master Lattymar, and I have harde hym preache, and have yntyted hys sermon sentens for sentens, and I have percevyd that hys mynd ys myche more agenst the abusyng off thynges then agenst the thyng hytt selfe. More, the thyrd thyng that causyd me to wrete unto you was thys dyvysyon that remanythie and yncresethe yett amonge us, the whyche wyll nott (by thys way that we have begone) be ceasyd. Therefore hytt lyythe yn you to devyse some other way, as God and youre goode counsell shall ynforme you. Yn my judgement, by that I knowe of master Latymars mynde now, yff he myght have your lycens, he woolde opyn hys mynde yn thys matters that the peple sholde be content, and thys wolle plesse the counsell of the towne well; for apone thys they be agreyde, and hopen apone your good helpe yn hytt. And yff I may wythe my lytle understondyng furder the matter, to bryng hytte to an unyte, as God ys my jugge, I wyll doe my dylygens, and yff he (*quod absit*) sholde hereafter sey onny thyng that sholde sounde other wyse then the catholycall determynacion off the chyche, ther wybbe * inowhe that wybbe*¹ redy to note hyt wythe more dylygens then hytherto. The forth was my conscyens, thowghe hytt ware for the tym erronyows, and decevyd for lacke of takyng hede dylygently, to marke and knowe the abuse off a thyng from the thyng. Thy fythe cause I shall reserve secretly to my selfe, lest that I sholde seme to put other men yn gyilty of my factes, that I doe nott yntent, Gode wyllynge, whoe have you yn hys proteccion. Wretyn yn Bristol, 2^{da} Maii,

By me, Frere John Hylsey, doctor,
and pryour off the Freres Prechurs ther.

Unto the right wurshipfull master doctor Baggard Chauncellor of the diocesse of Wurcestre deliver this bille with redy spede.

The maire and diverse other of the counsell of the Towne of² wulde
or this have certified the kings counsell by er seale, of the
mysbehavior of doctor Power, and Mr. Mr. Jubbes
Recorder of the same Towne wille wherefore diverse
substantiall men of the same lettres may be directed from
some of the kinges to the Maire and his brethern,
that they incontinent upon the sight of the same lettres doo certefy the pre-
misses as beforesaid, for yt ys thought very necessary to be certified.

Memorandum, that the deane of Bristowe hath commanded all the Curates nigh to Bristowe, that they shall not in the pulpetts pray for the kings grace, nor for the Quene's grace; and when the same deane was asked of the Maire of Bristowe why the Kings grace and the Quenes grace were not prayed for, the deane answered, that the Chauncellor of Wurcester had sent hym a commaundement so to doo: the Maire desired to see the commaundement, but the deane wuld none shewe to hym. And amongs other the same deane comaunded the Curate of henbury, that he in the pulpett shulde not pray for the kings grace nor for the Quenes, and therof be diverse honest men witnesses.

I am advertised by lettres from a right credible person of Bristowe, that Doctor Wilson Chapleyn and somtyme confessor to the king's grace hath preached thryse in Bristowe sithe Easter and there fortiefed the preaching of

(1) Omitted in the Copy at the Rolls.—E.D.

(2) The remainder of this Document is injured by damp.—E.D.

Doctor Powell and Hyberdyne &c. And not in th
 but to diverse wurshipfull men of Bristowe he said that
 Latymer was before the bysshopps he appealed to the
 To whom the kings grace saied, Mr. Latymer I am
 have good learynyng, yt were pety but ye
 myche better then ye have, for you
 & to be abjured, and I wille not take
 a sueter to the bysshoppe for you
 penaunce as ye have deserved
 such things agayne. Ye sha
 a fagot to burne you

(Labelled)

Informacions for preching errors
 at Bristowe in Latymer's tyme.

From the Harleian MSS. No. 422, p. 88.

Letter of Remonstrance from Latimer to Hubberdin, Sunday, May 25th.

The Spirite of God be with you to seale the trowth & followe the same, Amen. I dowl not Master Habardyn but that ye have redde the sayenge of the Spirite by his prophete Esaias, *Væ qui dicunt bonum malum, et malum bonum, ponentes lucem tenebras et tenebras lucem, &c.* Which wordes after myne understandinge be this moche in English, woo or eternall dampnacion be unto you which sayeth that good ys evell and that evell ys good, callinge light darknes and darknes light, &c. Take hede. Remember your selfe well. Ye may mocke and deceive us: *deus non irridetur*, God will not for all that be mocked. It ys not they sayenge of wise Aristotele, of godly Plato, of wholy Thomas, no nor yett of subtille Duns, who for all their wisdom, godlynes, holynes, and subtilty, deceived, were deceived, and lyed: but it is the eternall and perpetuall worde of God who as he deceaveth no man, so can he be deceaved of no man, nor yet make any lye. God it ys that sayeth woo or eternall damnacion be unto hym that sayeth that good ys evell, &c. It ys no thretnynge of man, but it ys the sentence of God. Wherefore it is the more to be feared and undoubtedly to be loked for; for it ys only the worde of God that lasteth ever and may sustayne no mutacion ["change" written over]. Do you mervell wherfore I saye this? It is only brotherly love and my conscience which compell me, as bounden, brotherly to admonish you not only of the grevous blasphemies against the truth which ye uttered here on the Ascension daye, but also to exorte you to desist of your purposed blasphemie and lies against God and his worde which ye have promised to prove in this same place this daye. And that ye may know that ye have inexcusably blasphemed and belied the trowth and promised to do the same, partly here I will confute your blasphemies that be past and partly that be promysed. And so fyrst to begynne with that which ys past: ye sayed that it was plaine that this new lerninge (as ye call it) was not the trowth and so not of God, but contrary wise that it was lyes, and so surely of the devell. This your assercion ye proved by two maner conjectures; the one is, that the professors of it lyve noughtly, and the other ys that prests be persecuted of them. Which two persuasions though they be in very dede lyes, as I trust in God to show them, yet though they were true did but yeasely prove your intention: for after they same maner ye may as well openly improve Christ and all hys doctrine, as ye do now under a color: which I will entreate more largely here after. But to our purpose, that (as ye saye) it is playne, that this new lernynge (as ye call it) ys not the trowth and so not of God, but contrary wise it ys lyes and surly of the devle: here in are contayned thre great blasphemies and abhominable lyes, injuriouse both to God and his worde, and I feare synne against the Holy Ghost, for it are even the same worde with the example of Christ declaring the synne against the Holy Ghost. For to begyn withall, ye call the scripture the new lerninge, which I am sure ys eldersere then any lerning which ye note to be the olde. And if ye will saye that

it ys not the Scripture that you call new, but other boke lately put in English, I answere, that the Scripture was the fyrst which you and your fautors denied: bysyde that those other for the most teache nothinge but that which ys manifest in the scripture and also playne in the auncient doctors. I speake not of your old doctors, Duns and Saint Thomas, Halcot, Briget, *et cetera*: but of Augustine, Hierome, Chrisostome, Ambrose, Hilary, and soch other, which in lyke maner be called new doctors, as the scripture new lerninge; and as Tully new laten; as the text of Aristotle new philosophy: and lyke wise of all sciences. And in this appereth your fyrst lye, that ye call the scripture new doctrine: except that ye wold call it new, other because it maketh the receivers of it new men, or els that it ys now newly received into the worlde, for the condemnation of them that reject it, and the salvation of the receivers: of which newnes I am sure you spake not. I pray you, was not the scripture, if ye wold contende, before your most auncient doctors, that ye can allege to have written of it? Was it not, afore they wrote upon it, bettur receaved, more purely understande, of more myghty workynge, then it ys now or sens they wrote upon it? In Saint Paul's tyme, when there [were] no writers upon the New testament, but that the playne story was then newly put forth, were there not more converted, by I dare boldly saye two parties, then there be at this houre—I will not saye Christen men, but that professe the name of Christ? Is it not now the same worde as it was then? Ys not the same scole master that taught them to understonde it then (which as Saint Peter saith ys the Sprete of God) a lyve as well as he was then? Doth he not favor us now as well as he did then? Have we hym not now as well as we hadd then? If we have not the Sprete of Christ, St. Paul sayeth, so be we no Christen men: And yf we be no Christen men, so be you deceavers and fals prophets, prachinge unto your selfe your autorytie and your constitucions, without the worde of God; which is only the rule of faith, accordinge to the sainge of Sainte Paule, where he sayth that faith ys of heareinge; and that not of all heareinge, but of hearinge of the worde of God. Which faith also is the fyrst frute of the Sprete of God. Whch Sprete yf we have not, so testifie ye against us that we be no Christen men, and against your selfe that ye be no mynistres or shepards of Christ, but the mynistres of Antichrist and shepards of your own belies. Which Sperte yf we have, so beareth us witness St. Paule, that we be Christen men, and S. Peter that we maye understande the Scripture. Which only is that the laye people desyre: utterly contemnyng all men's draghtes and all men's writings, how well lerned so ever they be; only contented with their old and new schole master, the holy Spirit of God, and the mynysters thereto of hym electe and by hym sent.

But ye will saye ye condempne not the Scripture, but Tyndals translacion: there in ye show your selfe contrary unto your words, for ye have condemned it in all other comen tongues, where in they be approved in other contraies; so that it is playne that it is the Scripture, and not the translacion, that ye barke against, callinge it new lernyng. And Thus moch for the fyrst lye.

And as for the two other, be some confuted, that it is not the trowth, nor of God, but lyes and of the devell. O Jesu, mercy! that ever soch blasphemye against the holy Ghost should procede out a christen man's mouth! Is it not all one to saye that the doctrine of Christ ys lyes and cometh of the devel, and that Christ ys a liar and the devell? What difference I pray you ys there betwixt this blasphemye and that which the Phariseys imputed unto Christ, when they said we know that thou art a Samaritane and hast the devell within thee? When that Christ sayed that the blasphemye against the Holy Ghost should never be forgiven. If ye have sayed this of ignorance, I praye God bringe you to knowledge and repentance. Yf ye spake it against your conscience, of malice against the trowth (as he knoweth, *qui scrutator cordium est*) I feare me lest tyme of repentance (which God forbid) shall never be geven you in this lyfe. O Lorde God, what a wrestinge of the Scripture was it to enterpretate

these before the cominge of antichrist there shalbe a departinge from the pope: when as the text sayeth plainly Antichrist was come allready, and that he worked secretly, and that there shulde be a departinge from the faith, and that shuld be opened unto all men afore the conyng of Christ. For shame, na for conscience, other allege the scriptures a right without any soch wrestinge, or els abstayne out of the pulpet.

But now to come to your conjectures by which ye persuaded your assercions: that is that the Scripture was new lerning, Christ a lyar and the devle, which are, that the fautors and professors thereof lyve noughtly, and that the persecute prestes. Fyrst, besydes that it ys manifest that your conjectures both be fals, for the purenes of lyfe of the favorers of it (I spayeke of [them] that are of any knowlege); there vertuose lyvinge ys so knowen that it ys but foly for me to labor to confute it: And that the[y] persecute prestes, I wold gladly here of one prest so much as ones prysoned. I meane not for whoredom, theft, and murder, with soch their comen practises; but for his faithes sake: except it were such as you your selfe persecuted, as ye do us for knowledginge the trowth. Nede ye that I bring forth examples? Remember ye nott the honest prest that the last yere was martired by you in Kent? Do ye nott hold Nicolson, Smyth, Patmere, and Philips, with many other, in pryson yett at this howre?

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, Vol. A. 1. 9, p. 117.

Memorial of the Inhabitants of Bristol to the Mayor and Town Council, presented in the week following Sunday, May 25th.

Maister Hyberden seying which he preached within the towne of Bristoll upon Assension daie and on the Sondaie folowinge Anno r. r. Henrici viij^{vi} xxv^{to}.

Unto the right worshipful maister maire of this towne of Bristowe, and unto the wise and sadde counsell of the same, the inhabitours or burges of the said towne sendethe (such as it is) in the lorde gretynge of grace peace helthe and humble obeysaunce.

And forasmoch hit is unto our moste souveraine lorde the kings highe honor and quyetnes that his true subjects and moste wisiste counsell drawe one lyne and be of one zele towarde the comyn weale of this his Realme, so in case like hit apperteyneth to his honor and quyetnes that his comen subjects leve in unyte cheryte and true obedience unto their hedde Rulers and officers undre our said prynce, fro the which they are drawn by suche overtharte prechinge as hath byn in this towne of late and yett contynueth. Wheryn the said subjects burges or comyns are not a litle offended. Wherefore unto your discrete wisdomes they are we that presente this bill, doith opyn the grefe and unquyetnes of our harts and consyence, desyrynge you for the quyetnes of the said comyns and subjects of our souveraine that suche unfrutefull prechers may be loked upon, seyng that the spirituall officers lokyth not to hit nother sekethe any meane of charite or unyte to be had amongs the said comyns, but rather (as hit semeth) delyteth in devysion and fedeth theym selfe and us with the contynuance of syn. Werby aswell our prynce as almightie God is offended and we mysnamed and slaunderede throwe oute the Realme, the which God amende, to whom honor and glory be from and of all his true Christians. Amen.

The cause that we presente this bill nowe unto you and so ynstantly desire you to loke upon the effecte of hit is this: Firste, it is well known of your maisterships that maister Heberdyn of late hath preched dyverse sermons wherin the comyns were offended and founde theym selfe greved, but nowe upon this last Sondag before none he promysed us to declare the Epistle, the which (as they say) is of Petyr. But he kepte not his promys in one worde of the said pistle, but wente to his accustomed Roylynge and slaundrynge of other men. Wheryn we are not a litle offended.

First he saide that there were some that wente aboute to enbarre our Lady of her honor and specially to put aside the *Ave Maria*, the which we thynke shulde be very erronyous to do: but there be none in our Judgemente that goieth aboute any suche thinge: and in the declarynge of this he willed the people to sey not onely ten but ten and ten agenste oon *Pater noster*, preferringe the *Ave* afore *Pater Noster* yn twenty folde: and yett cristie preferred ye and commaunded the *Pater noster* specially and above all other prayer singularly. And that the entente of this Mr. Heberden was this, to putte aside the

pater noster, hit appered by his words: for consequently after he saide that his deuocyon was rather to sey *C aucs* then one *Pater noster*. Wheryn we rekyn that he hath openned a greate gapp unsparrred.

More: in the expoundinge of this texte, *Oracio ejus erit execrabilis*, he affirmed that it is a greate presumpcion that a synner shulde make petycyon or preyer to almightie God for his synne and for this purpose he broughte yn this exsample: yf the maire of this towne shulde geve hym exhibicion to Parrysse of x marke or of v marke, this money coulde do hym no good excepte he myght brynge hit into his mouthe; nother there, excepte he shulde drawe hit into his throte; nother there, excepte hit be broughte downe yn his stomake. So that the mouthe the throte and the belly be necessary to that, that this some of money sholde or myghte do hym good: the geuer of this exhibicion he named hym God by thautoryte of Jamys, "*Omne datum*," &c. The which (as he seyeth unto us) was declared unto us by a blessed doctor of late: the mouthe he applied unto Criste: the throte to our lady: the belly unto the hooly Apostles martyrs and confessours and Virgyns &c. Whoo can otherwise gather of this, then that almighty God cannot geve his gifts unto us by Criste, but necessarily by the wey of Saynts, of the which foloweth error and dyverse ynconuenyens in our Judgements: for almighty God we beleve is as able, to geve his gifts unto us nowe as ever he was, and we knowe that before his Saynts come to hevyn he gave them his grace without the helpe of any Creature; yee and is of the same powre nowe: howe be it we knowe and beleve that the holy Seynts doith pray for us, and it is conuenyent that we prey unto them. But this argueth not that almyghtie God cannot geve me his gifts or can not save me or us without their helpe; who holpe Mary Magdalen, the woman of Canany, the publycan, the theefe that hynge by Criste, yee and who holpe the thousand thousands that dyed before Criste and syns; in whose Salvacyon no mentyon of Saynts ys made, but the mercy of God, their feith, and good lvyng &c.

More: in his processe he made a dystynction betwene the Judgemente of God and the Judgemente of man affermyng that the Judgemente of man was suche that yf a trespassour dyd knowledge his offence before a Judge his owne confession shulde be his Judgement, and he scaped best yn the lawe that could prattle for hym self, and fynd xij false knaves for to quyte hym: The Judgemente of God ys farr contrary to this: for if a synner knowledge his offence unto God and call for mercy, Almyghtie God wyll not denye hym his mercy. Al this we reken true, savinge that yn our Judgemente this semeth to be contrary to that was saide before: for before he seyde, hit is presumpcyon for a synner to make petycyon or preyer unto almyghtie God for his synne; and nowe he concludeth as he shulde in deede that a synner that calleth for mercy shall not have mercy denyed hym; and this in our Judgemente ys contrary to the other before.

More: he saide, if a Traytor offende agenste his prynce for the which he were worthy deathe, yf the qwene of her goodnesse opteyne his pardon, this ys no dishonor unto the qwene [?prince], but rather honor. So in case like, yf the hevynly quene our blessed lady opteyne for synners that be traytours to God remyssyon of synne, thys ys no dishonor to Christe: this in our Judgemente ys false, for it ys more honor unto a prynce mercyfully to forgeve hys trespassour then to forgeve hym at the desire of his qwene or any other: howe be yt hytt is more honor to his qwene as a Carnall man wyll take hit: So that in this we geder that he entendeth more to honor our lady then to honor Criste, to whom all honor ys due: the which we rekyn dyspleseth highly that blessed mother and mayde whom we wolde yn her for to be honored and preyed unto.

More: to prove the unyte of the Godhed and the Trynyte of persons he brought yn an exsample of fowre distyncte things, formally distyncte, as of fume of the styllatory, water elementary, and of yse and snowe: the whiche be as conducyble to that purpose as he applyd Criste to a sole, an Asse, a bolte, A fagotte sticke, and suche other naughty feynyngs beside, and contrary to all good Scripture: at lengthe he will compare hym to an horse, A foxtaile, an owle, and suche vylany that abhorreth the Eares of Christen people. More: to prove the same he broughte an exsample of thre maydens that arrayed them selfe, sevinge that though all thre were abowte to ray one, yet hit is one that wereth the Cote. So is there three persons in Trynyte that worketh one worke,

and one wereth the Cote that ys Criste the whiche toke the nature of man upon hym. This he sayd ys no meate for mowers.

More: upon Assension da^l

wonte to be chosen by the

of the Cathedrall Chur

Sarium and Bath at W

wise gevyn and hit wa

nother hit wylbe never

contynueth this in th

but we suppose that

not taken for the

h but for the Abu hit.

And hit was ordeyned that kyngs with their

councells shulde geve Busshopricks in whom is more wisedom Sadnesse

lernynge and consyence then ys in any particler or Cathedrall Church.

Wherefore we rekyng that this man doith malycyously preche agenste the kyng

and his noble counsell, And agenste consyence and yng as God

knoweth. To whois gracios tucion [we] comytte you with all the comyns

of this noble towne Amen.

Hyberdyn in his sermonde at Sent Thomas Church seide this: some wille have you to folowe the humylte of our lady, her vyrgynyte, her mekenesse with suche other vertues and the gifts of grace: yt is the leeste way to honor her: so that to honor our lady by his prechyng ys to sey *Aves*, and that xxⁱⁱ for one *pater noster*: he saide also as damnacion came unto the worlde by Eve, so salvacion came to us by Chryste and our lady hys mother.

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, A. 1. 7. p. 158.

G. M.

Letter from Latimer to G. M. in vindication of himself.

*Salutem plurimam. Nolo esse mearum injuriarum relator: sunt qui a fronte ad tergum narrabunt: master M. you have knowen me. And if I knowe my self, I am not nowe worse than ye have knowen; yf I be better, I thanke hym that maketh of evill goode, and of goode better. Because I wulde have Christe Saviour to our Lady, they belye me to have saied that our lady was a synner: Although that he coulde not as well save *preservando* as *liberando*. And so with their shameles lyes they wille synne greatly, least our lady shulde have synned a litle: they be so preposterusly devoute towards our lady. There is an Anteme songe in Brystowe, wherin she ys called *salvatrix ac redemptrix*: she might more semely be called *salvatoris ac redemptoris mater aut genitrix, quam salvatrix*. Yf I might have preached in Bristowe in Easter was [? week] as I was appointed, I wulde have made another maner a Christe, & another maner a kinge then myn adversaries & sclauderers did; I wulde have made a hole Christe, and a hole kinge: not a patched Christe and a patched kinge: *Christus non Christiculus: [Rex] non regulus: Papæ! quanto illi papam fecerunt utroque**

! Amarulentus videbatur Hubberdinus, sed amarulentia Hubberdinum præ illo modestum. Latymerus ab utroque ratur, opprimitur: quis crederet tantam [stultitiam hujus] modi hominibus residere. Septies centum et [in] pudentissima esse mendacia.

Powelus doth alle thinge by information, but that is after an evill facion, to sclauder a man upon information: the deane was the informer: but when Latymer was redy to make theyme both aunswer, they had neither place nor tyme; they had bothe place and time to sclauder me, and to belye me, but they had neither place nor tyme to here me, when I was redy to justify alle that I had saied. *Sic illi quidem impune quideis et dicunt et faciunt. Sed vivit deus, et ipsi cura est de nobis.* After master doctor the Pryor of the biak fryers wrote by occasion of other, before he had hadde communication with me, after that I had answered hym to alle his scrupulls and doubttes, he allowed my preaching and no man better. But I knowe the waspe that doth

(1) This paragraph in the original is injured by damp.—Ed.

stynge them, and make theym to swelle. When purgatory ys purged, and pylgrymage pylled from theire abuses, profettes must nedes falle away. *Aud-in tu? hoc illud est: hinc ista turbæ.* And nowe comen myn adversaries them self (God be tha[n]ked) after myche hurly burly have graunted and confes[ed] . . . abuses, and have preached openly that be paryd away, or ever they can be well be most pure and all the best, they n *taudem sensi stolidus quod Parmeno* confirme alle that ever I have reprove that thinge that I doo say, then they will belye me to say that thinge that they can reprove.

From the Chapter House Papers, Rolls House, 2nd Series, No. 709.

Depositions before the Commissioners at Bristol, respecting the preaching of Latimer, Hubberdin, Powel, &c. from July 6th to 11th.¹

[1st "bill"]

In primis seith and will depose that Hubberdyn seid in the pulpitte in seynt Thomas Churche in Bristowe that there where xx or xxx hereticks of the Inhabitaunts of this towne of Bristowe.

[signed in autograph]

per me Thomas Sheward per me John Hylle per me John Gorney
per me John Wells per me Thomas Stokbryge.

More seith and will depose that Hubberdyn seid in divers places and churches in the pulpitts in this towne, that he or they whatsoever he or they be that speke agenst the pope or eny poynte of his acts or ordynances is an heretick.

[signed in autograph]

per me Thomas Sheward, per me John Hylle, per me John Gorney
per me John Wells per me Thomas Stokbryge.

Also seith and will depose that Hubberdyn seid att the Churche of the Temple in Bristowe Apon Sension day, that Bysshoppes were woute to be chosen by the hooly goost and by theire Chaptre of the Cathedrall Churches as the Bysshop of Salesbury att Salesbury and Bathe att Wellys: but nowe itt is otherwise gyven I wot nere howe: butt itt was never myrry in the Churche sens nor never wilbe myrry nor well so long as this facion gyven as nowe adaies is gyven doth contynue.

[signed in autograph]

per me John Hylle per me John Gorney per me Thomas Sheward
per me J. Stokbryge per me John Wells.

[2nd "bill"]

Mr. Hyberdyne seyde at temple churche in the pulpitt apon Assencon day that bishops war wout to be chosyne by the Holy Goost and by the Chaptoure &c. [See Art. 3 above].

[signed in autograph]

per me John Smythe.

Mr. Lattymyer prechyd that Sowles in purgatory may meryt to pray for us and we may for them.

[signed in autograph]

per me John Smythe.

[3rd "bill"]

Roger Philpotte.

Hubbyrden seyde unto me yn Allhallone Churche that there ys xx^{ti} or xxx^{ti} erytycks withyn Bristow, and he was examynyd yn the counsell howse before Mr. Meyer and the hole counsell and soo he denyd hytt. I askyd hym the questyon at London before Antony Payne and Wylyyam a Powell grocer, and

(1) This date is obtained from the succeeding letter.—Ed.

he seyð hyt was best to deny hytt, seyng Y was but on man, as myche to seye on recorde to a matyre ys nothyng: and Y told hym of hys prechyng: hys seyng was he wold amende hytt.

[4th "bill"]

[This consists of the original three Articles, each signed separately in autograph]

per me Harry Whyte.

[5th "bill"]

[This contains the 2nd and 3rd Articles, each signed thus]

By me Rychard Typper wrytten by hym that wrytte this because I cannot wrytte [followed by his mark.]

[1st "boke," a folio half sheet, (only one side of which is written upon).]

Bristowe.

In primis those persons whose namys her after foloweth Seith and will depose att all tymes to come that they hard Hubberdyn sey in the pupytt in Seynte Thomas Churche in Bristowe that there were xx^d or xxx^d herycticks of the Inhabitants of this seyð towne of Bristowe.

By me ^l Thomas Butler	By me Thomas Seward	By me John Munday
— Thomas Walker	— Willyam Preston	— Henry Butler
— Richard Evans	— Thomas Lewys	— John Capper
— John Ailworth	— Thomas Smyth	— Roger Philpote
— John Amerryck	— John Gourney	— Willyam Car
— Jamys Prowde	— Thomas Webbe	— Willyam Fysher
— Rawlyn Webbe	— John Barry	— Water Semons
— Thomas Typper	— Thomas Colley	— John Hawerdyn
— John Hewys	— Roger Jonys	— Thomas Ricards.

More these persons whose namys lyn under written here seithe that the same Hubberdyn seyð in the Pulpytts in dyvers places in this towne of Bristowe that he or they what soo ever they be that speke ayenst the pope or eny poynte of his Acts or ordynances is an heretyck.

By me Thomas Walker	By me Thomas Seward	By me Lewys Robyns
— Jamys Prowde	— Wylliam Preston	— John Gorney
— John Ailworth	— John Ameryck	— Wylliam Car
— John Barry	— Wylliam Fisher	— Thomas Typper
— John Hathwey	— Henry Butler	— John Capper
— Thomas Colley	— Roger Jonys	

And also more: these that their names hereafter byn subscribed Seith and also will depose that the said Hubberdyn seyð att the Churche of the Temple in Bristowe upon Sension day, that Byshoppes were wonte to be chosen by the hooly goost and by the Chapter of the Cathedral Churches, as the Byshopp of Salesbury att Salesbury, and Bathe at Wellys: but nowe itt is otherwise gyven, I wot nere howe: but itt was never myrry in the Churche sens nor never wilbe myrry nor well so long as this facion gyven as nowe adais is gyven doth contynue.

By me Henry Butler	By me Thomas Seward	By me John Aileworth
— Thomas Lewys	— John Gorney	— Willyam Preston
— Thomas Walker	— Willyam Car	— Thomas Webbe
— Rawlyn Webbe	— Jamys Prowde	— Water Semens
— Willyam Fisher	— David Nelle	— John Barry
— John Hewys	— Thomas Typper	— Thomas Colley
	— Thomas Amorgan	

[signed in autograph]

Per me John Drews.

Summa; as all these persons stand as well in the ij bokes as in v bills they be in Nombyr cxxvj. but they be no more persons in dede but — } xliiij lytyll more or lasse for sunn be wrytyn iij or iiij times.

In both bokes cxxxv. persons.

[This is followed by the 2nd "boke," which is a half sheet of paper of the same size with the preceding, containing the three Articles, each signed *in autograph* by several of the names which have already occurred; among them however appear the following new ones—Thomas Bakhous, Thomas Lows, Rychard Dane, Lawrans Strafford, Roger Thomys in Reclfyfe Cherche.

[One page only, as before, is written upon, and is nearly filled; most of the names recur, and at the bottom of the page we read]

Sum of the persons }
in this boke is } xvij.

On the back is the following label.

The bokes & bylls
Agaynste huberdyn
Only without any
Matter agaynst
Latymer save on.

Joⁿ Smyth, Sheryff
of Bristow.

From the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 56.¹

Letter from John Bartholomew to [Cromwell?] reporting the proceedings of the Commissioners at Bristol, from July 6th to 11th.

In my most humble wyse, with dew recommendacyous as appertaynethe, advertysynge your masterschype that I receyvd your letter the Saterdag vth day of Julii, at vi of the cloke at nyghte, commaundyng me by vertu of the same in the kynges name to electe and chose fyve or vi oneste men to assyste and helpe me in all cawsys consernynge the behavyng as well of Latomer as of Huberdyn, and their prechyns, and spesyally what wordes Hyberdyn schold have consernynge the kynges hyghe magesty. And accordynge to thys commaundment immediatly I electyd and chose the reverend lord abbot of Saynt Augustynes by Brystow, Johan Cabull, Thomas Broke, Richard Tunell, late mayres of the sayde towne of Bristow, and Thomas a Bowen, gentyllman. So electe and chosyn wee concludyd to sytt Sunday the vj day of Julii at after none at a place callyd Saynte Jamys, and then and there apperyd before us as well of the spyrytualte as of the temporalte, to whome wee declared and rede the comyssyon wherfore they wher callyd, and so gave them inyonyon at a day to sertefy the kynges hyghnes and hys most honorable counsell what Latomer had prechyd, wherby thys the kynges towne of Brystow rune in infamy, dyscorde, stryfe, and debate. And lyke charge we gave them to sertefy us what Huberdyn had prechyd consernynge the kynges hyghnes, or any worde that myghte sounde to the kynges hygh dysplesure, in any plase or places, as they at ther perell wood aunser. And upon which inyonyon, bothe of the spyrytualte and of the temporalty browghte before us and sertifyed, as by ther sertifycattes more at large schall appere. And farder to advertyse your masterschype the very truthe, accordynge to our dewtys and your commaundment, what we do know in thys matters, we sertefy yow by the relacyons of many onest and credable persons, that the seyde Latomer came to Brystow and preched there the second Sondag in Lente laste paste ij sermons, on in Saynte Nycholas chyrche afore none, and another yn the Blake Fryers at after none, and the Monday nexte followynge he preched the thyrd sermone yn Saynte Thomas chyrche, yn the which sermondes he preched dyvers sysmatyke and yronyous opinions: as yu hell to be no fyer sensyble; the sowles that be yn purgatory to have no nede of our prayers, but rather to pray for us; no sayntes to be honoryd; no pylgrymage to be usyd; our blessyd lady to be a synner; as hyt hath been reportyd and taken by the herers but for my selfe I never hard hym preche yn Brystow, for I was then syk: but by reson of his iij sermondes dyvers of the kynges subjectes wythyn thys the kynges sayd towne, as manifestely hath apperyd hytherto, ys to be feryd to be sore ynfected in the same, insomochte grete stryfe

(1) Printed in "Letters on the Monasteries."—Ed.

and debate ys amonge the kynges' subjectes here, and that amonge all maner of sortes of pepyll from the hyste to the loweste withyn the same towne. And so dyd continu from the foresayde second Sunday yn Lent unto Ester next ensuynge, and yet dothe contynu, at which tyme of Ester Huberdyn came to Brystow and preched at Sainte Thomas Chyrche at after none on Ester Eve, and at Saynte Nycholas chyrche before none on Ester day, and there prechyd scharply agenste Latomers artycules, provenynge them be auctorites as well by the Olde as the New Testaments sysmatyke and yronyous. And whereas yt was very yll from the seyde seconde Sunday yn Lente tyll Ester then nexte ensuynge, yt hathe ben wors sens Ester; for many that favoryd Latomer and hys new maner of prechyng, and other many that favoryd Huberdyn yn hys olde manner of prechyng, bothe the seyde partes hathe ben more ardente now sens Ester then they were before. Wherefore as to our simple reasons, wythowte the kynges moste noble grace provyde some convenyante remedy, muche more ynconvenyens ys lyke to ensu. Also, that same Sunday on Gilberte Cogan came to the howse of the Grey Fryers in Brystow, and sayd to the warden of the same howse that he schowlde be ware what he scholde wryte and testyfy, for there schowlde cume iiij. c. that shoulde testefy the contrary, as the seyde warden shewyd hyt before all the commysysoners. On Fryday¹ the xjth day of Julii, Johan Drews wyth others browghte yn before us sytynge yn commysyon a boke of many names, and iij artycles comprisyd yn the same boke, where apperyth every man's confessyon. That boke so resevyd, callyd before us on Thomas Butteler, examyned hym what he had herde Hyberdyn preach yn Saynt Thomas Chyrche; he answeyrd, that a nombre of Erytykes were yn Brystow, and from that nombre he browghte hyt to xx^{ti} or xxx^{ti} erytykes, accordynge to the fyrste articull, and he sayd he liard hym say no more, and yet hys name ys to the second and the thyrde artyculles. Also another man came before us, and sayd, that Huberdyn showlde say that all Brystow was knaves and erytykes. John Drws persevyng every man to be examyned thys by hym selfe, knewe very well ther confessyons wolde nothyng agre wyth the artycles yn ther seyde boke, wherefore he desyryd that every man schowld brynge yn hys confessyon by wrytynge: and for as moche as yt was over longe and tedyous, as well to the commysysoners as to the partys, we condessendyd to reseve ther bylles, which bylles and bokes, as well of the spyrytualte as of the temporalte, which your mastershype shall reseve of thys berer, wyth our dayly servys and prayer to preserve your longe lyfe and good to the plesure of God and your most harteste desyer. And Almyghty God preserve owre most redoupted soveraynge lord's moste royall person, bothe bodely and gostely, longe to endure, A. M. E. N.

Per me, WILLIELMUM BURTON, abbatem monasterii divi Augustini.

By me, JOHN CALLE.

THOMAS BROKE.

Per me, RICHARD TENELL.

THOMAS ABOWEN.

By me, JOHAN BARTHOLOMEW.

(1) What follows is illustrated by the Document preceding this.—ED.

No. X.

OFFICIUM ET SENTENTIA CONTRA JOHANNEM BRADFORD.

(See Note in the Addenda on page 165.)

From the Harleian MSS., No. 421, fol. 36—44.

ACTA die lunæ vicesimo octavo die Januarii, anno Domini juxta computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, in ecclesia parochiali Sancti Salvatoris, nuncupata *Saynte Mary Overey*, in burgo de Southwark.

The Court then proceeded with Hooper, Cardmaker, and Rogers; after which the Register proceeds as follows:—

Præmissis expeditis Dominus assignavit iisdem ad comparendum crastina die in hoc loco inter horas octavam et decimam ante meridiem ad videndum ulteriorem processum fieri, &c.

xxix^o Januarii.

Quo die, viz. Martis, xxix^o die Januarii in loco prædicto et coram Domino, &c. comparuit dictus Johannes Rogers alias Mathewe, &c.

Iisdem die et loco coram Domino, &c. productus fuit Rolandus Taylor, legum doctor, &c.

Eisdem die, hora, et loco productus fuit coram Domino Johannes Bradford, laicus, etc. Cui post exhortationem per Dominum factam, ut se reconciliaret et ad unitatem sanctæ ecclesiæ et catholicæ fidei rediret, dictus Dominus Episcopus, quia videbat eundem Bradford pertinaciter in sententia persistentem, obicit articulum sequentem; videlicet, quod ipse Johannes Bradford, tam intra diocesim suam Wintoniæ, quam aliis quamplurimis locis hujus regni, asseruit, dixit, prædicavit, et publicavit, et defendebat, sicque in præsentia asserit, dicit, credit, et defendit, quod in eucharistia sive altaris sacramento verum et naturale Christi corpus, ac verus et naturalis Christi sanguis, sub speciebus panis et vini vere non est; et quod ibi est materialis panis et materiale vinum tantum, absque veritate et præsentia corporis et sanguinis Christi. Cui articulo ipse Bradford respondendo dixit, *That Christ is present in the sacrament when the sacrament is duly ministered; and that Christ is present in the sacrament by faith, to faith, and in faith, and none otherwise: and saith that Christ is not in the sacrament by transubstantiation; and saith that simply he believeth no transubstantiation; also that it is not the body of Christ but to him that receiveth it; and that an evil man doth not receive it in forma panis; and that after and before the receipt there is the substance of bread.* Cui dictis perversis assertionibus inhærenti Dominus assignavit ad comparendum crastina die in hoc loco inter horas viii et x ante meridiem, ad videndum ulteriorem processum fieri.

xxx^o Januarii.

Eisdem die et loco comparuit personaliter dictus Johannes Bradford. Qui licet fuerit per Dominum Episcopum multis argumentis et rationibus suasus et exhortatus ut se reconciliaret et rediret ad ecclesiæ catholicæ unitatem, Episcopo tamen pertinaci ac indurato animo persistit, nec valuit ullis rationibus flecti aut persuaderi. Et ideo Dominus Episcopus visa ejus pertinaci induritia tulit etiam contra eum condemnationis sententiam definitivam, pronuntiando eum [pro] obstinato hæretico et excommunicato; et insequenter tradidit eum seculari manui, videlicet, dictis Vicecomitibus, etc., præsentibus de quibus in prioribus hujus diei actis habetur mentio.

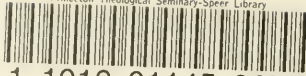
IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN. Nos Stephanus, permissione divina Wintoniensis Episcopus, judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentes; in quodam hæreticæ pravitatis negotio contra te Johannem Bradford laicum, coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, et nobis super hæretica pravitare detectum, denunciatum, et delatum, ac in ea parte apud bonos et graves notorie et publice

Officium
Domini
contra
Jo. Brad-
ford.Officium
Domini
contra
Brad-
ford.Senten-
tia con-
tra Jo-
hannem
Brad-
ford.

diffamatum, rite et legitime procedentes; auditis, visis, intellectis, rimatis, et matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis; servatisque in omnibus et per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis, ac quomodo libet requisitis; Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes: quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, et per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, asserta, et confirmata, comperimus et invenimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales coram nobis judicialiter factas, errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones subscriptas, juri divino ac catholicæ, universalis, et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obvias, contrarias, et repugnantes, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, et dogmatizasse, videlicet, *that Christ is in the sacrament of the altar by and to faith, and none otherwise; also that in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, except it be taken, received, and eaten; also that transubstantiation is nothing*: quos quidem errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones, juri divino ac catholicæ, universalis, et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obvias, contrarias, et repugnantes, coram nobis tam in judicio quam extra, animo obstinato, pertinaci, et indurato, arroganter, pertinaciter, scienter, et obstinate, asseruisti, tenuisti, affirmasti, dixisti, pariter et defendisti, atque te sic credere, asserere, tenere, affirmare, et dicere velle paribus obstinatio, malitia, et cordis cæcitate, etiam prudens et sciens affirmasti: Idcirco nos Stephanus, Wintoniensis Episcopus, ordinarius et diocesanus antedictus, tam de venerabilium confratrum nostrorum Episcoporum præsentium et nobis assidentium consensu et assensu expressis, quam etiam de et cum consilio et judicio jurisperitorum et sacrarum literarum professorum, cum quibus communicavimus in hac parte, TE Johannem Bradford de meritis, culpis, obstinatis et contumaciis, per improbas et sceleratas tuas obstinatas et pertinacias multipliciter contractis, incuris, et aggravatis, in detestabili, horrendo, et impio hæreticæ pravitate reatu et execrabili dogmate comprehensum fuisse et esse; atque hujusmodi scelerata et impia dogmata coram nobis sæpe dixisse, asseruisse, atque scienter, voluntarie, et pertinaciter defendisse, et mantenuisse, per varias tuas confessiones, assertiones, et recognitiones tuas judiciales, sæpe coram nobis repetitas, ita asseruisse, affirmasse, et credidisse, declaramus et pronuntiamus; teque in hac parte rite et legitime confessum fuisse et esse decernimus. Ideoque te Johannem Bradford antedictum, hujusmodi tuos errores, hæreses, ac impias et damnatas opiniones refutare, retractare, recantare, et abjurare in forma ecclesiæ approbata nolentem, sed obstinate et pertinaciter dictis tuis sceleratis hæresibus et execratis opinionibus inhærentem, et ad unitatem sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ redire nolentem, præmissorum occasione, causa, et prætextu, hæreticum obstinatum et pertinacem fuisse et esse cum animi dolore et cordis amaritudine etiam declaramus, pronuntiamus, et decernimus. Teque tanquam hæreticum obstinatum et pertinacem exnunc judicio sive curiæ seculari, ut membrum putridum, a corpore sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore decernimus et declaramus, atque de facto relinquimus et tradimus; teque Johannem Bradford, hæreticum obstinatum et pertinacem hujusmodi, majoris excommunicationis sententia præmissorum occasione innodatum et involutum, eaque ligatum fuisse et esse, sententialiter et diffinitive declaramus per hanc nostram sententiam finalem, quam in et contra te dolenter ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

Lecta, lata, et promulgata fuit hæc sententia in Ecclesia parochiali Beatæ Mariæ Overy, alias nuncupata Sancti Salvatoris, in Burgo de Southwark, Wintoniæ Diocesi, die Mercurii, tricesimo die Januarii, Anno Domini juxta cursum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1554, præsentibus testibus de quibus in actis illius diei fit mentio.

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