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The following letter of Richard Hiller to  
Cromwell, is taken from the Cromwell  
correspondence in the State Paper Office,  
Vol. 18. No. 461, and has never been printed.

In Roone [Rouen] the 31 day of Ianever anno  
1532.

Ryght Honorable Syr, in the most lowlyest  
manner that I can I do hartely humble my selfe  
unto your mastershippe, trustyng in Allmyghty God  
that you are in good prosperity and welfare, wyche I do  
beseeche Iesu to preserve to hys myghte pleasure and youre  
most hartes desyre et cetera, Syr, I do mekely exhorte  
your Mastershippe from [sic] Crystes seke that ye wyll  
not be dyspleasyd that I (as now beyng so vgly an object  
of the worlde) do take apone me to wyte unto suche an hygh  
estate as your Mastershippe is, and to pardon my rudenes,  
because I never usyd to wyte affore tyme to any that God  
hath called to suche rule and governance. The matter  
ys thus. My name ys Richarde Hylles, havinge bothe  
my father and mother on lyve upon London Brygge, and  
I was of late apprentyse with a good merchant callyd  
Nycolas Coffyn on London Brygge, and it pleased God, I do  
hartely thanke hym, to give me some knowlege of his son Iesus  
Cryste, in so moche that on a certain sonday at afternon when  
I was idell, I thought that I wolde (according to the poore  
talent that God had given me) goo about some good thyng  
to keep me from idellness, and then I remembryd how that on  
a good honest young man dyd ones requyre me to shew him my  
mynde in wytyng how I did understande that part of Sancte  
James bystelle that said how Abraham was justyfyed by workes:  
in so muche that I went about it and made as long a proesse about  
it, as ye see in this treatyse that I have sent your Mastershippe.  
And I promyse you yt ys the true copy of myne owne handwytyng.  
Howbeit no man livinge dothe know that I so wyte to your Mastershippe  
But now to my purpose. My master sent me over 6 days beffore I was  
caste, to be made free in Flanders; & when I was there in Flanders, I  
had word that of a luttel the Bishoppe of London had the treatyse that  
I did make, and also knew that I dyd make yt. In so moche that my  
master hymselfe when he came over now after Crystenos told me the same  
tale. And because he was lothe to forsake my service, he wexed unto me, and  
exhortyd me to revoke, ye, and consyd an honest merchant beside hymselfe  
to have me in examynacion beffore them bothe. And they askyd me off I  
thought my selfe wyse than alle other men: and I answered that

I countyd myselffe all together waighte, and the worde  
of God to be very true: to the wyche, quod I, I pray God that  
I may captiue all my wythe and waldly reason, wyche waldly  
reason, as do the scripture teaching, ys ennyge to God. And thus  
hopyd on, and they collyd me three or 4 tymes lesse than agayne  
sometyme collyng me opynatlyffe, and sometyme saying "we can  
not see but that any of ye all wyll reuoke rather than to dye."  
To the wyche I answered that what their opynions wer wyche  
deuocyn, I could not tell, but I dare not, quod I, say that all  
artycles that are forschun for those of dethe be fells, for then I  
shuld condempne sancte Peter." And to be shole, I sayde that  
I sayng I wold nothing agenste the lawe of God, nor agens  
the faythe in crystes blode, I truste in God wyche will grante  
me to dyshonour bys blesyd true: notwithstanding, sayde I,  
yff I shuld truste any thyng to myn own strength, I could not  
chaunce but fell. and another tyme they layde many waldly reasons  
agens me, and, with every one of them myghte the Jewes have  
condempnyd Cryste and bys Apostells for heretykes, yff they  
were thow argumentes. And I shewyd them how S. Paull saythe  
that the naturall man cannot perceave spirituall thynges,  
with many other answers wyche are to long here to be recylyd,  
as your Maisterhyppre may conjecture that I wolden sube a  
case. And then they askyd me what money I had, and I shewyd  
them. Well, quod my master, I have a frende that will send the  
to one of Paris, a doctour of dyuynyte, wyche wyll laye the  
matter so playnly afore the, that thou shalt say, peccari.  
And in conclusyon he sayd that he wold not for £100 to helpp  
me with one penny, for feare of the Byshopes: but prayed me to go  
of my cure costs thither, and to fullfyll bys mynd I am now  
going thither, and my Maister hopyth that I will returne  
agayne from Crist, and then be his seruant, But he must  
myffe of bys purpose, by Gods grace, and I am now in a maner  
indeuore for ever, excepte that your Maisterhyppre do helpe; for my  
maister nor no other person dare take me into their service for  
cause of the Byshopes. Wherefore I desire you for the pappyn of  
wythe to styrre that I may serue any merchant in any realme  
out of England, and the merchantes to have no danger therby,  
wither in Englands nor no where elles. And yff ye do thus moche  
for me, I am bounde to pray for your Maisterhyppre (as I am now  
in articles) as longe as I lyue elles. then my Maister wold  
caddy have me to occupy for hym in France, and yff he

durst not, yet are there many that would, I say, I desire  
your mastershippe that ye will not be displeas'd that I  
write so little favorably unto you, for the man that brought  
this and did not give me 2 hours warning, and because  
my money is almost gone, I thought it not best to differ  
the matter any longer in writing to you Mastershippe, &c:  
specially w<sup>th</sup> I have made you graciously you have advised  
many that have made of you. I say, I wrote a letter to my  
parr father and mother, moving them to labour to your  
Mastershippe for the same purpose, saying that a friend  
of myns had desire them to deliver trays unto you. And  
if it chance that my father and mother do labour to  
your Mastershippe for y<sup>e</sup>, I pray you for Godes sake to  
be so good unto me as to give them an answer either one  
or other. But I am uncertayne whether they dare  
speak for me or no: for my master sayeth that he hath  
a commandment to the contrary. As was to your  
gracious Mastershippe at this time but the Lord  
have you always in his blessed keeping. Amen.

Be your daily Orator Ri: Hylls, late  
apprentice with Nicolas Coffyn<sup>†</sup> at the signe  
of the Anchor in London Brugge.

unto the Right Honourable  
Mr Cromwell be this  
delivered.

† Nicolas Coffyn was a Merchant Tailor.

The following was written by R. Hillis's mother,  
to Cromwell; it has never been printed.

State Paper office }  
Cromwell covr: }  
Vol. 18. N<sup>o</sup>. 463 }

Pleaseth it your good mastershipp for Christer sake  
to remember my pore sone Richard Hylls, the wyche  
sent your mastershipp a letter from Roome where as  
he now lyves very poverly without the help of his frendes,  
wherefore I besyche your mastershippe for Crysters sake that  
it wold please you to sende for his master whos name is  
Nicholas Coffyn dwelyng on the Brygge in London; he is  
one of the Fellowship of Merchant Taylors, and that it will  
please your mastershippe to enquire of hym what he  
intends to doo with hym: for I thynke he wold be glad  
to have hym, but he standes in such pise he dares not  
take hym; in much more pise than I trust, he nedes,  
with the helpe of God and your good mastership, that he  
may save him or some other man of the same craft,  
out his termys, that my sone shold not losse his freedom  
so that his master nor my sone shold neither of them  
come in any danger. For ther as he is now, he is without  
the helpe other of his master or of any other of his frendes,  
and goes from town to town without any socour; the wyche  
bringes me his pore mother in suche great heavynes that  
without the helpe of God and your good mastershippe I  
cannot have no comfort. wherefore I besyche your mastershippe  
for Crysters sake to comfort me and hym at your mastershipps  
pleasure, & in your so doinge he with alle his frendes are  
daily bounde to pray for you, and agayne I trust God shold  
rewards you, for never no good dede unrewarded.  
Wrytten by your pore Bede woman

Elisabeth Hylls.

Jan 7. 1532









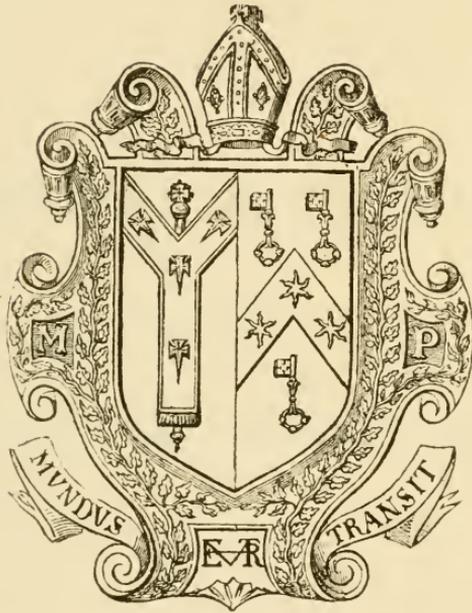
ORIGINAL LETTERS

RELATIVE TO

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers  
and Early Writers of the Reformed  
English Church.





ANSICHT VON ZÜRICH  
VON DER NORDSEITE.

# ORIGINAL LETTERS

RELATIVE TO

## THE ENGLISH REFORMATION,

WRITTEN DURING THE REIGNS OF

KING HENRY VIII., KING EDWARD VI.,  
AND QUEEN MARY:

CHIEFLY FROM THE ARCHIVES OF ZURICH.

TRANSLATED FROM AUTHENTICATED COPIES OF THE AUTOGRAPHS,

AND EDITED FOR

**The Parker Society,**

BY THE

REV. HASTINGS ROBINSON, D.D. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF GREAT WARLEY, ESSEX;  
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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THE FIRST PORTION.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN the preface to the Second Series of letters from the Archives of Zurich and other repositories in Switzerland, published by the Parker Society, it was stated that the Council had procured from the same collections more than three hundred other letters, written during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and queen Mary, also having reference to ecclesiastical affairs and the progress of the Reformation. The translation of these letters will form the present and a subsequent publication: for as the printing proceeded, it was found that the entire series could not be conveniently contained in one volume: but as the first portion is now completed, the Council have issued it as one of the earliest books in return for the subscriptions of the present year, various though unavoidable circumstances having delayed the publication of another work originally intended to be issued at this time.

The question respecting the chronological or other arrangement of the letters now published was long and maturely considered: in the result it appeared best to print those of each writer together. As the present correspondence does not, like the letters written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, involve that regular view of the history of the times, which made the chronological arrangement in that case desirable, the plan now adopted has been considered, on the whole, the least liable to objection. A table of contents will however be given with the succeeding portion, which will embrace the entire series of ante-Elizabethan correspondence, in the chronological order of the respective letters. The Indices, and a fuller preface, will also be given with the re-

maining portion, which will form another of the volumes of the present or following year, whichever may be found most expedient, and according to the progress made with the other works now in course of publication; the Council not being unmindful of the general desire of the members, frequently expressed, that the books should be issued as speedily as possible in return for the subscriptions of each year. It is however hardly necessary to state, that the uncertainties attendant upon all literary proceedings will often prevent the adoption of that course which would be most in accordance with the wishes of those concerned in them. The plan of publication adopted by the Society, it will also be remembered, is not that of works printed for ordinary circulation; and while its volumes involve far more than the usual difficulties of preparing for and passing through the press, the precise time of the appearance of any particular book is not a matter of so much importance as in publications for common sale.

The greater part of these letters are now printed for the first time: they will be found to contain many details of interest, relative to various proceedings of that period, and occasionally to give much information respecting the customs and manners of the times, as well as the private history of the writers and other individuals to whom they refer.

*October 1, 1846.*

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p. 25, l. 11, *for you read your.*

p. 80, l. 17, *for the sixth Sunday before Easter, read Good Friday.*

p. 113, l. penult. *for Jenkins read Tomkins.*







*Nagle Sculp.*

EDWARD THE 6<sup>th</sup>.

*Published 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1812. by L. Stockdale, Piccadilly.*

## LETTER I.

### EDWARD VI. TO THE SENATE OF ZURICH.

Dated at WESTMINSTER, Oct. 20, 1549.

EDWARD the sixth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the Faith, and of the church of England and Ireland supreme head upon earth, &c. To the honourable and valiant Lords of Zurich, our right entirely beloved friends, greeting. After we had taken upon ourselves, by ancient and hereditary right, the government of our kingdoms, nothing was more ardently desired by us than to conciliate, and most firmly retain, the friendship of those sovereigns who had been especially esteemed by our most serene father of most happy memory: and as in the number of these he always regarded, as long as he lived, your most noble and valiant nation; so we likewise cannot but regard you with especial esteem, and exceedingly value your friendship; and the rather, because we have understood by the frequent letters of our faithful and beloved servant, Christopher Mont, both your favourable disposition towards us, and ready inclination to deserve well of us. In addition to which, there is also a mutual agreement between us concerning the christian religion and true godliness, which ought to render this friendship of ours, by God's blessing, yet more intimate. We therefore return you our warmest thanks for your singular and favourable disposition towards us, which you shall always find to be reciprocal on our part, whenever an opportunity shall present itself. We have therefore commanded this our servant to salute you most cordially, to inform you more fully of our affection and good-will, and to lay before you, in our name, some other things which we have thought fit should at this time be made known to you. We therefore earnestly request you to place assured and undoubting reliance upon what he shall communicate. So farewell. From our palace at Westminster, Oct. 20, A.D. 1549, and of our reign the third.

Your good friend,

EDWARD.

1

## LETTER II.

LADY JANE SEYMOUR<sup>1</sup> TO BUCER AND FAGIUS.Dated at SION, *June 12, 1549.*

I HAVE perused your letter, most reverend fathers, which has not only pleased, but highly delighted me. For I easily perceived therein your singular good-will towards me, a grace and eloquence equal to that of Cicero, together with a most abiding remembrance of me, which, as it is in most persons of very rare occurrence, I cannot sufficiently admire in you. But when I consider in what way I can recompense the sincerity of your friendship, I plainly perceive that this is quite out of my power; and that I can only offer you, as I shall do as long as I live, my warmest acknowledgments. I dare not presume to write to you how very acceptable were the books that you presented to my sister and myself, for fear lest my ineloquent commendation of them may appear impertinent. From your exceeding praise of the addresses of myself and my sister, which we might more truly be said to babble than to recite before you, I perceive your incomparable benevolence and friendship, abounding in such kind exaggeration respecting us. For neither my sister nor myself assume to ourselves a single atom of this commendation, nor have we any right to do so. My mother, thank God, is in good health: she desires her best respects to you both, and also thanks you for your salutations to her grace. Farewell, both of you, and may your life long be preserved!

Dated at Sion<sup>2</sup>, June 12, 1549.

Your attached well wisher,

JANE SEYMOUR.

[<sup>1</sup> This lady was the third daughter of the protector Somerset, and intended by him to become the wife of Edward VI. She afterwards became one of the maids of honour to queen Elizabeth, and died unmarried in 1561. Strype, Mem. ii. ii. 7, and Ann. i. i. 399.]

[<sup>2</sup> Sion House was built on the site of the dissolved monastery of that name at Isleworth, by the protector Somerset, to whom the site

## LETTER III.

HENRY<sup>3</sup>, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, Dec. 21, 1551.

THAT you have not received, my very dear Bullinger, any letter from me before now, by which I might testify towards you that good-will which you have on so many accounts deserved, and also thank you most heartily for your exceeding courtesy to me, which I most entirely appreciate, has been solely attributable to those affairs of state, upon which I had to bestow all my zeal, labour, and diligence, unless I would fail in satisfying my duty to God, my own dignity, and the expectation of the public. You will therefore, I know, easily pardon my delay, especially as I would have you assured that my regard for you can be diminished by no circumstances, and much less by time. For the book<sup>4</sup> which you have published under the auspices of my name, I return you, not only for my own sake, but for that of the whole church of Christ, the thanks I ought; and I acknowledge the divine goodness towards his church, and, as Paul expresses it, *the love of God to man*<sup>5</sup>, that he has chosen to adorn and illuminate his church with such lights, as that we who are less enlightened, may follow those guides in the beaten path of true religion, who may both be able, by reason of the gifts they have received from God, and willing, by reason of their affection to their brethren, diligently to point out the way in which we ought to walk. It would indeed have been all

was granted by Edward VI., who, on the duke's execution, bestowed it upon John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. It was afterwards given by James I. to Henry Percy, the ninth earl of Northumberland, in which family it now remains.]

[<sup>3</sup> Henry Grey, third marquis of Dorset, having married Frances, daughter of Charles first duke of Suffolk, by whom he had lady Jane Grey, was created duke of Suffolk, Oct. 10, 1551. He was beheaded in 1554.]

[<sup>4</sup> Bullinger had dedicated a volume of his *Decades* to the duke of Suffolk in March, 1551. See Strype, *Mem.* ii. i. 397.]

[<sup>5</sup> *φιλανθρωπία*. Tit. iii. 4.]

over with us, had not he provided pillars of this kind to support his church, which otherwise would beyond all doubt have been overthrown.

I acknowledge myself also to be much indebted to you on my daughter's account, for having always exhorted her in your godly letters to a true faith in Christ, the study of the scriptures, purity of manners, and innocence of life; and I earnestly request you to continue these exhortations as frequently as possible. Farewell, most accomplished Bullinger, and may Almighty God prosper your endeavours in the church, and evermore defend you! From my house in London. Dec. 21, 1551.

HENRY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.



LETTER IV.

LADY JANE GREY TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [BRADGATE, July 12, 1551<sup>1</sup>.]

I GIVE you, most learned sir, unceasing thanks, and shall do so as long as I live, for I cannot engage to requite the obligation; as I seem to myself quite unable to make a suitable return for such exceeding courtesy, unless indeed you should be of opinion that I return a favour while I retain it in my remembrance. Nor are these professions made without reason. For I have received from you a most weighty and eloquent epistle, which was indeed very gratifying to me, not only because, to the neglect of more important engagements, you have condescended to write from so distant a country, and in your declining age, to me, who am unworthy of the correspondence of so distinguished a personage; but also because your writings are of such a character, as that they contain, not mere ordinary topics for amusement, but pious and divine thoughts for instruction, admonition and counsel, on such points especially, as are suited to my age and sex and the

[<sup>1</sup> This letter was sent to Zurich inclosed in one bearing the same date from John ab Ulmis.]



*H. Woodcut.*

*Lady Jane Grey.*



dignity of my family. In this epistle, as in every thing else that you have published to the great edification of the christian commonwealth, you have shewn yourself not only a man of exquisite learning and singular acquirement, but also a skilful, prudent, and godly counsellor; one who can relish nothing that is not excellent, think nothing that is not divine, enjoin nothing that is not profitable, and produce nothing that is not virtuous, pious, and worthy of so reverend a father. Oh! happy me, to be possessed of such a friend and so wise a counsellor! (for, as Solomon says, “in the multitude of counsellors there is safety<sup>2</sup>;)” and to be connected by the ties of friendship and intimacy with so learned a man, so pious a divine, and so intrepid a champion of true religion! On many accounts I consider myself beholden to Almighty God; but especially for having, after I was bereaved of the pious Bucer<sup>3</sup>, that most learned man and holy father, who unweariedly did not cease, day and night, and to the utmost of his ability, to supply me with all necessary instructions and directions for my conduct in life; and who by his excellent advice promoted and encouraged my progress and advancement in all virtue, godliness, and learning; for having, I say, afforded me in his place a man so worthy to be revered as yourself, and who, I hope, will continue, as you have begun, to spur me on, when I loiter and am inclined to delay. For no better fortune can await me than to be thought worthy of the correspondence and most wholesome admonitions of men so renowned, whose virtues cannot be sufficiently eulogized; and to experience the same happiness as was enjoyed by Blesilla<sup>4</sup>, Paula, and Eustochium, to whom, as it is recorded, Saint Jerome imparted instruction, and brought them by his discourses to the knowledge of divine truths; or, the happiness of that venerable matron<sup>5</sup>, to whom St John addressed an exhortatory

[<sup>2</sup> Prov. xi. 14. In the original, written in Latin, Lady Jane quotes the Hebrew.]

[<sup>3</sup> Bucer died at Cambridge, Feb. 27, 1551.]

[<sup>4</sup> Blesilla was the eldest, and Eustochium the third, daughter of Paula, who was descended from the Roman family of that name. They were instructed in the christian religion by Jerome. Paula followed him to Bethlehem, where she died, after having lived there twenty years in a monastery erected by herself.]

[<sup>5</sup> Called in the English version *the elect lady*. 2 John, 1.]

and evangelical epistle; or that, lastly, of the mother<sup>1</sup> of Severus, who profited by the counsels of Origen, and was obedient to his precepts. All which personages were less indebted for their renown and celebrity to their beauty of person, nobility of birth, and large possessions, than to the glory and happiness they derived from the instructions of wise men, who, though singularly eminent for erudition and piety, did not disdain to lead them, as it were, by the hand to every thing excellent, and to suggest to them such thoughts as might especially conduce to their eternal salvation and happiness in the life to come. And I request again and again, that as you cannot be deemed inferior to any of these in understanding, or learning, or godliness, you will condescend to manifest a like kindness to myself. My unreserved requests may carry with them an appearance of boldness; but if you will consider the motive by which I am actuated, namely, that I may draw forth from the storehouse of your piety such instruction as may tend both to direct my conduct, and confirm my faith in Christ my Saviour, your goodness cannot, and your wisdom will not, allow you to censure them.

From that little volume<sup>2</sup> of pure and unsophisticated religion, which you lately sent to my father and myself, I gather daily, as out of a most beautiful garden, the sweetest flowers. My father also, as far as his weighty engagements permit, is diligently occupied in the perusal of it: but whatever advantage either of us may derive from thence, we are bound to render thanks to you for it, and to God on your account; for we cannot think it right to receive with ungrateful minds such and so many truly divine benefits, conferred by Almighty God through the instrumentality of yourself and those like you, not a few of whom Germany is now in this respect so happy as to possess. If it be customary with mankind, as indeed it ought to be, to return favour for favour, and to shew ourselves mindful of benefits bestowed; how much rather should we endeavour to embrace with joyfulness the benefits conferred by divine goodness, and

[<sup>1</sup> Mammaea, mother of the emperor Alexander Severus, caused Origen to come from Alexandria to Antioch, that she might hear him preach, A. D. 229.]

[<sup>2</sup> This was a treatise on Christian Perfection, dedicated in 1551 to Henry II. of France.]

at least to acknowledge them with our gratitude, though we may be unable to make an adequate return!

I now come to that part of your letter which contains a commendation of myself, which as I cannot claim, so also I ought not to allow: but whatever the divine goodness may have bestowed upon me, I ascribe solely to himself, as the chief and sole author of any thing in me that bears any semblance of what is good; and to whom I entreat you, most accomplished sir, to offer your constant prayers on my behalf, that he may so direct me and all my actions, that I may not be found unworthy of his so great goodness. My most noble father would have written to you, to thank you both for the important labours in which you are engaged, and also for the singular courtesy you have manifested by inscribing with his name and publishing under his auspices your fifth Decade, had he not been summoned by most weighty business in his majesty's service to the remotest parts of Britain; but as soon as public affairs shall afford him leisure, he is determined, he says, to write to you with all diligence<sup>3</sup>. To conclude, as I am now beginning to learn Hebrew, if you will point out some way and method of pursuing this study to the greatest advantage, you will confer on me a very great obligation.

Farewell, brightest ornament and support of the whole church of Christ; and may Almighty God long preserve you to us and to his church!

Your most devoted,

JANE GREY.

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## LETTER V.

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LADY JANE GREY TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [BRADGATE, *July 7, 1552.*]

I SHOULD seem altogether ungrateful, unmindful of my duty, and unworthy of your favours, could I do otherwise than thank you, most accomplished sir, for your many acts of

[<sup>3</sup> See the preceding Letter written subsequently to this.]

kindness to myself. I do this however with diffidence, inasmuch as the great friendship which you desire to exist between us, and the many favours you have conferred upon one who is so entirely undeserving of them, seem to demand something more than mere thanks; and I cannot satisfactorily repay by my poor and worthless correspondence the debt of gratitude I owe you. The consideration also of my unfitness to address a letter to a person of your eminence, greatly adds to my uncomfortable feelings; nor indeed should I either desire or presume to disturb your important labours with my trifles and puerilities, or interrupt your eloquence by my so great rudeness of speech, only that I know I have no other means of testifying my gratitude, and that I have no doubt of your accustomed and long experienced indulgence.

With respect to the letter I lately received from you, you must know, that after having read it twice over, (for one perusal did not satisfy me,) I seemed to have derived as much benefit from your excellent and truly divine precepts, as I have scarcely obtained from the daily perusal of the best authors. You exhort me to embrace a genuine and sincere faith in Christ my Saviour. I will endeavour to satisfy you in this respect, as far as God shall enable me to do; but as I acknowledge faith to be his gift, I ought therefore only to promise so far as he may see fit to bestow it upon me. I shall not however cease to pray, with the apostles, that he may of his goodness daily increase it in me. And to this I will add, as you exhort me, and with the divine blessing, such holiness of life, as my (alas!) too feeble powers may enable me to practise. Do you, meanwhile, with your wonted kindness, make daily mention of me in your prayers. In the study of Hebrew I shall pursue that method which you so clearly point out. Farewell, and may God protect you in the task you have undertaken, and prosper you for evermore!

Your most religiously obedient,

JANE GREY.

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## LETTER VI.

LADY JANE GREY TO HENRY BULLINGER.

*Before June 1553.*

THE tardy performance of a duty, most learned sir, ought not to be censured, especially if it has not been omitted through neglect. The truth is, I am at a great distance from you, the couriers are few, and news reaches me slowly: but as I can now avail myself of the messenger, by whom my letters to you, and yours to me, have usually been conveyed, I must not be wanting in my duty of writing to you, but as diligently as possible, by word and deed, discharge the obligation. For so great is your authority with all men, so great, as I hear, is the solidity of your preaching, so great too is the integrity of your conduct, according to the report of those who know you, that foreign and remote nations, as well as your own countrymen, are excited not only by your words, but by your actions, to follow after a good and happy life. For you are not only, as St James<sup>1</sup> says, a diligent herald and preacher of the gospel, and of the holy commands of God, but also a true observer and doer of them; and you manifest in your own life the practice that your precepts enjoin, not deceiving yourself. Neither, indeed, do you resemble those who behold their natural face in a glass, and, as soon as they have gone away, forget the form of it; but you preach true and sound doctrine, and by your manner of life afford an example and pattern for others to follow what you both enjoin and practise. But why do I thus address your gravity, when my ignorance is such that I can neither adequately praise your piety, nor sufficiently eulogise your integrity of life, nor set forth your profound and admirable learning in a becoming manner? Were I indeed to extol you as truth requires, I should need either the oratorical powers of Demosthenes, or the eloquence of Cicero; for your merits are so great, as to demand not only length of time, but an acuteness of intellect and elegance of expression far beyond that of my age to set them forth. For God, it seems, has looked upon you with

[<sup>1</sup> See James i. 22—24.]

such complacency, as to have fitted you both for his kingdom and for this world: for in this earthly prison you pass your days, as though you were dead; whereas you live, and this not only to Christ in the first place, without whom there can be no life, and in the next place to yourself; but also to others without number, whom you strenuously labour and assiduously endeavour to bring, by God's blessing, to that immortality which, when you shall have departed this life, you will obtain yourself. And that your piety may accomplish what you desire, I will not cease to implore of God, the supreme ruler of the universe, nor constantly to importune the divine ears for your long continuance in this life.

In writing to you in this manner I have exhibited more boldness than prudence: but so great has been your kindness towards me, in condescending to write to me, a stranger, and in supplying the necessary instruction for the adornment of my understanding and the improvement of my mind, that I should justly appear chargeable with neglect and forgetfulness of duty, were I not to shew myself mindful of you and of your deservings in every possible way. Besides, I entertain the hope that you will excuse the more than feminine boldness of me, who, girlish and unlearned as I am, presume to write to a man who is the father of learning; and that you will pardon that rudeness which has made me not hesitate to interrupt your more important occupations with my vain trifles and puerile correspondence. Let me but obtain your indulgence, and I shall consider myself on every account exceedingly indebted to your kindness. For if I have been to blame in this matter, you must ascribe it rather to the excess of my regard for you and for your virtues, than either to a boldness which ought not at all to exist in our sex, or a temerity which is for the most part adverse to our better judgment; inasmuch as the splendour of your endowments is so dazzling to my mental perception, whenever I read your works or meditate upon yourself, that I do not consider what is becoming to my condition, but what is due to your worth and excellence. My mind, moreover, is fluctuating and undecided: for while I consider my age, sex, and mediocrity, or rather infancy in learning, each of these things, much more all of them, deter me from writing; but when I call to mind the eminence of your virtues, the celebrity of your character,





VADIAN.

and the magnitude of your favours towards me, the higher consideration yields to the inferior; a sense of what is becoming me gives way to your worth, and the respect which your merits demand usually prevails over all other considerations.

It now only remains for me, most illustrious sir, earnestly to entreat you cordially to salute in my name, though I am personally unacquainted with him, the excellent Bibliander<sup>1</sup>, that pattern of erudition, godliness, and authority. For so great is the reputation of his learning in our country, and so renowned his name among all people, by reason of the singular endowments which God has bestowed upon him, that though I have acquired but little learning myself, I cannot resist my inclination to pay respect to the piety and integrity of such a man, who, if I am not mistaken, has been sent to us from heaven. And I pray God that such pillars of the church as you both are, may long enjoy good health. As long as I shall be permitted to live, I shall not cease to offer you my good wishes, to thank you for the kindness you have shewed me, and to pray for your welfare. Farewell, learned sir.

Your piety's most devoted,

JANE GREY.

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## LETTER VII.<sup>2</sup>

### ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO JOACHIM VADIAN<sup>3</sup>.

Dated [1537.]

HAVING obtained a release, or rather a respite, from public affairs and deliberations, and beginning, illustrious and most learned Vadian, at the turn of the year, to reply to you among my other learned correspondents, to whose letters I had long been owing an answer, (to you, I say, as having

[<sup>1</sup> Theodore Bibliander, or Buchman, was born in 1504, at Bischoffzel near St Gall. He was professor of theology at Zurich, where he died in 1564.]

[<sup>2</sup> The original of this letter is published by Colomesius and others: (see Strype, Cranmer, 94, 740) also in Jenkyns's Remains of Cranmer, Vol. i. p. 193.]

[<sup>3</sup> Joachim Vadian was born at St Gall in Switzerland, in 1484. He was distinguished as a scholar and mathematician.]

received your letter last winter, together with a literary present, which kind of presents I always regard as of the greatest value,) I first begin to consider with myself, and entertain some apprehension, lest by my so long protracted silence I may have given occasion in your mind to some suspicion or opinion not altogether favourable to me. For I know that it is usual among the generality of mankind, that when one person sends his commendations to another, he anxiously expects an acknowledgment of them by the very first opportunity : and if this be delayed, he will suspect that it has been owing to pride, or neglect, or at least forgetfulness; and will conclude beforehand that the party will continue such through the whole of his life, as he has been found to be upon a first introduction. Whereas the person who sends a speedy reply, is judged to have done so from kind and friendly motives, and is therefore regarded as courteous, accessible, and grateful; he on the other hand, who is tardy in his acknowledgments, is considered hard of access, and a person of rude and disagreeable manners. So true it is, that whatever a man does quickly and without delay, he may be said to do twice over. But I promise myself a far better reception from your more than ordinary discretion and courtesy, and am confident that you will take in good part this my involuntary tardiness or delay, and not ascribe it so much to my manners as to my engagements. The nature and importance of these has, I think, long since been made known to you by report; and I have written something respecting them to our common friend Grynæus, who will, I doubt not, as the rights of friendship require, make you acquainted with every circumstance. To him therefore I refer you, in case you are offended with me in this matter, as to one who will render me more excusable in your eyes.

I perceive in your letter, and readily accept and embrace, your good-will towards me, and inclination to cultivate a more intimate friendship with me. For I consider you as one who, by reason of your extraordinary erudition, (by which I shall not scruple to acknowledge that I have myself derived benefit,) and of your probity of morals, confirmed by the testimony of many most excellent persons, is worthy of being regarded by me with all love, favour, and respect. Nevertheless, if I may candidly express my sentiments, (as ought to be the case between good men,) the subject you treat of in

those six books<sup>1</sup> which you sent me as a present, is altogether displeasing to me; and I could wish you had bestowed your labours to better purpose, and commenced an agreeable friendship with myself under better, or at least more approved auspices. For, unless I see stronger evidence brought forward than I have yet been able to see, I desire neither to be the patron nor the approver of the opinion maintained by you. And I am plainly convinced, and from this circumstance especially, that the cause is not a good one, because you who are so shrewd, so eloquent, and so perfectly accomplished in all arts and learning, do not seem to defend and support it with sufficient vigour. I have seen almost every thing that has been written and published either by Œcolampadius or Zuñglius, and I have come to the conclusion that the writings of every man must be read with discrimination. And perhaps one might apply to these men, and not without reason, the remark of Jerome respecting Origen, that where they wrote well, nobody wrote better, &c. : you know what follows. As far indeed as they have endeavoured to point out, confute, and correct papistical and sophistical errors and abuses, I commend and approve them. And I wish that they had confined themselves within those limits, and not trodden down the wheat together with the tares; that is, had not at the same time done violence to the authority of the ancient doctors and chief writers in the church of Christ. For how much soever you may exercise your ingenuity, you will certainly never convince me, nor, I think, any unprejudiced reader, that those ancient authors are on your side in this controversy. You have been, in fact, more than enough inquisitive in your investigation of errors; and while you are endeavouring to purify every thing, you have fancied error to lurk in places where none existed. And this error most certainly, if error it be, has been handed down to us by the fathers themselves,

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, Aphorisms upon the consideration of the Eucharist, intended to disprove the corporal presence, which tenet was held by Abp. Cranmer up to the year 1546; when by more mature and calm deliberation, and considering the point with less prejudice, and the sense of the fathers more closely, in conference with Dr Ridley, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and his fellow-martyr, he at last quitted and freed himself from the fetters of that unsound doctrine. Strype, Cranmer, 94, 97; see also Cranmer's works on the Lord's supper, published by the Parker Society.]

and men of apostolical character, from the very beginning of the church. And what godly man could endure to hear this, much less to believe it? Not to mention in the mean time, that our gracious Lord would never have left his beloved spouse in such lamentable blindness for so long a period.

Wherefore, since this catholic faith which we hold respecting the real presence has been declared to the church from the beginning by such evident and manifest passages of scripture, and the same has also been subsequently commended to the ears of the faithful with so much clearness and diligence by the first ecclesiastical writers; do not, I pray, persist in wishing any longer to carp at or subvert a doctrine so well grounded and supported. You have sufficiently made the attempt already. And unless it had been firmly founded upon a solid rock, it would long since have fallen with the crash of a mighty ruin. It cannot be told, how greatly this so bloody controversy has impeded the full course of the gospel both throughout the whole christian world, and especially among ourselves. It brings very great danger to yourselves, and occasions to all others a stumbling-block greater than I can express. Wherefore, if you will listen to me, I exhort and advise you, yea, I beg, beseech, and implore and adjure you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to agree and unite in a christian concord, to exert your whole strength in establishing it, and at length to afford to the churches the peace of God which passeth all understanding, so that we may, with united strength, extend as widely as possible one sound, pure, evangelical doctrine, conformable to the discipline of the primitive church. We should easily convert even the Turks to the obedience of our gospel, if only we would agree among ourselves, and unite together in some holy confederacy. But if we go on in this way to "bite and devour each other," there will be reason to fear, lest (what I abhor the mention of), according to the warning of the apostle, we "be consumed one of another."

You have, worthy Vadian, my true and genuine opinion respecting that entire controversy, together with a free and faithful admonition. To which if you will pay attention, I shall enrol your name not only among my friends, but among my best friends. Farewell. [1537.]

T. CANTUAR.

## LETTER VIII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO WOLFGANG CAPITO.

Without place or date<sup>1</sup>.

THE treatise<sup>2</sup>, my friend Capito, which you had dedicated to the king's majesty, I presented to him with my own hand. He received it, as I thought, with pleasure and satisfaction. I also hinted to him that he should recompense your labours, and he promised to see to it. Not long after, when the bishop<sup>3</sup> of Hereford and I were together in company with the Lord Crumwell, the keeper of the privy seal, who is one of the privy councillors, and who has himself done more than all others together in whatever has hitherto been effected respecting the reformation of religion and of the clergy; we united in requesting him to put his majesty again in mind of you, which he has done, and a hundred crowns are assigned to you as a present, which he has ordered the bearer of this letter to take with him. Do you still desire to know whether your offering was acceptable? Well, I will state, not what I myself know to be the fact, but what I have heard from others who have been at court more recently than myself. The king, who is a most acute and vigilant observer, is wont to hand over books of this kind that have been presented to him, and those especially which he has not the patience to read himself, to one of his lords in waiting for perusal, from whom he may afterwards learn their contents. He then takes them back, and presently gives them to be examined by some one else, of an entirely opposite way of thinking to the former party. When he has thus made himself master of their opinions, and sufficiently ascertained both what they commend and what they find fault with, he at length openly declares his own judgment respecting the same points. And this, I understand,

[1 Dr Jenkyns, who has published the Latin original of this letter from the archives of Zurich, assigns the date of 1537.]

[2 This treatise is entitled, *Responsum de Missa, Matrimonio, et jure magistratus in religione*, 11 Martii, 1537, Henrico VIII. inscriptum. Jenkyns, Cranmer, i. 192.]

[3 Edward Foxe, bishop of Hereford, 1535, died in 1538.]

he has done with respect to your book; and while he was much pleased with many things in it, there were also some things which he could by no means digest or approve. I suspect they were the statements you made concerning the mass. You now have every thing respecting that book which I have been able either to hear and see in person, or to gather and collect, when absent, from the report of others. As to myself, be assured of this, that I love and reverence you from my heart, and regard you as one who, by reason of your remarkable erudition united to an equal integrity of manners, is deserving of the friendly offices of all good men. And I wish that my ability corresponded with my inclination to serve you; for you should then perceive, my Capito, how greatly I esteem you. I request you in the mean time to take in good part from me this trifling present, small indeed, if your deserts are taken into account, but yet not to be despised, if you duly consider, either the feelings of the giver, or the necessary and manifold expenses with which I am burdened almost beyond my strength. In fine, I request you to favour and assist for my sake, as far as you can, this my friend Thomas Tybald<sup>1</sup>, who is the bearer of this letter. Farewell.

T. CANTUAR.

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## LETTER IX<sup>2</sup>.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO JOHN A LASCO.

Dated at LONDON, *July 4, 1548.*

I AM sorry that your coming to us has been prevented by the unlooked for intervention of some other engagement; for I have no doubt but that I should easily have satisfied

[<sup>1</sup> Cranmer wrote a letter to Crumwell, dated 22d July, [1537], especially to recommend Tybald as "a very honest man, and both loved and trusted of the learned men in those parties," namely, Germany and Switzerland. See Jenkyns's Cranmer, i. 191.]

[<sup>2</sup> The original of this letter is published in Jenkyns's Cranmer, and also in Gabbema Epp. Clar. Virorum.]



Thomas Cranmer,  
ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.  
Suffered for the Protestant Faith:  
Under the Persecution of Queen Mary the 1<sup>st</sup>  
AT OXFORD.  
*March 21. 1556.*

*London, William Dawson, 68, Bebborn Hill, 6 mo. 30. 1825.*



you as to your invitation<sup>3</sup>, if I had had an opportunity of conversing with you upon the subject. But as you are not able to come at present, but write word that you intend to come at some future time, if you shall have previously been informed by a letter from me as to the nature of your vocation amongst us; I will converse with you by letter, and briefly explain in writing, what I shall perhaps state somewhat more copiously to you in person. We<sup>4</sup> are desirous of setting forth in our churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to adapt it to all tastes, or to deal in ambiguities; but, laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of the sacred writings; so that there may not only be set forth among all nations an illustrious testimony respecting our doctrine, delivered by the grave authority of learned and godly men, but that all posterity may have a pattern to imitate. For the purpose of carrying this important design into execution we have thought it necessary to have the assistance of learned men, who, having compared their opinions together with us, may do away with all doctrinal controversies, and build up an entire system of true doctrine. We have therefore invited both yourself and some other learned men; and as they have come over to us without any reluctance, so that we scarcely have to regret the absence of any of them, with the exception of yourself and Melancthon, we earnestly request you, both to come yourself, and, if possible, to bring Melancthon along with you. I am now sending a third letter to Melancthon<sup>5</sup>, in which I exhort him to come to us; and if your exhortation be added to my letter, I have no doubt but that he will be persuaded to accept an invitation so often repeated<sup>6</sup>. He need not, I think, be under any fear of the attacks of enemies, or the dangers of the roads, which, if

[<sup>3</sup> Dr Jenkyns is of opinion, from a letter of John a Lasco to Hardenberg, in Gerdes, *Scrin. Antiq.*, that this invitation had been given in the preceding year. Jenkyns, *Cranmer*, i. 329.]

[<sup>4</sup> For an account of Cranmer's design to unite all the protestant churches, see Strype, *Cranmer*, 584.]

[<sup>5</sup> See Strype, *Cranmer*, 574, and Latimer's Sermons, Parker Society Edition, Vol. i. p. 141.]

[<sup>6</sup> John a Lasco, Jenkyns states, (*Remains of Cranmer*, i. 331) forwarded Cranmer's letter to Melancthon by Æpinus, as appears from a letter to Hardenberg, July 28, 1548, given in Gerdes.]

they exist at all, are however far less than where he now is<sup>1</sup>. You may add too, that by undergoing a little inconvenience for a short time, he will procure to himself ease for many years, and to the state everlasting benefit. If I anticipated that his visit to us would be either useless or unpleasant, no one would dissuade him from it more earnestly than myself. But now, when I perceive that he can in nowise act more advantageously either for himself or for the state, than by coming over to us at this juncture, I am the more urgent upon the subject, and exhort you to exert all your diligence and consideration to this one end, namely, to make our friend Philip ours in reality. I explained to you, a short time since, what will be the situation of you both; but I so explained it, as desiring that you should learn to be pleased with England from your own experience rather than by my commendation of it. Farewell and happily. London, July 4, 1548.

I am exceedingly desirous of your presence.

T. CANTUAR.

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## LETTER X<sup>2</sup>.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO ALBERT HARDENBERG.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *July 28, 1548.*

BUT if our friend Philip will consider for what purpose he is invited, and also by what persons, those, assuredly, who are most friendly both to himself and to true religion; and also with how great anxiety he is both invited and expected; truly I know not whether he can neglect this summons, especially as he must perceive that he has no certain vocation yonder which he can properly place in opposition to it. If

[<sup>1</sup> Cranmer alludes to the attempt of Charles V. in 1548, to force the Interim on the German protestants.]

[<sup>2</sup> A fragment only of this letter has been preserved, a portion of which will be found in the preceding one, from the words "We are desirous," &c. p. 17, to "my commendation of it," p. 18. Cranmer then proceeds as is here given. The Latin original is published in Jenkyns's Cranmer, and in the Parker Society edition of the archbishop's works.]

he felt unwilling to refuse the venerable elector of Cologne upon a like invitation, he cannot certainly decline the present one, upon an occasion of much greater importance and necessity. His friends perhaps will be unwilling to let him go, and he too will be unwilling to part with his friends at this particular juncture: but I fear in the mean time that all parties yonder do not attend to him from such motives as we could wish; and even if they do, I know not whether he can now remain there with as much advantage as can now be derived from his presence in our England, and which nevertheless ought not to be disregarded by us, inasmuch as we think it our duty to seek truly and heartily the glory of Christ our Lord. I wish he would once make up his mind, and acquaint us with his intention, or that he would come over to us immediately, and anticipate every messenger. We will provide for the expense, either through you, or elsewhere, as soon as we know to what extent, and in what place, he wishes provision to be made. Cambridge, July 28, 1548.

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## LETTER XI<sup>3</sup>.

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### ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO MARTIN BUCER.

Dated at LONDON, *Oct. 2, 1548.*

GRACE and peace of God in Christ. I have read your letter to John Hales<sup>4</sup>, in which you relate the miserable condition of Germany, and inform us that you can scarcely preside in the ministry of the word in your city. With groanings therefore I call out with the prophet, "Shew thy marvellous loving-kindness, O thou that savest them which trust in thee from those that rise up against thy right hand."

[<sup>3</sup> The original of this letter is printed in Strype, Cranmer, 844; Jenkyns, I. 335, Bucer, Script. Angl. p. 190, and in the Parker Society edition of the archbishop's works.]

[<sup>4</sup> John Hales was a learned and good man, and clerk of the hanaper to Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth. In queen Mary's time he was an exile at Frankfort. See Strype, Mem. II. i. 47; III. i. 405; Cranmer, 280.]

(Ps. xvii. 7, marg. ver.) Nor do I doubt but that God will regard both this and the like lamentations of godly men; and that he will preserve and defend the true doctrine, which has hitherto been sincerely set forth in your churches, against all the rage of the devil and of the world. Those, in the mean time, who are unable amidst the raging storm to launch out into the deep, must take refuge in harbour. To you, therefore, my Bucer, our kingdom will be a most safe harbour, in which, by the blessing of God, the seeds of true doctrine have happily begun to be sown. Come over therefore to us, and become a labourer with us in the harvest of the Lord. You will not be of less benefit to the universal church of God while you are with us, than if you retain your former position. In addition to this, you will be better able to heal the wounds of your distressed country in your absence, than you are now able to do in person. Laying aside therefore all delay, come over to us as soon as possible. We will make it manifest that nothing can be more gratifying or agreeable to us than the presence of Bucer. But take care that you suffer no inconvenience from the journey. You are aware of those who pursue your life: do not therefore commit yourself into their hands. There is an English merchant yonder, Richard Hilles, a godly and most trustworthy man, with whom I would have you confer respecting all the arrangements for your journey. Moreover, I pray God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with my whole heart, that in the midst of wrath he may remember mercy, and look upon the calamities of his afflicted church, and kindle the light of true doctrine increasingly among us, and not suffer it to be extinguished, after having now shone with so much splendour for many years among yourselves. May he likewise, my Bucer, guide and preserve you, and bring you over to us in safety. Farewell and happily. London, Oct. 2, 1548. Most anxious for your arrival,

THOMAS CRANMER, archbishop of Canterbury.

## LETTER XII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO PHILIP MELANCTHON<sup>1</sup>.Dated at LONDON, *Feb.* 10, 1549.

WE are experiencing, most learned Melancthon, the truth of all that our Lord Jesus Christ has foretold respecting the trials of his church. "But God is faithful, who will not suffer his people to be tempted above that they are able, but will also with the temptation make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it." For though from his hatred to the Son of God the devil exercises a horrible tyranny over the members of Christ, yet God has promised that his church shall never perish; nay, of these last times he expressly declares, "To hoar hairs will I carry her; I will bear, I will deliver her<sup>2</sup>." And God has always willed some civil societies to be the refuge of his churches, and that their rulers should support the friends of heavenly doctrine; just as Obadiah befriended the hearers of Elias, whom the kings of Israel were persecuting on every side. Wherefore, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I give thee thanks for having rescued our island from the waves, like the ark of Noah, and for having granted us such rulers as seek thy glory, and who devote their houses and possessions to the church and its service, as in old time the cottage of the widow of Sarepta afforded a home to Elias. And I pray God to direct us, and to gather unto himself a perpetual church amongst us, not only out of our own countrymen, but also from among those of foreign nations, as according to his infinite mercy he has already begun to do. For many pious and learned men have come over to us, some from Italy, some from Germany, and we are daily expecting more; which society of the church if you will vouchsafe to increase and adorn with your presence, I know not by what means you will be able more effectually to set forth the glory of God.

I am aware that you have often desired that wise and godly men should take counsel together, and, having com-

[1 The original letter is printed by Jenkyns, and in the Parker Society edition of Cranmer.]

[2 See Isaiah xlv. 4.]

pared their opinions, send forth under the sanction of their authority some work, that should embrace the chief subjects of ecclesiastical doctrine, and transmit the truth uncorrupted to posterity. This object we are anxiously endeavouring to accomplish to the utmost of our power. We therefore request you to communicate your counsel and opinions with us in person, and not so to shut up your mind as to seem wanting even to your own wishes, or acting in opposition to so manifest a calling of God. I could relate many things upon this subject, which would bring you over to our opinion; but the brevity of a letter will not contain them all. I would rather, therefore, that you should learn them from the bearer, John a Lasco, a most excellent man. For he has resided with me upon the most intimate and friendly terms for some months past; and I pray you to give credit to whatever he may relate to you in my name. May our Lord Jesus Christ, the guardian of his church, who has said, None shall pluck my sheep out of my hands, preserve and defend the ministry of his gospel, and bring you in safety to the harbour of our church! Farewell. London, Feb. 10, 1549.

Most anxious for your arrival,

THOMAS CANTUAR.

Our German friends who are with us, request you to bring with you doctor Albert Hardenberg, as Jonas<sup>1</sup> will tell you in my name.

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## LETTER XIII.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO HENRY BULLINGER<sup>2</sup>.

Dated at LAMBETH, *March 20, 1552.*

MUCH health. That I reply, after a year's interval, to your letter dated at Zurich on the 24th of February, you must impute partly to my want of leisure, and partly to a

[<sup>1</sup> This was Justus Jonas the younger, who came over with letters commendatory from Melancthon. Strype, Cranmer, 581.]

[<sup>2</sup> The original letter is printed by Jenkyns, and in the Parker Society edition of Cranmer.]



Femores sine possit. pœmata causa de qua ad me scripsisti  
fuit, ut controuersiam inter. D. Londinensem et D. Gypocam  
Clare scilicet componerem. De qua iudicium huius scilicet est  
respondere.

Quo pertinetate studiorum  
A. Cant.

kind of dislike to a duty of this nature, and which I must candidly admit myself to entertain. But as it is better to perform a duty tardily than not at all, you shall now receive a reply to the whole of your letter.

You write to me upon two subjects, one of a public, the other of a private nature. With respect to that which is public, namely, that I would advise the king's majesty not to send any delegate to the council of Trent<sup>3</sup>, there was no need of any advice of mine to dissuade him from a measure which never came into his mind: but I considered it better, forasmuch as our adversaries are now holding their councils at Trent to confirm their errors, to recommend his majesty to grant his assistance, that in England, or elsewhere, there might be convoked a synod of the most learned and excellent persons, in which provision might be made for the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine, and especially for an agreement upon the sacramentarian controversy. To which plan (as considering it most useful to the christian commonwealth) I perceived that the mind of his majesty was very favourably disposed. We must not therefore suffer ourselves to be wanting to the church of God in a matter of such importance. I have written upon the subject<sup>4</sup> to masters Philip [Melancthon] and Calvin; and I pray you to devise the means by which this synod may be assembled with the greatest convenience, either in England or elsewhere.

The private affair upon which you wrote to me, was, that I should put an end to the controversy between the bishop of London and Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, respecting which it is now too late to reply. For I am aware that you have been informed long since<sup>5</sup>, that this controversy has been entirely settled. And master Hooper is in such great esteem among us, that he is now appointed bishop of Worcester<sup>6</sup>, and

[<sup>3</sup> The first session of this year was held on the first of May. For an account of its proceedings, see Burnet, II. 299.]

[<sup>4</sup> See the next and following letters.]

[<sup>5</sup> Namely, by Hooper, whose letter to Bullinger, dated Aug. 1, 1551, is given in a subsequent part of this volume. Peter Martyr also wrote to Bullinger upon the same subject in the April of the same year. Strype, Cranmer, 309.]

[<sup>6</sup> Hooper was appointed to the see of Worcester in October 1551, and held it *in commendam* with that of Gloucester, to which he had been consecrated in the preceding March.]

is at this time living in my house upon the most intimate terms, during the sitting of parliament. May the Lord Jesus guide and defend you by his holy Spirit! Farewell. Lambeth, March 20, 1552.

Your reverence's most attached,  
THOMAS CANTUAR.

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## LETTER XIV.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO JOHN CALVIN<sup>1</sup>.

Dated at LAMBETH, *March 20, 1552.*

MUCH health. As nothing tends more injuriously to the separation of the churches than heresies and disputes respecting the doctrines of religion, so nothing tends more effectually to unite the churches of God, and more powerfully to defend the fold of Christ, than the pure teaching of the gospel, and harmony of doctrine. Wherefore I have often wished, and still continue to do so, that learned and godly men, who are eminent for erudition and judgment, might meet together in some place of safety, where by taking counsel together, and comparing their respective opinions, they might handle all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and hand down to posterity, under the weight of their authority, some work not only upon the subjects themselves, but upon the forms of expressing them. Our adversaries are now holding their councils at Trent for the establishment of their errors; and shall we neglect to call together a godly synod, for the refutation of error, and for restoring and propagating the truth? They are, as I am informed, making decrees respecting the worship of the host<sup>2</sup>: wherefore we ought to leave no stone unturned, not only that we may guard others against this idolatry, but also that we may ourselves come to an agreement upon the doctrine of this sacrament. It cannot

[<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is published by Jenkyns, and in the Parker Society edition of Cranmer.]

[<sup>2</sup> *περὶ τῆς ἀρτολατρείας.* The decree of the council of Trent on the Lord's Supper was passed on the 11th of October, 1551. Sleidan, *de Stat. Rel. Lib.* xxiii; Jenkyns, Cranmer, i. 346.]

escape your prudence, how exceedingly the church of God has been injured by dissensions and varieties of opinion respecting this sacrament of unity; and though they are now in some measure removed, yet I could wish for an agreement in this doctrine, not only as regards the subject itself, but also with respect to the words and forms of expression. You have now my wish, about which I have also written to masters Philip [Melancthon] and Bullinger; and I pray you to deliberate among yourselves as to the means by which this synod can be assembled with the greatest convenience. Farewell. Lambeth, March 20, 1552.

You very dear brother in Christ,

THOMAS CANTUAR<sup>3</sup>.

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## LETTER XV.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO PHILIP MELANCTHON<sup>4</sup>.

Dated at LAMBETH, *March 27, 1552.*

WE read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when a dispute had arisen, as to whether those who from among the Gentiles had been turned to God, should be compelled to be circumcised, and keep the law of Moses, the apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter; and having compared their opinions, delivered the judgment of their council in a written epistle. This example I wish we ourselves could imitate, in whose churches the doctrine of the gospel has been restored and purified. But although all controversies cannot be removed in this world, (because the party which is hostile to the truth, will not assent to the judgment of the church,) it is nevertheless to be desired that the members of the true church should agree among themselves upon the chief heads of ecclesiastical doctrine. But it cannot escape your notice, how greatly religious dissensions, especially in the matter of the Lord's supper, have rent the churches asunder: had they

[<sup>3</sup> Calvin's reply to the above proposals will be given in the Appendix.]

[<sup>4</sup> The original of this letter is printed by Jenkyns, and in the Parker Society edition of Cranmer.]

been settled before, the emperor, I think, would never have made war against you. And it is truly grievous that the sacrament of unity is made by the malice of the devil food for disagreement, and (as it were) the apple of contention. I could wish therefore, that those who excel others in erudition and judgment, should be assembled together, after the example of the apostles, and declare their judgment as well respecting other subjects of dispute, as likewise especially respecting this controversy, and attest their agreement by some published document. But you will perhaps say, "And I also have often expressed the same wish; but this matter cannot be effected without the aid of princes." I have therefore [consulted with]<sup>1</sup> the king's majesty, who places his kingdom of England at your disposal, and most graciously promises not only a place of security and quiet, but also his aid and assistance towards these godly endeavours. I have written likewise to masters Calvin and Bullinger, and exhorted them not to be wanting to a work so necessary, and so useful to the commonwealth of Christendom. You wrote me word in your last letter that the Areopagites of the council of Trent are making decrees respecting the worship of the host. Wherefore, since the adversaries of the gospel meet together with so much zeal for the establishment of error, we must not allow them to be more diligent in confirming ungodliness, than we are in propagating and setting forth the doctrine of godliness. Your commendation of master George Major<sup>2</sup> has greatly increased that regard for him, which his merits have produced in me; and if I can be of service to him in any way, he shall find my ability will fail sooner than my inclination. Farewell and happily. Lambeth, March 27, 1552.

Very desirous of seeing you some time,

THOMAS CANTUAR.

[<sup>1</sup> One or more words are wanting in the original.]

[<sup>2</sup> George Major was a zealous disciple of Luther, and minister at Eisleben. He died in 1574.]



Quit magis MAIORE putas quid dignius illo  
Namq; docenda facit et facienda docet



## LETTER XVI.

## ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO THE WIDOW OF MARTIN BUCER.

Dated at LAMBETH, *April 20, 1552.*

GREETING. The especial favour with which I regarded your husband during his lifetime, is by no means diminished now that he is no more. His remarkable piety indeed, and profound learning, has produced not a transient but an everlasting benefit to the church; whereby he has not only bound all godly persons, but myself more than all of them, under perpetual obligations to him. You must not therefore on any account allow yourself to be deterred from writing to me, should there be any thing in which I can be of use to you or to your affairs. For stirred up by your letters, I shall not only recal to myself, and not without satisfaction, the agreeable remembrance of a very dear friend; but will also most readily perform to you, his widow, those offices of kindness, which the word of God commands to be paid, and which shall be afforded you as occasion shall offer. With respect to what you have lately informed me, that it is necessary for the expediting of your affairs that it should be certified and attested by some formal document that the sum of a hundred marks which you received as a present from the king's majesty, when you left this country, belongs especially and exclusively to yourself, I have written a letter to the guardians<sup>3</sup> of Bucer's children, whereby they may clearly ascertain what was the intention of our most serene king upon the matter in question. I send you a copy of the letter of the lords of the council to master John Hales, his majesty's treasurer, (who is now, I think, at Strasburgh,) or to his deputy in his absence, written in English, which clearly testifies that a hundred marks were presented you by his majesty, and that too, after the death of your husband, inasmuch as that letter was written on the last day of March, and your husband departed this life at the end of February. May God, who is

[<sup>3</sup> These were, Conrad Hubert, Quinter Andernach, and Huldric Chelius, to all of whom Cranmer addressed the following letter.]

the fountain and father of all comfort, vouchsafe to comfort you, and preserve you with all your family! Farewell. Lambeth, April 20, 1552.

Yours to the utmost of his power,

THOMAS CANTUAR.

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## LETTER XVII.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO CONRAD HUBERT,  
AND OTHERS.

Dated at LAMBETH,, *April 20, 1552.*

GREETING. As I have lately understood, from a letter written to this place by the widow<sup>1</sup> of master Bucer of pious memory, that for the purpose of dividing the property of her deceased husband amongst his children, a certain declaration or certificate is necessary respecting the sum of a hundred marks, presented by his majesty, as to whether it belongs to the widow or to the children; whereby the fact may be ascertained, and all doubt entirely removed; I affirm and attest that the said sum of a hundred marks was especially bestowed by his most serene majesty upon master Bucer's widow, after his death, and intended for her especial use; as is clearly manifest from the letter which the lords of the council wrote to the treasurer, a copy of which I have sent to master Bucer's widow. May God direct you by his holy Spirit, and grant you success in the labours of your calling! Farewell. Lambeth, April 20, 1552.

Yours heartily,

T. CANT.

[<sup>1</sup> The name of Bucer's widow was Wibrand Bucerin. The university gave her an hundred crowns on the death of her husband; the king an hundred marks more, besides her husband's half yearly pension, though he died before Lady-day, when it became due. Strype, Cranmer, 358.]

## LETTER XVIII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO PETER MARTYR<sup>2</sup>.

Dated [from prison, 1555.]

AFTER much health in Christ our Saviour. As letters are then only necessary, when the messenger is either not sufficiently discreet, or is unacquainted with the circumstances we wish to communicate, or not thought worthy to be entrusted with secrets; and since by the goodness of God the bearer of this has fallen in my way, a man, as you know, of signal discretion, most faithful in all matters entrusted to him, exceedingly attached to us both, and possessing an entire acquaintance with the circumstances of our country, from whose mouth you may learn all that has taken place here; I have not thought it needful to write to you more at length, especially as letters are wont to occasion so much danger and mischief. Yet I have not deemed it right to pass over this one thing, which I have learned by experience, namely, that God never shines forth more brightly, and pours out the beams of his mercy and consolation, or of strength and firmness of spirit, more clearly or impressively upon the minds of his people, than when they are under the most extreme pain and distress, both of mind and body, that he may then more especially shew himself to be the God of his people, when he seems to have altogether forsaken them; then raising them up when they think he is bringing them down, and laying them low; then glorifying them, when he is thought to be confounding them; then quickening them, when he is thought to be destroying them. So that we may say with Paul, "When I am weak, then am I strong; and if I must needs glory, I will glory in my infirmities, in prisons, in revilings, in distresses, in persecutions, in sufferings for Christ." I pray God to grant that I may endure to the end! Nothing is at this time more distressing to me, than that no answer

[<sup>2</sup> This letter is printed for the first time by the Parker Society. It was discovered at Zurich by the Rev. Steuart A. Pears, in 1843. The Latin original is subjoined.]

has as yet been given to M.A.<sup>1</sup>, to whose subtilties, and juggling tricks, and ravings, a reply would not have been wanting long since, had not books and liberty been wanting to myself. I have written to no one but you, nor do I wish any one to know that I have written to you: wherefore salute no one in my name.

THOMAS CRANMER.

*Thomæ Cranmeri Epistola ad P. Martyrem.*

Post plurimam in Christo Servatore nostro salutem. Quando tum demum necessariae sunt literae, quum aut non satis prudens est nuncius, aut rerum quas significare volumus ignarus, aut non fidus cui arcana credas; quumque mihi Dei benignitate sese obtulisset hic tabellarius, vir et prudentia (ut nosti) insigni, et qui rebus in credendis fidissimus sit, et nostrum utriusque amantissimus, et rerum nostratium scientissimus, e cujus ore quæ hic acta fuerint intelligas omnia; non necessarium existimavi ut prolixius ad te scriberem, præsertim quum scripturæ tot pericula damnaque afferre soleant. Illud tamen unum prætermittendum non censui, quod expertus didici, nunquam Deum splendidius illucescere, et clementiæ suæ, consolationis, aut roboris ac fortitudinis animi radios suorum mentibus clarius aut pressius infundere, quam in summis animi corporisque angoribus atque pressuris; ut tum vel maxime sese declaret suorum esse Deum, quum illos deseruisse prorsus videtur; tum erigere quum dejicere atque prosternere, tum glorificare quum confundere, tum denique vivificare quum occidere putetur. Ut cum Paulo dicere liceat, Quando infirmor tunc fortior sum, et si gloriari oportet, in infirmitatibus meis gloriabor, in carceribus, in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in persecuti-  
onibus, in angustiis pro Christo. Faxit obsecro Deus, ut in finem perseveremus. Hodie nihil magis animum angit meum, quam quod hactenus M. A. nihil est responsum; ad cujus astutias, præstigias, et insanias jamdudum non defuisset responsum, nisi mihi defuissent et libri et libertas. Præterquam tibi scripsi nemini, nec scire velim

[<sup>1</sup> M. A. signifies Marcus Antonius, under which name Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, replied to Cranmer's "Answer to a crafty and sophistical cavillation, &c." which see in Cranmer's writings, published by the Parker Society. The above letter confirms the statement of Strype, that the archbishop was very desirous to prepare another book in confutation of Marcus Antonius, and in vindication of his own writing. Strype says, "He lived long enough to finish three parts; whereof two unhappily perished in Oxford, and the third fell into John Foxe's hands, and for ought I know, that by this time is perished also." Strype, Cranmer, I. 371.]





FRANKFORT. con brevem de Longitud. et zion non  
Saxenhausen

FRANCOFURTUM. urbs mercatura nobilis quia  
prospectus ad eam est ex Saxenhusio.

quenquam quod ad te scripserim: proinde nomine meo salutabis neminem.

THOMAS CRAMMERUS<sup>2</sup>.

Hæc in manu Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis.

Scriptisit hæc ex carcere ad D. Pet.

Martyrem. M. A. significant Marc.

Antonium, nimirum Wintoniensem.

1555.

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## LETTER XIX.

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MILES COVERDALE TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *March 26, 1548.*

I CANNOT but avail myself, most illustrious sir, of the offered opportunity of saluting your worthiness. There was brought hither three days since, during the time of the fair, a certain little book in English, containing that Order of Holy Communion which the king's majesty has set forth, as suitable to the present time<sup>3</sup>. And as I perceived many persons were desirous of obtaining it, I forthwith translated it both into German and Latin. And therefore, when I understood the godly bearer of this letter to be a townsman of yours, I thought I should gratify your reverence by sending you this trifling present. One of the translations I intended for the Germans; the other, namely the Latin one, I am exceedingly anxious should be forwarded to your reverence. And should you feel inclined to make known to

[<sup>2</sup> The signature is added by another hand, and the subjoined note is in that of Bullinger. Cranmer was burned at Oxford, March 21, 1556: this letter, which appears undoubtedly to be his autograph, was written only a few months previously.]

[<sup>3</sup> The English work, the Order of the Communion, is printed in the volume containing the Liturgies of King Edward VI., published by the Parker Society. The translation into Latin by Coverdale, here mentioned, does not seem to have been printed; but there is a Latin translation extant, printed apparently in 1548, with the initials A. A. S. D. Th, probably indicating Alexander Alesse, who also translated into Latin the first Liturgy of King Edward VI. A.D. 1549. It is a very rare small volume, bearing the title of "Ordo distributionis sacramenti altaris sub utraque specie, et formula confessionis faciendæ in regno Angliæ. Hæc Londini evulgata sunt octavo die Martii Anni MDXLVIII." See "The ancient Liturgy of the Church of England," by Rev. W. Maskell, p. xlv; also Burnet II. 247, and Strype, Mem. II. i. 96.]

others this cause for congratulation, and first-fruits of godliness, (according as the Lord now wills his religion to revive in England,) you will be able to commit this token of my affection for you to the press more easily than I can. I am now on my return to England, having been invited thither after an exile of eight years. Farewell, most excellent master, and affectionately salute your wife, who deserved so well from me and mine, when we went up to Strasburgh. Frankfurt, March 26, 1548.

MICHAEL (*alias* MILO) COVERDALE, *Anglus.*

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## LETTER XX.

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MILES COVERDALE TO PAUL FAGIUS.

Dated at WINDSOR CASTLE, *Oct. 21, 1548.*

PEACE and joy in the Holy Ghost! Your letter, most excellent sir, dated on the 22nd of August, I received from my wife on the 8th of this present month, with exceeding compassion for those individuals whom this dreadful tyranny<sup>1</sup> so greatly distresses. I also shewed your letter yesterday to the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury; who, as he has undertaken to educate your dear son (whom he has just sent away to Canterbury, by reason of the plague that is raging at this place), both in religion and learning, at his own expense; in like manner, reflecting upon the lamentable condition of your churches, he truly sympathises in your misfortune: wherefore he desired you most especially to come over to us, rather than to go away either into Turkey or Hungary. Oh! my master, if you should seek a refuge any where else than with us, since the faithlessness of mankind is every where so great, how will that most excellent gift, which the good and gracious God has bestowed upon you, grow cool! If the most reverend archbishop, whose answer I inclosed in my letter to you, had foreseen so much danger to the church, truly what I wrote to you would have been no impediment. You must think therefore that we are both of us sorry for what we did, although there was nothing

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, the persecutions in Germany by Charles V., to enforce compliance with the Interim.]





stated in those letters but what the occasion then called for. For myself, indeed, my master, I am in no little apprehension both for yourself and for our churches and schools deprived of your most happy ministrations. Wherefore, although our rulers may not invite you by name, eminent as you are among the best scholars of Germany, and this probably, as I have before hinted to you, from secret motives; yet we, who know you well, entreat you most solemnly to come over to us, where you need not doubt but that you will be most acceptable, and therefore treated with the greatest kindness. Farewell. From the king's castle, which we call Windsor. Oct. 21, 1548.

Yours from my heart,

M. COVERDALE.

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## LETTER XXI.

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JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Jan. 27*, [probably in 1546].

NOT many years since, most honoured master, and much loved brother in Christ, when I was a courtier, and living too much of a court life in the palace of our king<sup>2</sup>, there most happily and auspiciously came under my notice certain writings of master Huldreich Zuinglius<sup>3</sup>, a most excellent man, of pious memory; and also some commentaries upon the epistles of St Paul, which your reverence had published for the general benefit, and which will prove a lasting monument of your renown.

These singular gifts of God exhibited by you to the world

[<sup>2</sup> Hooper probably refers to the period, when he was retained as chaplain and steward in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, who was executed in 1552, as a partisan of the duke of Somerset. See Strype.]

[<sup>3</sup> The collected writings of Zuinglius were published by Rodolph Gualter, in four volumes, folio, in 1544. He was slain in a battle between the five Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, and those of Zurich and Berne, Oct. 11, 1531; having attended the troops as one of their ministers.]

at large, I was unwilling to neglect, especially as I perceived them seriously to affect the eternal salvation and happiness of my soul; so that I thought it well worth my while, night and day, with earnest study, and an almost superstitious diligence, to devote my entire attention to your writings. Nor was my labour in this respect ever wearisome to me: for after I had arrived at manhood, and by the kindness of my father enjoyed the means of living more unrestrainedly, I had begun to blaspheme God by impious worship and all manner of idolatry, following the evil ways of my forefathers, before I rightly understood what God was. But being at length delivered by the goodness of God, for which I am solely indebted to him and to yourselves, nothing now remains for me in reference to the remainder of my life and my last hour, but to worship God with a pure heart, and know my defects while living in this body, since indeed the tenure of life is deceitful, and every man is altogether as nothing; and to serve my godly brethren *in* Christ, and the ungodly *for* Christ: for I do not think that a Christian is born for himself, or that he ought to live to himself; but that, whatever he has or is, he ought altogether to ascribe, not to himself, but to refer it to God as the author, and regard every thing that he possesses as common to all, according as the necessities and wants of his brethren may require. I am indeed ashamed beyond measure, that I have not performed these duties heretofore; but that like a brute beast, as the greater part of mankind are wont to do, I have been a slave to my own lusts: but it is better to be wise late, than not at all.

By reason of my love and respect towards you, I had often proposed to visit you, though I have always been prevented hitherto, partly by my ill-health, and partly because I am mistrustful of the favour of fortune; for my father, of whom I am the only son and heir, is so opposed to me on account of Christ's religion, that should I refuse to act according to his wishes, I shall be sure to find him for the future, not a father, but a cruel tyrant. Shortly however, in about a month's time, I mean to go down to my native place<sup>1</sup> to bid farewell to the honours, pleasures, and friends of this world; and I will then endeavour, if possible, by the assist-

[<sup>1</sup> Hooper was a native of Somersetshire. Godwin de Præsul. 552.]

ance of my friends, to obtain at least some portion of what I am entitled to, wherewith I may be able to subsist upon my slender means among you at Zurich : and should God order it otherwise, and see fit to visit me with poverty and want, or in any other way, I will bear it with an undisturbed mind, and choose rather, as an exile, to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; esteeming the reproach of Christ (I use the words of St Paul) greater riches than the treasures in Egypt ; for I have respect unto the recompence of the reward, and hope for eternal life, obtained, not by my merits ; but by the blood of Christ. I entreat you, therefore, O man of God, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that you aid me in this journey by your prayers to God for me. For I am in fear, and not without reason, of those perfidious bishops, to whom nothing is more acceptable than the spilling of the blood of the godly, and whose temper and disposition I have often experienced to the great peril of my life<sup>2</sup>. I desire therefore, to defend myself against their treachery and tyranny with the remedies that God has given me ; and I seek the aid of your church, that by the help of her prayers I may derive some comfort, according to the promise of God, who is ever present with all who call upon him in truth, and from whom alone assistance is to be sought for in every kind of danger. For there cannot be a more powerful safeguard than believing prayer : by this Hezekiah overcame the king of the Assyrians, Elijah called down fire from heaven, and Jehoshaphat obtained a signal victory. But I will dilate no longer upon this subject, for fear of offending your pious and learned ears by so rude and unpolished a letter.

[<sup>2</sup> While Hooper was Sir Thomas Arundel's steward, " his master, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, found the means to send him on a message to the bishop of Winchester [Gardiner], writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him. Winchester, after long conference with master Hooper four or five days together, sent him home again, right well commending his learning and wit, *but yet bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against master Hooper still.*" See Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vi. 637 ; and Soames, Hist. Ref. III. 559. Shortly after this occurrence took place, Hooper found himself obliged to flee for his life, to avoid the operation of the act of the Six Articles.]

Accept, my very dear master, in few words, the news from England. As far as true religion is concerned, idolatry is no where in greater vigour. Our king has destroyed the pope, but not popery; he has expelled all the monks and nuns, and pulled down their monasteries; he has caused all their possessions to be transferred into his exchequer, and yet they are bound, even the frail female sex, by the king's command, to perpetual chastity. England has at this time at least ten thousand nuns, not one of whom is allowed to marry. The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment.

I have just been informed by letter, that the treaty<sup>1</sup>, which was concluded two years since between the emperor and our king, is renewed: may God direct every thing to the glory of his name! There is no hope of peace between France and England, but we are in daily expectation of a bloody war.

The chief supporters of the gospel in England are dying every hour: many very illustrious personages have departed within these two years; the lord chancellor Audley<sup>2</sup>, the duke of Suffolk<sup>3</sup>, [Sir Edward] Baynton, the queen's first lord of the bedchamber; Poinings<sup>4</sup>, the king's deputy at Boulogne; Sir Thomas Wyatt<sup>5</sup>, known throughout the whole world for his noble qualities, and a most zealous defender of

[<sup>1</sup> The alliance here referred to was concluded between the emperor Charles V. and Henry VIII., on Feb. 11, 1543, for an account of which see Robertson's Charles V., III. 246, Soames, II. 535.]

[<sup>2</sup> Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor, 1532, created baron Audley of Walden, co. Essex, 29 Nov. 1538, died 1544, when the barony became extinct.]

[<sup>3</sup> Charles Brandon, created duke of Suffolk, Feb. 1, 1514, married to his third wife, Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII., and queen dowager of France. He died Aug. 24, 1545, and was buried in St George's chapel, Windsor. His epitaph, written by Parkhurst, is printed in Strype, Annals, II. ii. 496.]

[<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Poinings died in August, 1545. See Hollingshed, Chron. II. 969.]

[<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Wyatt died in 1542, aged 38. He was the first that put into English verse the "seven penitential Psalms."]



Drawn by J. Thurston.

Engraved by W.H. Worthington.

SIR THOMAS WYATT.

*From a Drawing by Holbein, in His Majesty's  
Library at Buckingham House.*

London, May 1 1820. Published by W. Walker & Coys, Inn Square.



yours and Christ's religion; Dr Butts<sup>6</sup>, a physician who had the charge of the king's person: all these were of the privy council, and real favourers of the gospel, and promoted the glory of God to the utmost of their power. They all died of the plague and fever; so that the country is now left altogether to the bishops, and those who despise God and all true religion.

The bishops of Winchester and Westminster<sup>7</sup> are now on an embassy from our king to the emperor in Brabant. Another bishop, namely, of Durham, who was sent into Picardy to treat there with the ambassadors of the king of France respecting a peace between the French and English, has lately returned to England without the accomplishment of that object. The state of affairs between the Scots and English is still very doubtful and uncertain: the English however have sacked their principal cities and villages; but I shudder to mention the devastation of that country, which was effected last summer by the earl of Hertford<sup>8</sup>. The queen of Scotland, together with the cardinal [Beaton], is lying in concealment in the mountains, where they possess fortresses beyond the reach of attack.

The conference at Ratisbon, as far as I understand by a letter from master Bucer, is suspended: I am more inclined to believe this, because Philip Melancthon is neither yet come to them, nor does he intend it. And Bucer, as I hear, is about to come to us sooner than I expected: but as yet we have nothing certain; as soon as this shall be the case, I will inform your reverence forthwith, and you may expect a more copious letter whenever any new tidings shall require it. The count Palatine has lately provided for the preaching of the gospel throughout his dominions: but as far as relates to the eucharist he has descended, as the proverb has it, from the

[<sup>6</sup> Dr William Butts died Nov. 17, 1545. An interesting letter written to him by Sir John Cheke, during his last illness, is given in Strype, Cheke, 27.]

[<sup>7</sup> Namely, Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Thirlby. The bishop of Durham here mentioned was Cuthbert Tonstal.]

[<sup>8</sup> Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, landed 10,000 men near Leith, in May, 1544, which, with Edinburgh, was abandoned to pillage, and then set on fire. See Hall's Chronicles, p. 860, ed. 1809; also Robertson's Hist. Scotland.]

horse to the ass; for he has fallen from popery into the doctrine of Luther, who is in that particular more erroneous than all the papists; and those who deny the substance of bread to remain in the sacrament, and substitute the body of Christ in its place, come more closely to the truth than those who affirm that the natural body of Christ is with the bread, in the bread, and under the form of bread, and yet occupies no place. God I hope will at length give him a better mind.

Master Richard [Hilles] the Englishman, and his godly wife, salute you affectionately in Christ. He has now in his house two sisters of noble family, the younger of whom, named Anna, is exceedingly favourable to true religion. She prays for your continued happiness, and commends herself, whom I hope you will see shortly, to the prayers of your church. Salute affectionately in my name those excellent men masters Bibliander and Pellican, with the other godly brethren. Farewell, most learned and godly sir, and suffer me, I pray you, to be numbered amongst those who truly and from the heart admire the majesty of your religion. Strasburgh, Jan. 27, [1546].

Yours entirely,

JOHN HOOPER, *Anglus.*

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## LETTER XXII.

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JOHN HOOPER TO [HENRY BULLINGER.]

Without place or date <sup>1</sup>.

If your engagements would permit, I should much wish to ascertain your judgment and opinion. I certainly do not consider it lawful for a godly man to be present at the mass and impious observances of the like kind among the papists; but yet there are some arguments which in some measure press my mind, and for a time keep me in suspense. Master Calvin has written much upon that subject; but, as it appears

[<sup>1</sup> This letter is without date or address, but appears from the subsequent letter to have been written to Bullinger, and probably from Strasburgh, in 1546.]

to me, he hardly satisfies the arguments which may be alleged against him, one or two of which I will propose to your erudition.

Concerning Naaman the Syrian, though it is not allowable to bring forward a private individual by way of general example, yet it very much bears upon the subject before us; for the prophet said, "Go in peace." Persons, who are unacquainted with the Hebrew, understand this expression as though the prophet had said, "If you choose to return, it will be at your peril, but I do not sanction your doing so:" in my opinion, however, the Hebrew words will not bear this interpretation; for לָךְ לְשָׁלוֹם, *go in peace*, is an expression of command and confirmation, and therefore the prophet permitted Naaman to worship the true God in the house of Rimmon, with the hope of gaining over the king of Syria and others to the true God: and, if I rightly interpret this passage, as the prophet gave this permission to a godly man, so we ought also to make the same allowance ourselves.

In the time of Elijah, when he complained before God that he was the only worshipper of the true religion then remaining, he was informed by the divine voice that there were left seven thousand. Now certainly, if this great number of men had kept themselves aloof from the idolatrous worship, there must have been at least some few of them known to the prophet of God; nor do I see how any one can deny that though these pious men, by the mention of whom God comforts his afflicted servant, were often openly and publicly in the idol-temples together with a yet more numerous assemblage of the ungodly, they nevertheless retained in their hearts a pure and holy reverence for the one true God. No argument moves me more than this.

In the same way as God forbids idolatry, does he also prohibit adultery, fornication, and other kinds of wickedness; nor does he condemn one more than another: but no one is bound to leave his country, as they say, by reason of either one or the other.

I do not write these things, my accomplished friend, merely for the sake of learning your opinion<sup>2</sup>; but when I have once ascertained it, I shall, by God's blessing, most diligently follow

[<sup>2</sup> It appears by the following letter that Hooper's objections were satisfied by the arguments of Bullinger in his reply.]

it without any deceit or dissimulation: not that I am in any doubt upon the subject myself; but I desire to satisfy some godly men who are not yet sufficiently instructed in the faith. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you in safety! Salute, I pray you, your wife in my name, and my English brother and friend in Christ, master Burcher, who resides with you at Zurich.

Yours to serve,

JOHN HOOPER, *Anglus.*

## LETTER XXIII.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Without place or date<sup>1</sup>.

MUCH health. I received, most excellent and revered friend in Christ, at Strasburgh, almost a year ago, your equally learned and godly letter, in which you desired altogether to convince me that the true worship of God could have nothing in common with outward idolatry: you therefore considered it more advisable and consistent with godliness, that I should rather endure the loss of home and fortune for Christ's sake, than participate in the ungodly worship of the mass. I reverence and cherish this advice, and willingly come into the same opinion. I cannot repay to your excellence the thanks you deserve; but I pray that he who worketh all in all, and who, when called upon in true faith through his Son Jesus Christ, will do far more than we can believe, may be, according to his mercy and loving-kindness, your exceeding great reward and recompence. Of this I have no doubt, that you will be, when this frail tabernacle is dissolved, the everlasting friend of God. Meanwhile, as long as you continue in this life, defend your churches, deliver them from wolves and hirelings, gather together the people of God, and bring back his flock, now miserably scattered, to Christ the true and only shep-

[<sup>1</sup> This letter was probably written from Basle, and shortly after Dec. 12, 1546. See p. 42, note 1.]

herd : fight the good fight ; there is laid up for you a crown of righteousness, which you shall receive from the righteous Judge in that day.

I will relate to your excellence in person the events of my long and most dangerous journey to England. I suffered many things by land ; twice I suffered bonds and imprisonment ; whence being marvellously delivered by the mercy of God, though with the heavy loss of my fortune, I was wretchedly harassed by sea for three months both by enemies and storms. But the end is not yet ; and I pray God that whatever may yet remain to me of this wretched life, may be for the glory of his name, and for the edification of his church. Having been delivered from fire and water, I came upon war : I see nothing but the death of all godliness and religion ; the enemy of God will destroy (if it be possible that the faith of Peter can perish) every mouth that speaks of Christ, and the mother with her children, that is, the universal church : but the Lord, I doubt not, will look down upon his people, and not suffer the tyranny of this cruel enemy to rage at pleasure. In the mean time let us be heartily and truly turned unto the Lord, and he will undoubtedly look upon our tears. But alas ! gracious Lord, we are sleeping in the greatest security, while in the greatest danger ; and it is therefore no wonder if we terribly experience the wrath of God, and the heavy consequences of our ungodliness. Let us amend therefore, lest he inflict upon us yet greater severities, namely, to become after this life the everlasting enemies of God : let us patiently bear, as the time requires, the chastisement that our sins have deserved ; for he punishes the children of men for their iniquities.

The bearer will inform your excellence of the good news we received yesterday from Strasburgh. There will be a change of religion in England, and the king will take up the gospel of Christ, in case the emperor should be defeated in this most destructive war : should the gospel sustain a loss, he will then retain his impious mass, for which he has this last summer committed four respectable and godly persons<sup>2</sup> to the

[<sup>2</sup> These were, Ann Askew, John Lacels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian. They were burned at the stake about the month of June, 1546, according to Foxe's account (v. 550.) or on July 16th, according to Stowe.]

flames. Our king has now confined in the tower of London the duke of Norfolk<sup>1</sup>, together with his eldest son and heir: they say that both father and son had conspired the death of the king and of our prince,—a horrible deed, if my account is correct.

My wife most dutifully salutes your excellence, with the other learned and godly persons among you. We hope to visit you shortly, God willing. Master de Valys, together with his wife and all his family, wish for you every happiness. There is in his house a certain godly and learned youth, whom I intend to bring down with me to Zurich: I request you, for Christ's sake, if it be possible, to procure him a teachership in some class in your school. He is studious and diligent, and will not shrink from the severest labours; and if he can but meet with some moderate means of subsistence, he will be of service to the church of God: remember him for Christ's sake, and let your excellence, if possible, write me an answer. Nothing can come to me more acceptably than a letter from you. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you in safety, to the glory of his name, and the benefit of his church! Amen. Salute in my name masters Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, and all the rest. I earnestly commend myself to the prayers of your church. Excuse, I pray you, my pen running on too fast. I request your excellence to salute in my name, and that of my wife, the godly matron Falkner, who came with us to Basle from Strasburgh, which place she left unmarried, but I have now, with the consent of her parents, bestowed her in marriage.

Your excellence's most attached,

JOHN HOOPER.

[<sup>1</sup> The duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surrey, were committed to the Tower of London, Dec. 12, 1546; the latter was executed on Tower Hill on the 19th of the January following.]

## LETTER XXIV.

JOHN HOOPER TO [HENRY BULLINGER.]

*After Sept. 10, 1547.*

THE order of battle<sup>2</sup> between the Scots and English in Scotland on the 10th of September, four miles from Edinburgh.

Lord Grey, the king of England's deputy at Boulogne, and the commander in chief of the English cavalry in this battle, after the artillery was silenced, made a charge upon the Scottish front, with a view of throwing them into confusion; but disappointed of his expectation, he was forced to retreat with the loss of forty-eight of his cavalry. The earl of Warwick, who commanded the archers, perceiving the cavalry to give way, immediately and suddenly advanced with 4000 archers, and attacked that part of the Scottish army where the artillery and baggage were stationed. He so pressed the Scots by the discharge of his arrows, that they were unable any longer to stand to their guns, which having gained possession of, by his cannon-balls and volleys of arrows he compelled the whole Scottish army to fall back from their former position into one where they had not only the enemy both in front and rear, but also the sun shining full in their eyes. Which when lord Grey perceived, he made a second attack with his cavalry on their flank with much noise and clamour, shouting, "The Scots are running away, the Scots are running away." The Scots, being inferior in cavalry, were quite unable to keep their ranks, which being thrown into disorder, they betook themselves to flight; in the which there fell 15,000 men, and 2,000 were taken prisoners, among whom was lord Huntley, the chancellor of Scotland. On the same day the English ships sailed into the various Scottish harbours, and took possession of all their vessels which were adapted either for trade or naval warfare; the rest they burned. The queen, upon the

[<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this battle, called the battle of Pinkey, in which the Scots sustained a signal defeat, see Hollingshed's Chronicles, Vol. III. p. 984, &c., or the other histories of the period.]

receipt of this unfortunate intelligence, gave herself up to the protector upon his own terms. Taking with him six of the nobility as hostages for the fidelity of the queen, and leaving troops in five places of the kingdom of Scotland, for fear lest any rebellion should take place during his absence, he returned to London, where parliament is daily expected to meet, in which, if it please God, this quarrel will be settled. This is a true statement; for my informant was present at the battle, and witnessed the close of it.

Your excellence's ever devoted,

JOHN HOOPER.

The number of soldiers belonging to each army were, of the English seventeen thousand, of the Scots thirty thousand.

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## LETTER XXV.

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JOHN HOOPER TO MARTIN BUCER.

Dated at ZURICH, *June 19, 1543.*

MUCH health. The day before I wrote this letter, I met master Pellican, whom I saluted in your name, and at your request. He has received into his family the widow of master Matthias, a godly and upright woman: I understood from him that you had sent me a letter by her; and he requested me that, if I had any thing to write in reply, I would do it by the morrow, for on that day the widow was about to leave us. I was unwilling therefore that she should return to you without a letter from me, lest you should think me undeserving of your godly epistle, which I read with the greatest possible affection and delight. You say well, that in this shall all men know that we are Christ's disciples, "if we have love one to another:" let us love therefore, "not in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth." For love is the most certain evidence of our justification, and the heavenly seal of our acceptance in Christ Jesus; as John saith, "Every one that

loveth is born of God, and knoweth God ; he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love." If indeed we have tasted that the Lord is gracious, "let us cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light, walking honestly, as in the day, not in strife and envying, but putting on the Lord Jesus Christ;" that we may restore the infirmities of our brethren in the spirit of meekness, or patiently bear with them. Let all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envyings be put away, for we are new-born babes, to the end that we may desire the sincere milk of the word, and grow thereby.

My master, I pray you in Christ Jesus, not to pay too much regard to envious and slanderous calumniators. You are not ignorant that the malevolence of envy is ever wont to tear most persons in pieces ; that detractors invent many falsehoods, and that brotherly love is disturbed by envy and detraction. Away with the persons who would sow dissension between yourself and those men. This I promise you, that they very frequently make mention of you in friendly and honourable terms. And although they may dissent from your opinion in the matter of the eucharist, as I do myself, yet they do not make any breach in christian love, much less regard you with hostility, but are anxious to aid by their prayers both yourself and those whom the Lord has entrusted to you in his church ; and they earnestly hope that, on your part, you will do the same for them. For Christ's sake therefore, who by his own blood hath triumphed on the cross over all enemies, hell, and sin, be ye not at variance through strife and emulation, that ye may neither quarrel any more with your tongue, nor give ear to those persons who are deficient in nothing but religion and virtue. Let controversy be settled by the authority of the word. Let no one defend his opinion with obstinacy ; but let us rather return unto the way of truth, and humbly acknowledge our errors, than continue always to go on in error without repentance, lest we should seem to have been in the wrong. Let us bear in mind that we were made for friendship and concord, that in this most miserable age we may, by our mutual kindness, relieve the distresses of each other, and at last reign together with Christ in everlasting happiness. For what frenzy is it, what folly or madness, to pursue with hostility here on earth that in-

dividual, who, should he die in Christ, will pass from death unto life, (whither I also, Christ being my guide, hope to flee away after this darkness,) and with whom we shall be united in perpetual love and everlasting joy! I entreat you, my master, not to say or write any thing against charity or godliness for the sake of Luther, or burden the consciences of men with his words on the holy supper. Although I readily acknowledge with thankfulness the gifts of God in him who is now no more<sup>1</sup>, yet he was not without his faults. I do not say this by way of reproach of the departed individual, because I know that no living man is without blame, and that we all stand in need of the grace of God. After the dispute with Zuinglius and Œcolampadius respecting the [Lord's] supper had begun to grow warm, he did violence to many passages of scripture, such for instance as the following, "He ascended that he might fill all things<sup>2</sup>;" "I am with you alway even unto the end of the world<sup>3</sup>;" and "we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones<sup>4</sup>;" that he might establish the corporal presence of the body of Christ in the bread; but how mistakenly, is declared by the very nature of the passages. Did we not at this present time stand in need of consolation rather than of controversy, I could easily prove to the satisfaction of every one, that these places cannot properly be brought forward in confirmation of his opinion. Every one too is aware, with what calumnies and reproaches he attacked even the dead. Christ taught his disciples another doctrine. He rebuked James and John, who wished that fire might fall from heaven to consume the people of Samaria. And he has commanded us to do good to our enemies, and bless them that curse us. He, my good sir, who knoweth the secrets of the heart, may judge what spirit occasioned so much wrath to be kindled among the ministers of the word of God. Nevertheless all the ministers of this church<sup>5</sup> were grieved at his death, not as if they had lost an adversary or a detractor, but rather an ally and partner in their glorious work. These things are, in my mind, great and real evidences of kindness and charity. I do not write thus by way of reproach of a most learned man, but that no one may swear by his opinions,

[1 Luther died Feb. 18, 1546.]

[2 Eph. iv. 10.]

[3 Matt. xxviii. 20.]

[4 Ephes. v. 30.]

[5 Namely, of Zurich, whence this letter is dated.]



*Jagomann Del.*

*W. Smith Sculp.*

LUTHER.



as if whatever he wrote were an oracle of Apollo, or a leaf of the Sibyl.

You write word, reverend sir, that you cannot believe the sacraments to be bare signs. Far be such a belief from the most unlearned Christian! The holy supper is not a bare sign, neither in it is the true and natural body of Christ corporally exhibited to me in any supernatural or heavenly manner: nevertheless, I religiously and with all honour venerate and reverence the institution of Christ upon other grounds, because it is a sign of the good-will of God towards me, and an outward testimony added to the promise of grace. Not that this promise is applied to me by means of any sacrament, but because the promise previously applied to me by faith is thereby confirmed. In like manner the church of God publicly receives him in baptism, who had been previously received by grace. Thus Abraham, saith Paul, "received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised<sup>6</sup>;" that is, a testimony by which God bare witness that he was received into grace, not that he was to be *received* by the sacrament, but rather *confirmed* in it. Thus the holy supper is a testimony of grace, and a mystery of our redemption, in which God bears witness to the benefits bestowed upon us by Christ: not that the remission of sins, which in believers ought to precede all use of sacraments, is there applied; nor that the true body of Christ, which is in heaven and not on earth, is exhibited together with the bread; but that it may confirm that faith which I have in the death and passion of that body which was alive, died, and rose again. And the minister gives what is in his power, namely, the bread and wine, and not the body of Christ; nor is it exhibited by the minister, and eaten by the communicant, otherwise than in the word preached, read, or meditated upon. And to eat the body of Christ is nothing else than to believe, as he himself teaches in the sixth of John. It is necessary therefore to bring Christ to the sacraments by faith, and not to look for him there. And thus the promise of grace is received by faith, as are also the sacraments, of which faith they are the testimonies and the seals. There are many other ends, but this is the chief; and those who thus use the sacraments do not make them

[<sup>6</sup> Rom. iv. 11.]

bare signs. Thus John the Baptist said, that he baptized with water, but that there was one to come after him who should baptize with the Holy Ghost. He had water in his hand, by which remission of sins was confirmed in those who believed; but he had not in his hand the Holy Ghost, that he might give remission of sins to all that were baptized; for he baptized many hypocrites. From these sensible objects therefore faith teaches us to recognise things insensible and invisible. Regard these things, I pray you, in a godly spirit. I do not write for the sake of dispute, but that I may testify to you, that the sacraments with us are not bare signs. For if faith shine forth in the mind of the recipient, the bridegroom is thereby joined<sup>1</sup> to the bride, so that none may put asunder what God hath joined together.

I do not rightly understand what you write respecting Calvin. I had never any intention of using my pen either against him or Farell, although his commentaries on the first epistle to the Corinthians displeased me exceedingly. I should have written my thoughts upon the Interim, had I not been told for certain that you were about to do so; which I earnestly entreat you to do, as you possess great and peculiar gifts of God, and in a thousand ways are far more fitted for this<sup>2</sup> undertaking than I am, who have but lately, and as yet only in a cursory way, studied the Greek language. May the Lord Jesus ever preserve you both in body and soul, to the glory of his name! My wife salutes you. Zurich, June 19, 1548.

Your very loving,

JOHN HOOPER.

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## LETTER XXVI.

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JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, [March 28,] 1549.

MUCH health. By the mercy of God, most reverend master and gossip, we arrived at Basle about 10 o'clock on

[<sup>1</sup> The word is illegible in the MS.]

the 27th of March, safe and sound; and if the sailors are to be relied upon, we shall sail from hence to-morrow morning. To spare expense therefore, I send away the driver with the carriage and horses, and hope your worthy citizen will receive all his property safe and uninjured by to-morrow evening. That I have been longer delayed upon my journey than he expected, to his inconvenience and my great expense, must be attributed to the roughness of the journey, and not to any loitering on my part or fatigue of the horses. I entreat you to offer my warmest thanks to this excellent man; or else impose this duty of courtesy in my name and at my request upon our very loving friend, master Gualter, who, if I mistake not, is related either by consanguinity or affinity to the owner of the horses.

Nothing new is as yet reported to us at this place, excepting only that some persons who have just arrived from Strasburgh, affirm for certain that the mass is not yet admitted by the citizens. For this reason the bishop of that city is not merely angry, but rages as it were with madness and fury, and has appointed a conference in his own territory about two [German] miles from Strasburgh<sup>2</sup>; and all those who have visited me here in a way of friendship, tell me that he is bringing forth some horrible monstrosity; but it will, I hope, prove abortive.

You will receive from the bearer one sheet, a blanket, and a pillow, with many thanks; all the other things that I borrowed to make use of upon my journey I shall send back as far as Basle. In haste. Basle, 1549.

You shall hear more, God willing, in the course of three days. I send back a flask; to whom it belongs, I know not. Inquire, I pray you, of my landlord, and do not grudge to undertake this office for my sake, who so boldly presume to impose all my burdens upon your shoulders.

Your most devoted,

JOHN HOOPER.

P. S. We salute most respectfully your dear wife with all your family, masters Theodore [Bibliander], Pellican, Gualter, Butler, and all the rest<sup>3</sup>.

[<sup>2</sup> Namely at Saverne, about 20 miles W. N. W. of Strasburgh.]

[<sup>3</sup> Foxe gives an interesting account of Hooper's parting interview with his friends at Zurich. Acts and Mon. vi. 638.]

## LETTER XXVII.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *March 31, 1549.*

MUCH health. Grace and peace from the Lord. I obey your command, my very dear friend and gossip<sup>1</sup>, that I should acquaint you with the progress of our journey. We arrived at Strasburgh on the 29th instant, all of us, by the blessing and favour of God, safe and sound. We think of remaining here till the third of April, that we may join some worthy and excellent companions who are now on their way to the fair. The fretfulness too of our little daughter Rachel in some measure prevents our journey; for she is cutting her teeth, and exposure to the air aggravates the painfulness of incipient illness.

I believe there is no truth in the reports respecting Hedio<sup>2</sup>. On the 30th of this month I was present at his lecture, which was upon the 10th chapter of the epistle to the Romans. He spoke very clearly and openly upon the excellency of the word of God, and warned his hearers most carefully to beware of the beguiling snares of the Interim. What he said however, I think, proceeded rather from excessive terror and alarm, than from actual dislike. He is not wanting in godliness, but he has too great a dread of offending the emperor. On the same day I was present at his evening sermon, where, among other things that he said, and which I heard with pain, he absurdly inveighed with great bitterness against the Suvermerians<sup>3</sup>. May the Lord forgive him, and bring him to a better mind!

Paul Fagius left this place before my arrival. Bucer, I believe, will depart this evening, but I do not yet know

[1 Bullinger was God-father to Hooper's daughter Rachel.]

[2 Caspar Hedio was professor of theology at Strasburgh, where he died in 1552, and was succeeded by Hierome Zanchius.]

[3 The Saxon divines were exceeding hot against the Swiss divines, on account of their rejecting the doctrine of consubstantiation held by the Lutherans. In their ordinary discourses, Strype says, "they styled them heretics, false prophets, Suvermeros, Sacramentiperdas." Strype, Cranmer, 508.]

whither he is going. He is invited into England, Poland, and Saxony. He received me at dinner yesterday, where I met John Sturmius, Sapidus, and Christopher Mont. They were very much delighted at the concord of the people of Switzerland, which I pray the Lord to continue and confirm. I myself, my wife, Rachel, and Joanna, diligently commend to our good and gracious God in our prayers the well being of yourself and all your family, and that of the other most godly ministers of your church, all of whom we sincerely and cordially salute. Farewell, most excellent and ever esteemed sir. Strasburgh, March 31.

Your most devoted,

JOHN HOOPER.

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## LETTER XXVIII.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at MAYENCE, *April 8, 1549.*

MUCH health. I hope, my worthy friend and gossip, that the letter which I wrote to you on my journey was safely delivered; by which you would ascertain our route and progress as far as Strasburgh. We sailed from thence on the second of April, all of us by the goodness and favour of God in good health. The first day of our voyage from Strasburgh was a prosperous one, with the wind and stream in our favour: on the second day also God was not less gracious to us. We passed the night of this day in a village near Spires, where on the same day there had been dining sixty-four Spaniards, all cavalry, who were going up towards the duchy of Wurtemberg, so sharpened by hunger, that they left the landlords neither flesh nor fish for us. We fared very sparingly, satisfying ourselves with their broken victuals. There is no distinction of meat among them, nor any observance of days, for which such abundance of christian blood is shed by the madness of the papists. The third day of our voyage passed most comfortably; the fourth was somewhat dangerous. We met with a contrary wind, high waves, ignorant and careless sailors, so that we were twice exposed

to great peril ; and unless we had reached the land, which we effected with great difficulty, we should all of us have been lost. This happened about half a mile from Mayence : we all entered the city on foot, safe and sound. The other vessel which accompanied us suffered far more than we did ; much of the cargo was spoiled by the water, and the master of the vessel, knocked about by the violence of the storm ; just as he was about to cast anchor, got his leg entangled in the cable which sustained the whole weight of the anchor, and was hurt very severely. At Mayence we sojourned at the Golden Swan, where we found six merchants who had come from the city of Liege. They told us that the emperor was now at Brussels with his son Philip in great triumph and magnificence. They say that the wily and bad landgrave is detained prisoner near Ghent. I inquired whether the emperor was preparing a second expedition into upper Germany. They replied that no rumours of that kind had been spread amongst them. I asked too concerning the people of the lake territories. They told me that the emperor would lead all his forces against them this summer. May the victory be on their side, who most desire the safety of the church of Christ ! Let us pray God, and he will deliver his people out of temptations. I have great hope that this will be the case, provided only they are cemented by a holy concord, which alone can destroy the power of the emperor. The affairs of Saxony are fluctuating and uncertain, and, as it is reported here, are placed in the greatest danger by reason of intestine discords, by which, if they are not healed, they will mutually destroy each other.

I have nothing to write respecting England, except that she is miserably and dangerously exposed to a bloody war, and is safe on no side. The French and Scots are open enemies ; there is a third in secret, more powerful than either of them ; and I fear that he will take advantage of the present juncture. I have often earnestly besought you and your people to interpose your mediation between France and England ; and I now again and again suppliantly entreat and beseech you the same thing, for the sake of Christ, who is the restorer of peace. Bear in mind that reward which is promised you by him who cannot lie : “ Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the





children of God." Let not the majesty of the royal name or the vapouring of any other title deter you. Moreover, the state and condition of the king and the realm of England is now very different from what it was formerly: he is your brother, he worships the same God with yourselves, and, I hope, in the same manner. But if they will go on as they are doing, and will admit of no equitable terms, one or the other of them must necessarily yield before long.

A new gold coinage is now being struck in England of a purer standard than that which was coined under the late king; but what is increased in one way is diminished in another, for the standard weight of the crowns is diminished by nearly a fourth part. I will not be unmindful of the cloth which I promised you, but will send it as soon as I possibly can.

While I was writing the above, the letter, my most reverend master and gossip, was delivered to me, which you wrote on the 26th of March. In truth I receive nothing with greater pleasure than this evidence of your good health, which may the Lord, the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, long preserve to you safe and sound! I wish you had written one word respecting that pious matron, my good friend, the wife of master Bibliander. I hope in the Lord Jesus that she has had a happy delivery: were it otherwise, I should be much concerned. I should now write to my worthy gossip, master Bibliander, if there were any subject to supply me with an occasion for writing. When I have proceeded lower down on my journey, I will write to you more at length. Meanwhile farewell, and may our most merciful heavenly Father grant that you may be always well, through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ our Saviour: and remember, my dear friend, to persevere with energy, as you do, in your holy and dangerous warfare. If but the least doubt of your perseverance disturbed my thoughts, I would add spurs to a running horse. But I know you well and intimately, and doubt not but that you will in many ways surpass my expectation. This at least I can assuredly promise myself concerning you, that, like a good shepherd, you will lay down your life for your sheep. And I have the same persuasion respecting our learned and vigilant brother, master Gualter. Let others talk, and extenuate, and make what excuses they please, who, when the wolf is coming, have left their sheep to be torn in pieces by

thieves and robbers: unless they repent, they will wretchedly suffer the punishment of hirelings in that day when the true Shepherd shall come to separate the sheep from the goats.

According to your singular kindness and benevolence towards me, when my amanuensis shall come to you for the purpose of writing out for me the heads of your sermons, urge him, I pray you, carefully to copy out not only your remarks on the epistle to the Romans, but also those on Isaiah and the other prophets; that I, though distant, may benefit others by the gifts of God bestowed upon you. Will you also make the same request in my name to my masters and brethren, master Gualter and the most learned Theodore [Bibliander], men most truly esteemed by me? I left sufficient money at Zurich, and will liberally recompense their labour if they will but comply with my entreaties. I have desired them to forward my wishes in this respect, and to use all diligence in copying out the sermons and lectures at my expense. Do you only, my kind friend, exhort them to this; I do not ask you to do it yourself; sufficient burdens are imposed upon your shoulders from other quarters.

I shall say nothing as to the civility of the innkeepers from Strasburgh to this city; they are barbarous Scythians, and harsh and uncivilized Getæ. Once more farewell. My wife and daughter, Stumphius, Joanna, and Martin, salute you, as I do myself, with your dear wife and all your family; likewise masters Bibliander, Gualter, Pellican, excellent and most deserving men, with their families. Moreover, I commend to Almighty God your holy church, and commonwealth, and most worthy magistrate Lavater, that he may defend you against the enemies of his name. Mayence. In haste. April 8, 1549.

Yours in body and soul,

JOHN HOOPER.

P. S. Sleidan<sup>1</sup> of Strasburgh has written a book of history for our king. Doctor Andernach too, a physician of

[<sup>1</sup> In March 1551, archbishop Cranmer procured for John Sleidan, from king Edward, an honorary pension of 200 crowns a year, as some aid for the carrying on his commentaries, which he was then busy about; and, as it seems, encouraged by Cranmer to take in hand and prosecute. See Strype, Cranmer, 595.]

Strasburgh, has translated a work upon medicine from the Greek into Latin, and dedicated it to the archbishop of Canterbury. You see how active all persons are in running after gain. Beyond doubt, if there were no danger hanging over them, both our king and his kingdom would be without their favour and support. I hear that Bernardine's wife exhibits herself in England both in dress and appearance as a French lady of rank. But I shall soon know more about her, and so shall you. Respectfully salute, I pray you, the preacher from Memmingen, and also my host and hostess Zinchia.

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## LETTER XXIX.

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JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at COLOGNE, *April 14, 1549.*

GRACE and innocency of life from the Lord. If you are well, my most esteemed master and gossip, with your dear wife and family, it is well; and we are all of us by the divine mercy in good health. I hope you have received all my letters, which gave you full information respecting the success of our journey as far as Mayence. We arrived at Cologne on the 11th of April without any thing untoward in our voyage, except a contrary wind and rough weather. We had however a favourable landing. On the 8th of April two other ships suffered much more than we did, namely, shipwreck, with the total loss of their respective crews. Two other vessels here at Cologne sustained the same misfortune during the late carnival: in one there were twenty-eight men, and twelve in the other, not one of whom, with the exception of two sailors, escaped with life.

I have nothing to write respecting the affairs of England, except that the gospel of Christ our Lord is daily striking root more deeply. The admiral<sup>2</sup> is dead. He was beheaded, and divided into four quarters; with how much unwillingness

[<sup>2</sup> Lord Seymour was beheaded on Tower Hill, March 20, 1549. See Latimer's Sermons, Parker Society Edition, p. 161.]

he suffered death, master John Utenhovius<sup>1</sup>, who is the bearer of this letter, will fully explain to you by word of mouth. When he comes to you, receive him with that ancient kindness, which the country of Switzerland has ever manifested of her own accord towards all strangers. He is a man illustrious both by his birth and virtues, most sincere in the true religion, and entirely opposed to all the mischiefs of sectarianism : he is very dear both to myself and my wife, and by long habits of familiarity and intercourse exceedingly attached to us ; and he is moreover exceedingly intimate with master John à Lasco. There is no occasion for me to commend him to you more at length. His noble qualities and remarkable learning will sufficiently recommend him to all pious and learned men. He is coming to you on my recommendation, that he may hear your godly sermons and theological lectures, and observe the mode of administering the Lord's supper, which as it is most simple among you, so is it most pure. He will board with his old friend master Butler, an Englishman. It would be foreign to my present purpose to inform you how much he has suffered from the emperor for the sake of the gospel of Christ.

May the Lord preserve you all, your church and commonwealth ! My wife, my little daughter, Stumphius, Martin, and Joanna dutifully salute your excellency, your whole family, and all the other godly members of your church. Cologne, April 14, 1549.

Your excellency's most attached,

JOHN HOOPER.

P. S. I send you a compendium of the doctrine of the eucharist, which I know will much please you. See that he [Utenhovius] be introduced to and form a friendship with masters Gualter, Pellican, Gesner and the rest. I would write a general letter to the whole assembly of the learned men at Zurich in favour of this good brother, if I had time.

[<sup>1</sup> Bullinger thus writes of Utenhovius in a letter to Burcher, dated June 28, 1549. "The nobleman, Utenhovius, of Ghent, has far exceeded your commendation of him ; and I thank you, that through the instrumentality of yourself and Hooper I have contracted a friendship with a man every way so worthy."]

## LETTER XXX.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [ANTWERP, *April 26, 1549.*]

MUCH health. Grace and innocency of life from the Lord. How mercifully God has hitherto been present with us, and made our journey prosperous, we hope, most honoured friend and gossip, you have learned from the letters written at Dietikon, Basle, Strasburgh, Mayence, and Cologne. That which I wrote from Cologne you will receive by master John Utenhovius, an excellent and worthy man, born of an honourable family at Ghent. We earnestly pray you to receive him with kindness. Moreover, should there occur any mention of the holy supper of the Lord, diligently admonish and instruct him upon the subject; you will find no one more tractable, or more ready to learn.

We left Cologne on the 14th of April, and directed our course through the barren and sandy plains of Brabant to Antwerp, where we all of us arrived, by God's blessing, safe and sound, on the 18th of the same month. Compelled by the entreaties of the commissioner<sup>2</sup> of our king, who is now attending upon the emperor, I went over to Brussels with John Stumphius, that he might see the effeminacy and wretchedness of the court, and also the bondage of the good citizens of Brussels, who are now forced to endure the imperiousness of the Spaniards, their depredation and robbery, the violation of their daughters, the corruption of their wives, and lastly, threatenings and blows from that most profligate nation<sup>3</sup>; to the end that he might more feelingly consider the state and condition of his own country, pray for it more ardently, and more earnestly warn his countrymen, and by letting them know the misfortunes of others render them more cautious. We did not see the emperor, who very seldom leaves his chamber, nor yet his son, who was keeping Easter in some monastery out of the city. John Stumphius saw the duke of Saxony at a window. I was twice at his house, and very courteously entertained by his German at-

[<sup>2</sup> Namely, Sir Philip Hobby. See Burnet, III. 289.]

[<sup>3</sup> The particulars mentioned in this letter are confirmed by Sleidan and Brandt.]

tendants, who are about thirty in number. The duke wished two or three times to admit me to an interview, but the presence of the Spanish general always prevented him. He abides stedfast in the faith, and is in a very good state of health. There is no hope whatever of his deliverance, unless, which will not I trust be the case, he should change his religion: he does not despair of the word of God. The Landgrave<sup>1</sup> of Hesse is in confinement at Oudenarde, seven miles from Ghent: he is a man thoroughly wretched and vacillating; at one time he promises all obedience and fidelity to the emperor, receives the mass and other impious idolatries with open arms; at another time he execrates and abominates the emperor, with his Interim. May the Lord have compassion upon him! he is in a state of great wretchedness, and is now paying the just penalty of his perfidiousness. We saw likewise that traitor Lazarus Schuendi<sup>2</sup>, with whom you are acquainted. There is no need for me to write about Brandenburg and the other Germans who are in bondage to the Spaniards.

The pope's legate has been preaching in his palace during the whole of Lent, with what impiety I shall not write. This however I know for certain, that there is not a friendly feeling between the pope and the emperor, neither between the king of France and the emperor. Both of them are greatly afraid of him, and he, in his turn, is in the greatest fear of the fulminations of the pope. It is now seriously disputed between them, whether the general council shall be held at Trent or Bologna. The pope urges, bids, entreats, commands the emperor to consent to Bologna. He resists, refuses, opposes in every possible way, and says that he would rather break off all alliance with the pope, than allow of that locality, namely, Bologna. It is easy to conjecture what mischief lies hid in this proposal on the part of the pope. He is in great apprehension for his kingdom; for I am informed by our ambassador, that if the emperor's confessor<sup>3</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse became prisoners of the emperor after the battle of Muhlberg in 1547.]

[<sup>2</sup> Lazarus Schuendi is mentioned by Sleidan as having been sent by the emperor with a party of soldiers to raze the castle of Gothen, and set at liberty marquess Albert of Brandenburg, who was there kept prisoner.]

[<sup>3</sup> Peter de Soto, a Dominican, was confessor to Charles V. He

were but moderately religious, there would be the greatest hope of shortly bringing him into the knowledge of Christ; for he openly told me that both the emperor and all his councillors were guided, persuaded, led and dragged about by their confessor, who acts in every respect at the bidding and advice of the pope. And I easily believe this; for when the emperor was in upper Germany seven months since, he was deserted by his confessor, because he would not act with severity against some godly persons, and restore popery altogether. The emperor offered him a bishoprick in Spain worth twenty thousand crowns per annum. He put a slight upon the liberality of the emperor, and upon the emperor himself, in these terms: "I owe myself entirely to the church of Christ, but neither to you nor to your gifts, unless you choose to serve the church more zealously than you have done."

And now as to the emperor's views in regard to Switzerland. All parties agree in this, that he is enviously opposed to your liberty, and will therefore leave no stone unturned to destroy your union. Should he not succeed in this way, he will attempt every thing by promises. Beware therefore, lest he deceive you with vain expectations. Last of all, he will without doubt attack you with an hostile army, not with a view of overcoming you in this way, or exposing many of his troops to danger, but merely to strike terror into you. I pray you therefore to preserve your mutual regard and unanimity: fear God, live holily, fight bravely, and expect the victory from God, who will without doubt stand by and defend you. People think that you are not in imminent danger at present; but still you should always be prepared against a feeling of security, lest he should overwhelm you when you little think of it. The emperor is hitherto well aware that he cannot manage the affairs of Germany as he desires. He has been more troubled, as I have been informed upon good authority, that he has made any alteration in religion, than if he had promised the Germans the utmost liberty in that respect. They

afterwards accompanied Philip into England, where he was employed at Oxford to lecture, and as much as possible to undo all that Peter Martyr had done. He was afterwards accused for heretical opinions to the Inquisition at Valladolid, but died at Trent in 1563 before the preliminary proceedings had been completed. See Zurich Letters, 1st Series, p. 33, and Llorente Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition, III. 88.]

say that the emperor will shortly proceed to Ghent, and from thence return to Brussels, or go up towards Spire. He has troops stationed near Bremen and the towns upon the coast, but they are inactive; they neither make any progress, nor are they much feared by the citizens, who are daily adding to the strength of their cities, and have provisions for five years, and do not any longer court the favour of the emperor. You are, I think, aware of the severity of the exactions the emperor now demands from his subjects: I will relate, however, an affecting and lamentable statement which a godly matron, my landlady, made to me in Brabant. "If," she said, "I could carry in my arms my large and troublesome family of children, I would flee away, and obtain my livelihood by begging. For the tax-gatherers of the emperor and the queen exhaust all the fruit of our labours." The English too, are now sadly oppressed in this respect. A fifth of all property has been granted to the king. But I must tell you one more thing respecting Switzerland. Yesterday, April 25th, I was invited to dinner by a citizen of Antwerp, who is well acquainted with Switzerland from having frequently exposed his goods to sale in all their cities. He told me that since the emperor had left upper Germany, he had often seen in his palace the public officers of the canton of Lucerne; for he knew them well by the colour of their dress. It is to be feared that the secret affairs of that country may be revealed by this means, or that some yet greater evil may be latent.

On the first of May there will be fresh rejoicings at Brussels in honour of the prince of Spain. You have, I suppose, heard of the former ones from master John Utenhovius; but as he did not see the new gates and columns erected in the city, you must know that at the first gate there is a column on which is inscribed, "Happy are his subjects!"

Quis genus Austriadum, quis stirpem Cæsaris altam  
Herculei vere generis esse negat?

On the other side is written,

Alcidem jactant nugæ et fictitia monstra;  
Caroleos ausus fortia gesta probant.

On the second gate:

Sancta fides merito collaudat vosque patresque,  
Auxilio quorum cæpit et aucta fides.



Engraved by W. Holt.

CHARLES V.

*From the Original by Schin, in the Private  
Collection of the King of the French.*



On the other side :

Se ter felicem hoc fausto tempore clamat,  
Prole quod Augusta vindice tuta manet.

The third gate bears the representation of Hercules sailing with his pillars, on each of which is placed a statue of a man. The first says, "go," the other, "come." The verses are these,

Adsit Caroleo cœlestis palma labori,  
Et maneat soli gloria prima Deo.

Also,

Fida laccessiti cunctatio restituit rem,  
Christicolamque fidem provehat ulterius.

At Antwerp there is represented an eagle with expanded wings, beneath whose feet is written this impious application of scripture, "Protect us under the shadow of thy wings."

On the first of May, at the rejoicings at Brussels, the prince of Spain, and the son of the duke d'Arschot, a native of Brabant, engaged with spears on horseback. Whether by chance or carelessness I know not, but the prince's helmet was badly fastened on, and could not withstand the force of the lance of d'Arschot's son; so that the prince was twice wounded in the face, once in the chin, the second time in the forehead, but the wounds are not dangerous. The emperor however, in alarm, put off the tournament till the following week.

I hear that east Friesland has received the Interim. If this be the case, master à Lasco will soon return into England. I greatly regret his absence, especially as Peter Martyr and Bernardine so stoutly defend Lutheranism, and there is now arrived a third, (I mean Bucer,) who will leave no stone unturned to obtain a footing. The people of England, as I hear, all of them entertain right notions upon that subject. Should not master à Lasco come to us in a short time, I will send him your letter with the writing. But, if it please God, I could wish to meet the parties in person. We have remained here a fortnight for the sake of passing over from hence into England more conveniently, with a well-informed and skilful English captain who is staying here, and waiting for a cargo. But I am afraid lest the wind should turn against us, in which case we shall lose both our time and money.

[JOHN HOOPER.]

## LETTER XXXI.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at ANTWERP, *May 3, 1549.*

I HAVE desired for some days to take care of the health of my wife and our little girl, who, though they were entirely exhausted by the fatigue of the journey, have now by resting tolerably recovered their strength. You will receive with this letter a piece of cloth for hose, of a better quality than that which you bought of me before, but yet at the same or a lower price. It contains, I suppose, at least 20 Zurich ells: should it contain more or less, let me know in your next letter, which I pray you to send to our old friend Richard Hilles. It will then, I hope, be faithfully delivered to me. Let this cloth be divided between master Mayor and yourself: I would have sent you another piece, could I have met with any upon sale at this place. As soon as I arrive in London I will send you some, God willing, not inferior to this, nor more expensive. All those persons in this place who import cloth from England, sell it at a profit, and it is with difficulty that I have met with that which I now send. They have many thousand [pieces], but they will not sell except to those who will buy ten or twenty whole pieces together, for fear of mixing the different qualities of the cloth; as the best, the middling, and the inferior, mutually help each other both in the price and the sale. If you or the Mayor will, either of you, keep the cloth now sent, I will send a second piece to the one who shall be without it. I bought this for forty shillings, that is, six ducats, before it was dyed. A ducat is equivalent to forty stivers of Brabant, and forty stivers of Brabant make twenty-four batzen of Constance. I paid for the dyeing eight shillings of Brabant, which make twenty-eight batzen of Constance, and a little over: I do not know what I am to pay for the carriage to Strasburgh, but, exclusive of all expenses, you will have a Zurich ell for ten Zurich batzen. If there are twenty ells, this will amount to two hundred batzen, which make eight French solar crowns, which

is the price of the entire piece. When I reach London, I may probably send you some at a less price; meanwhile take in good part my services, which I owe and shall owe you, as a father and a most esteemed master, as long as I live. I wish this cloth to be divided between master Mayor and yourself, that when I send you another piece you may be upon an equal footing both with respect to the quality of the cloth and the price. And if in future you should wish to wear English cloth for your coats or hose, (and state this also in my name to our brother Gualter,) I will always most willingly use my endeavours in your behalf. And you, as you love me, see that those who are taking copies at my expense, are most carefully supplied with the notes of your sermons. If they are not sparing in their labours, I will not be sparing of my money. Keep in your possession the money for this cloth, until I shall let you know by letter to what use I wish it to be applied.

My wife and all who are with me salute your reverence, your wife and all your family; and you will salute in all our names masters Gualter, Pellican, the Israelite indeed, and all the other learned and most loving brethren. Do not moreover omit to salute with the greatest respect and honour most dutifully in my name master Mayor, to whom and to the commonwealth of Zurich I most ardently wish every happiness. May the Lord long preserve you by his Spirit safe, pious, and sound; and may you defend the fold of Christ from wolves and hirelings until the coming of the glory of God! Antwerp, May 3, 1549.

Yours always in mind and body,

JOHN HOOPER.

P. S. Take care, I pray you, that the other letters which I send, may be delivered to those to whom they are directed. After Easter my wife wrote to her mother, who lives about fifteen miles from Antwerp. The messenger found her father dead. Her mother received the letter and gave it my wife's brother to read, who immediately threw it into the fire without reading it. You see the words of Christ are true, that the brother shall persecute the brother for the sake of the word of God.

## LETTER XXXII.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *May 31, 1549.*

MUCH health. Pardon, most loving master and father, the shortness of my letter. You will learn from our brother, master Butler, by what circumstances I am hindered, and with whom I have to contend within these two days on the subject of divorce. In the commentaries<sup>1</sup> which I lately wrote on the decalogue, I allowed both to the man and his wife an equal liberty of divorce on account of adultery, if they are disposed to use that liberty which Christ has permitted in the gospel of his church, where the marriage contract is dissolved by adultery. My opponents allow the husband to divorce his wife by reason of adultery, and to marry another; but they do not allow the same liberty to the wife. In your next letter, as you love me, either confirm my opinion, or correct my error.

We are all well; I have sent John Stumphius to Oxford, recommended by many honourable men, and especially by Treherne, who is much attached to you. When I gave your letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, he did not vouchsafe a single word respecting either yourself, or your most godly church. Bucer has very great influence with him, and the bishop will appoint him to the regius professorship [of divinity] at Cambridge. Master à Lasco is absent, which is a great grief to all godly persons. I shall send your letter to him to-morrow by a good and trusty friend, together with the book and writing. You may expect, God willing, a longer letter within the next fortnight, with which you will also receive the cloth. My wife always makes mention of you in her prayers; she salutes you with your dear wife and all your family. Our little daughter Rachel with Martin and Joanna do the same in spirit. Do you, most esteemed master, salute in our names masters Gualter, Pellican, Gesner, and all the rest. London, May 31, 1549.

Your ever most affectionate, JOHN HOOPER.

[1 See a Declaration of the ten holy Commandments of Almighty God, in Hooper's early writings, Parker Society edition. The passage here referred to will be found in pp. 378, 379, where Hooper complains of the uncharitable construction put upon it.]

## LETTER XXXIII. .

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 25*, [1549].

MUCH health. I cannot express, my much honoured master and gossip, the delight afforded me by your letter, a most certain token as it was of your exceeding love to me. I earnestly entreat you to act always thus; for nothing can be more agreeable to me than to hear often of your welfare, and of the safety of your church and commonwealth. You shall always in return receive every intelligence from me respecting my own circumstances and those of our church. Great, great I say, my beloved master and gossip, is the harvest, but the labourers are few. May our most indulgent Father send forth labourers into the harvest! Such is the maliciousness and wickedness of the bishops, that the godly and learned men who would willingly labour in the Lord's harvest are hindered by them; and they neither preach themselves, nor allow the liberty of preaching to others. For this reason there are some persons here who read and expound the holy scriptures at a public lecture, two of whom read in St Paul's cathedral four times a week. I myself too, as my slender abilities will allow me, having compassion upon the ignorance of my brethren, read a public lecture twice in the day to so numerous an audience, that the church cannot contain them. The anabaptists<sup>2</sup> flock to the place, and give me much trouble with their opinions respecting the incarnation of the Lord; for they deny altogether that Christ was born of the virgin Mary according to the flesh. They contend that a man who is reconciled to God is without sin, and free from all stain of concupiscence, and that nothing of the old Adam remains in his nature; and a man, they say, who is thus regenerate cannot sin. They add that all hope of pardon is taken away from those who, after having received the Holy Ghost, fall into sin. They maintain a fatal necessity, and that beyond and besides that will of his which he has revealed to us in

[<sup>2</sup> For an account of the opinions of the anabaptists of this period, see Strype, Mem. i. i. 552.]

the scriptures, God hath another will by which he altogether acts under some kind of necessity. Although I am unable to satisfy their obstinacy, yet the Lord by his word shuts their mouths, and their heresies are more and more detested by the people. How dangerously our England is afflicted by heresies of this kind, God only knows; I am unable indeed from sorrow of heart to express to your piety. There are some who deny that man is endued with a soul different from that of a beast, and subject to decay. Alas! not only are those heresies reviving among us which were formerly dead and buried, but new ones are springing up every day. There are such libertines and wretches, who are daring enough in their conventicles not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed Seed a mischievous fellow and deceiver of the world. On the other hand, a great portion of the kingdom so adheres to the popish faction, as altogether to set at nought God and the lawful authority of the magistrates; so that I am greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil discord. May the Lord restrain restless spirits, and destroy the counsels of Achitophel! Do you, my venerable father, commend our king and the council of the nation, together with our church, to God in your prayers.

I have not yet seen my parents, but hope to do so shortly, if the Lord permit. It has hitherto been out of my power, both because I am daily expecting my baggage with books and other necessaries, which were detained at Antwerp by an unfavourable wind; and also because through the instigation of the devil and wickedness of man there has lately arisen in my part of the country<sup>1</sup> a commotion of the people against the government, not unattended with danger, and as yet hardly composed. Tumults of this kind are taking place not only in my country, but almost throughout the whole kingdom. The people are sorely oppressed by the marvellous tyranny of the nobility. Let us pray that all occasions of discord may be piously removed, and that the people may be kept in order to the glory of God's name. The state of our country is indeed most deplorable: we are however in expectation of a happy issue, when we shall feel pleasure in the recollection of what is past. When I visit my friends, I

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, Devonshire and Somersetshire. See Strype, Mem. II. i. 259.]

will purchase for yourself and master Mayor the other cloth that I promised, and also another piece for master John Butler; I could not buy it here at your price.

Bucer is with the archbishop of Canterbury like another Scipio, and an inseparable companion. Paulus Fagius too, and Peter Alexander, formerly chaplain to queen Mary, the emperor's sister, are also there. Within a fortnight, God willing, you shall know more. Salute very much in all our names your wife with all your family, masters Gualter and Pellican with their wives, and all the other members of your church. I wish you were acquainted with our language, and that master Gualter also knew it for six months: I doubt not but that God would convert many hearts to the knowledge of himself. Farewell. London, June 25.

I send herewith a pattern of the cloth of this kind which is manufactured either in your neighbourhood or in Suabia. You will ascertain this from the wife of master Musculus. Ask master Butler to send me four or five florins worth, and send word how much it costs per ell. I have often grieved over my departure from you; for the Lord has opened my eyes to perceive the sad and dangerous situation of the clergy. I will endure it however, God willing, as long as I can do so with a pure conscience.

Yours ever most attached,

JOHN HOOPER.

P.S. My friend Martin, an excellent young man, affectionately salutes your excellency. You will deign to salute in my name my master, your most worthy Mayor, who is on every account so respectable. I hope you have received one piece of cloth. You shall receive the second in a short time.

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## LETTER XXXIV.

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JOHN HOOPER TO JOHN STUMPHIUS.

Dated at LONDON, Aug. 1, [1549].

MUCH health. You will receive, my very dear brother, by the bearer of this letter all your books, which I doubt

not you have been long and anxiously expecting. The party to whom I gave in charge my luggage at Strasburgh answered my expectation in this respect negligently enough. You need not be troubled about the carriage, as I have paid both the waggoners and sailors. Should you be in want of money, you can let me know by letter every week; I will never be wanting to your necessities. I am obliged to remain here in London and in the family of the lord protector, till things become more settled: I tell you this, that you may know for certain where to direct your letters. Since you left me, I have received two letters from master Bullinger, from which I learn that the affairs of Switzerland are as safe and flourishing as ever. A letter, however, has lately reached me from Germany, which states that five cantons have lately entered upon a solemn treaty with the king of France against the English, but that the evangelical states had piously and boldly rejected it. Do you, my brother, as your love to your country requires, aid them together with me in your diligent and persevering prayers unto the Lord; and he who has begun a godly work in the people of Zurich, will perform it even unto the end. Farewell, and respectfully salute in my name the wife of Peter Martyr, together with his attendant<sup>1</sup>; and also John ab Ulmis, with the Hessian who lately came over to you. I would salute my old friend master Garbrand<sup>2</sup>, only that I have so often done so without any greeting in return, that I know not whether he can bear with patience to be saluted by me. London, August 1. In haste.

Yours ever to serve in any way,

JOHN HOOPER.

You will also receive three shirts. The fourth is still packed up among my baggage, which I have not yet unpacked. I will send it you next week.

[<sup>1</sup> This was Julius Santerentianus, so often mentioned in the preceding series.]

[<sup>2</sup> One of this name is mentioned by Strype, as a prebendary of Salisbury, and friend of bishop Jewel. Strype, Ann. ii. i. 146.]

## LETTER XXXV.

JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, Nov. 7, 1549.

MUCH health. The favour and blessing of God be with you! If you have not yet received my letter, with two entire pieces of cloth, one for yourself, and the other for master Butler, you will receive them, my much esteemed master and father, in a short time. They are detained a longer time at Antwerp on account of the dyeing; but by the blessing of God they will all safely reach you. You must not wonder at your not having yet received the cloth; for I have been so overwhelmed by difficult and constant business since my arrival in England, that I have not yet been able either to visit my native place or my parents.

The face of things is now changed, and the state of English affairs in some respects altered. My patron<sup>3</sup>, who was first minister and protector, is now imprisoned with many others in the Tower of London, as you will better learn from a letter which is now on the road to you. We are greatly apprehensive of a change in religion; but as yet no alteration has taken place. Help us in Christ by your prayers. The young king by the mercy of God is alive and well, and is a prince of great learning and wisdom. The papists are hoping and earnestly struggling for their kingdom. The bishop<sup>4</sup> of London, the most bitter enemy of the gospel, is now living in confinement, and deposed from his bishoprick. This was done when the affairs and fortunes of the duke of Somerset were more prosperous than they are at present. I had a sharp and dangerous contest with that bishop, both publicly from the

[<sup>3</sup> Namely, the duke of Somerset, who was sent to the Tower, Oct. 14, 1549.]

[<sup>4</sup> Bishop Bonner, against whom a commission was issued out from the king to archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, the secretaries Petre and Smith, and Dr May, dean of St Paul's. Strype, Cranmer, 269. A full account of the proceedings is given in Foxe, Acts and Mon. v. 741, &c. See also Collier's Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain.]

pulpit, in my turns at Paul's cross, and also before the king's council. Should he be again restored to his office and episcopal function, I shall, I doubt not, be restored to my country and my Father which is in heaven. Fourteen days since silence was imposed and enjoined upon all lecturers and preachers. But this only lasted seven days; and liberty of teaching is again allowed them. I read in public every day to a most crowded audience at London, and take John and Daniel by turns. I lectured upon the Psalms at the king's court as long as the situation of the duke permitted me to do so; but that lecture is now laid aside.

Will you kindly undertake, most reverend sir, out of your love to Christ and to myself, to have your notes on Isaiah copied out and forwarded to me with all fidelity, (for I am greatly in need of your assistance;) and also all the other comments which you have written on the other prophets, or upon the New Testament? I know that they are all pure in doctrine, and learned, and holy. I will satisfy the writer or copyist for his pains. I make, too, the same request from master Gualter, and from our gossip, master Bibliander, with respect to his lectures, which are doubtless holy, pious, and full of learning. You will receive with the cloth the disputation<sup>1</sup> of Peter Martyr with the papists at Oxford on the subject of the eucharist.

John Stumphius is well, and conducts himself with much credit: tell his parents, that should he stand in need of any assistance in any way, I will never be wanting to him. John ab Ulmis is also in good health. You will do well if you will admonish him by letter to pursue his studies with diligence, and remain at home. I am afraid that by his so frequently going backwards and forwards between Oxford and London, he will incur a loss not only of time, but of money. Use your own discretion in this matter. In haste. Salute all my good masters and instructors, together with all our friends and their godly wives in the name of us all.

I entreat you most kindly to salute that excellent man, master Butler, to whom I am not now able to write a letter; and request him to give two florins in my name to the widow of the deceased Zinkius. You will also tell this afflicted

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of this disputation, which was afterwards published by Peter Martyr, see Strype, Cranmer, 283.]

widow, that we shall all of us bear in mind, as long as we live, the kindness with which she treated us.

Your excellence's most attached,

JOHN HOOPER.

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## LETTER XXXVI.

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JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Dec. 27, 1549.*

THAT you so seldom receive any letter from me, my very reverend master and gossip, I pray you to ascribe to the calamity of our time, and the alteration in my circumstances, rather than to any forgetfulness of your signal courtesy and kindness, which both reason and affection entirely forbid on my part.

We were in much alarm, and very great fear possessed the minds of the godly, as to the success that the religion of Christ just now budding forth in England would meet with upon the fall of the duke of Somerset, who is still confined in the Tower of London. We have as yet no certain information as to what will become of him. We hope that his life will be spared. May God grant this for the glory of his name, and the benefit of his church! although we see many dangers hanging over him, yet we hope and expect a favourable issue. We easily indeed give credit to what we wish.

No change in religion has taken place among us, and we hope that no alteration will be made hereafter. Although our vessel is dangerously tossed about on all sides, yet God in his providence holds the helm, and raises up more favourers of his word in his majesty's councils, who with activity and courage defend the cause of Christ. The archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them; and in these his

sentiments respecting the eucharist are pure, and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland. We desire nothing more for him than a firm and manly spirit. Like all the other bishops in this country, he is too fearful about what may happen to him. There are here six<sup>1</sup> or seven bishops who comprehend the doctrine of Christ as far as relates to the Lord's supper, with as much clearness and piety as one could desire; and it is only the fear for their property that prevents them from reforming their churches according to the rule of God's word. The altars are here in many churches changed into tables. The public celebration of the Lord's supper is very far from the order and institution of our Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places the supper is celebrated three times a day. Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *mass* of the apostles, they now have the *communion* of the apostles; where they had the *mass* of the blessed virgin, they now have the communion which they call the *communion* of the virgin; where they had the principal, or high mass, they now have, as they call it, the high communion. They still retain their vestments and the candles before the altars; in the churches they always chant the *hours* and other hymns relating to the Lord's supper, but in our own language. And that popery may not be lost, the mass-priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy. God knows to what perils and anxieties we are exposed by reason of men of this kind.

You will apologize for me to master Mayor, and also to master Butler, respecting the pieces of cloth. Three months have elapsed since I sent them off, but they are detained at Antwerp; they will shortly, however, be delivered to you, God willing, and possibly before the receipt of this letter. I have just come from my lecture; I pray you therefore to interpret with kindness the shortness of my letter. I am obliged to lecture in public twice a day both to-morrow and the day following. May it be for the glory of God!

[<sup>1</sup> It appears by the following letter that the bishops here referred to were Cranmer of Canterbury, Ridley of Rochester, Goodrich of Ely, Farrar of St David's, Holbeach of Lincoln, and Barlow of Bath.]

I shall finish the sixth chapter of John, and have proceeded thus far upon that evangelist. For my other lecture I expound Daniel, as affording a subject well-suited to our times; and I am now engaged in considering the third beast in the seventh chapter, towards the elucidation of which subject your remarks and annotations upon Daniel have contributed no small assistance.

I pray you, most reverend sir, by your great regard for me, to take care that all your annotations, especially those on Isaiah, be copied out with all speed, and sent to me with the greatest care. I will pay every expense: you know not how wonderfully they promote the glory of God. If I am able to effect anything, and my slender powers are of any benefit to the church of Christ, I confess, and by the blessing of God will confess, as long as I live, that I owe it to yourself and my masters and brethren at Zurich; whom I pray the Lord ever to preserve in safety for his name's sake. Moreover, if you have any thing which you purpose soon to send to the press, you should dedicate it to our most excellent sovereign, king Edward the sixth. On this subject I wish you would advise those learned men, namely, master Bibliander, our co-sponsor, and master Gualter. If you will comply with my wishes in this respect, you will advance the glory of God in no small degree. Believe me, all the English, who are free from popish tyranny and Romish craftiness, entertain correct views respecting the [Lord's] supper.

There are various other reasons which induce me to make this request to you; but I cannot at present state them by reason of the danger of the journey. Be alive, fight with that old serpent. Behold, your reward is great in heaven.

Salute masters Bibliander, Gualter, Pellican, with their wives, my most faithful master Butler with his wife, and all my other Zurich-friends so much esteemed by me. Tell my excellent friend, master Gessner, that there is on the road for him a Welsh dictionary, and some writings in the language of Cornubia, commonly called Cornwall.

Yours now and for evermore,

JOHN HOOPER.

P.S. My wife and your little god-daughter, Rachel, to-

gether with Martin and Joanna, salute your excellence with the good lady our gossip, your wife, and master Bibliander with his wife, our very dear gossips, and all the rest.

Rachel is endued with a most happy memory, and retains with the greatest facility every thing that is said to her, and of all other languages she best understands the Latin.

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## LETTER XXXVII.

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JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Feb. 5, 1550.*

GREETING. I much regret, most esteemed master and gossip, that the two letters which I sent you at the feast of St John the Baptist, are, as I understand from your letter, either intercepted or lost. Had they reached your excellency, you would neither have been ignorant of my present circumstances, nor of my affection towards you. I am, however, entirely persuaded of this, that we are united in such bonds of friendship as neither the miscarriage, nor even the intermission, of our correspondence will ever be able to break. But henceforth, God willing, I will make amends for my blameable silence by my diligence in writing. As far as I know, the letters of my wife to our very dear gossips, the wives of yourself and of our gossip master Bibliander, have not been delivered; or you would at least have learned from them the situation both of myself and of this kingdom. But as I now promise in this respect greater zeal and diligence than I have hitherto used, I trust to your kindness to forgive me. I will not now allege the just excuse, that the difficult and dangerous nature of my labours, very reverend sir, would call for at your hands; but proceed at once to comply with your injunctions. First of all, then, receive in a few words what relates to myself. Since my return to England, I have neither seen my native place nor my parents, by reason of the frequent and dangerous commotions stirred up in those parts on account of religion, and which indeed are not yet calmly and quietly settled. May God send a better state of things! My father is yet

living in ignorance of the true religion, but I hope that the grace of God will at length teach him better. I have been explaining the holy scriptures here at London, and sometimes at court, by order of the duke of Somerset. In the city I have finished the epistle to Titus and about seven chapters of John. At court I have been lecturing upon the Psalms, and God knows at what risk I interpreted the sixth chapter of St John. I am also occupied at this time with the latter part of the seventh chapter of Daniel. I thought it best to explain the sixth of John and the seventh of Daniel by turns, that the people might rightly discern Christ from the one, and antichrist from the other. Thus much, then, respecting myself. My wife always remembers you in her prayers, that she may repay what she owes to your kindness: her health is not what it formerly was at Zurich, but is affected by the air of England and the relaxing nature of our climate. Our little Rachel is making progress both in body and mind. She understands the English, German, French and Latin languages very tolerably, and especially the Latin.

While I was writing this, namely on the fifth of February, on which day I received your last, the archbishop of Canterbury sent for me, and ordered me in the name of the king and council to preach before his majesty (who is now at London, and will not go anywhere else before Easter) once a week during the ensuing Lent. May the Lord open my heart and mouth, that I may think and speak those things which may advance his kingdom! I shall make choice, I think, of a very suitable subject, namely, the prophet Jonas<sup>1</sup>; which will enable me freely to touch upon the duties of individuals<sup>2</sup>. Do you, my reverend friend, write back as soon as possible, and diligently instruct me as to what you think may conveniently be said in so crowded an auditory. It must necessarily be great when before the king; for even in the city there is such a concourse of people at my lectures, that very often the church will not hold them.

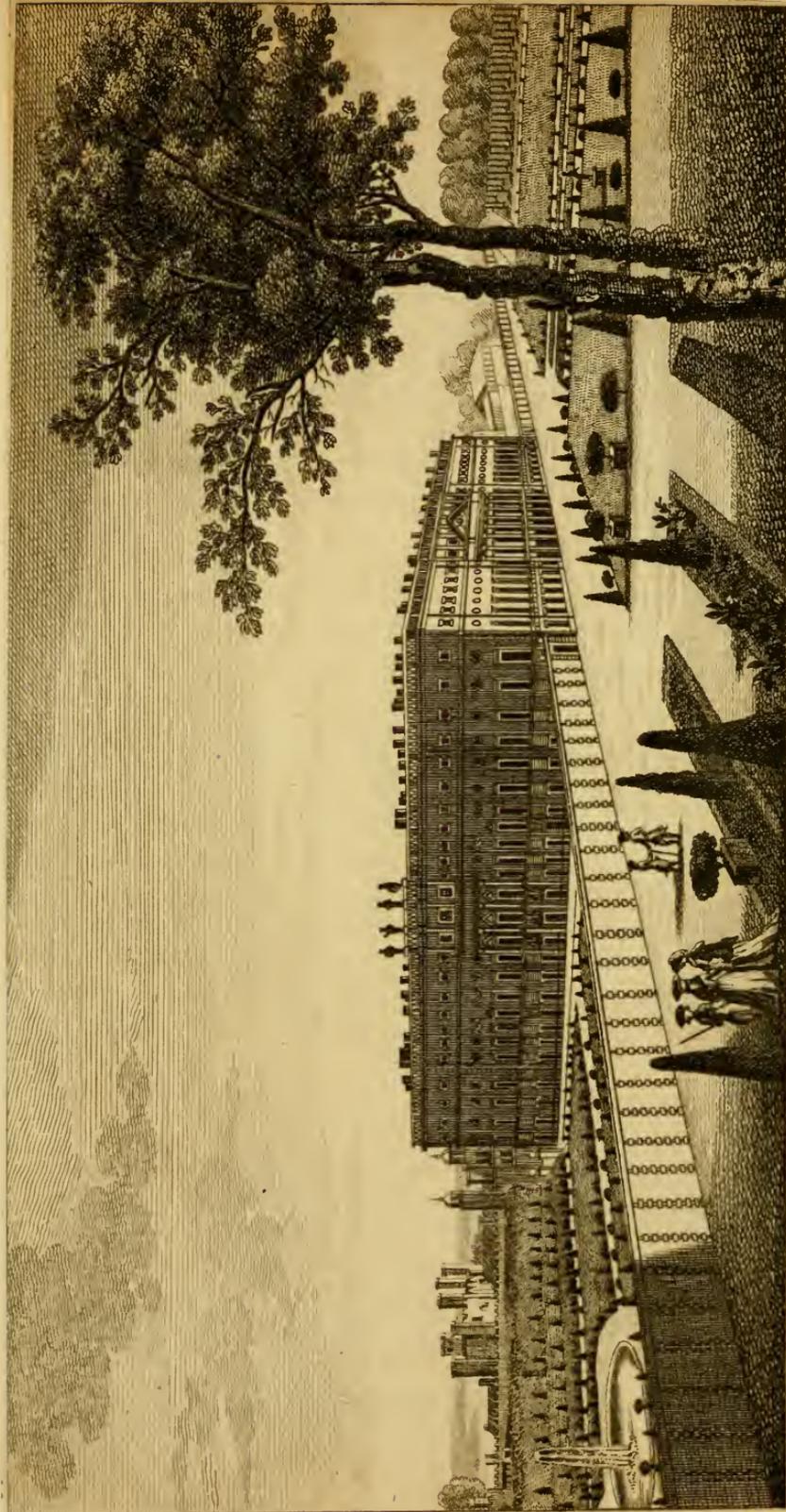
[<sup>1</sup> These sermons on Jonas, of which there are seven in all, were preached on the Wednesdays during Lent, in the year 1550, before the king and council. They are published among the Early Writings of Bishop Hooper, edited by the Parker Society, p. 435.]

[<sup>2</sup> Additional reasons for making choice of this prophet are given in the Early Writings of Bishop Hooper, p. 445.]

Now as to what is doing in England. The bishops of Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, St David's, Lincoln, and Bath, are all favourable to the cause of Christ; and, as far as I know, entertain right opinions in the matter of the eucharist. I have freely conversed with all of them upon this subject, and have discovered nothing but what is pure and holy. The archbishop of Canterbury, who is at the head of the king's council, gives to all lecturers and preachers their licence to read and preach: every one of them, however, must previously subscribe to certain articles, which, if possible, I will send you; one of which, respecting the eucharist, is plainly the true one, and that which you maintain in Switzerland. The marquis of Dorset, the earl of Warwick, and the greater part of the king's council favour the cause of Christ as much as they can. Our king is such an one for his age as the world has never seen. May the Lord preserve him! His sister, the daughter of the late king by queen Ann, is inflamed with the same zeal for the religion of Christ. She not only knows what the true religion is, but has acquired such proficiency in Greek and Latin, that she is able to defend it by the most just arguments and the most happy talent; so that she encounters few adversaries whom she does not overcome. The people however, that many-headed monster, is still wincing; partly through ignorance, and partly fascinated by the inveiglements of the bishops, and the malice and impiety of the mass-priests.

Such then is the present state of things in England. Receive thus much concerning the affairs of government. On the sixth of October the king, together with the protector<sup>1</sup>, fled from the palace, which we commonly call Hampton-court, to another castle, called in our language Windsor, for this reason, that the other members of the council in London had determined, as it was right they should, to make inquiry into the protector's conduct. Large numbers were collected by each party. As to myself, I determined not to interfere, because I had great enemies on both sides. The king was accompanied in his flight by his uncle the duke of Somerset, the arch-

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of the conspiracy against Somerset, see Hollingshed, III. 1014, Tytler's Reign of Edward VI. Vol. I. 204, &c., Turner's Edward VI. i. 281, &c.]



*The Royal Palace of Hampton Court.*



bishop of Canterbury, the comptroller<sup>2</sup> of the household, and some of the lords of the bedchamber. All the other nobility and men of rank had lent their influence to the council, who conducted this affair in London: however, by the mercy of God, the business was at length settled without bloodshed. On the 14th of October the duke of Somerset with some others<sup>3</sup> was sent to the Tower of London, from whence he is not yet come out; but by the blessing of God he will be set at liberty, either this evening<sup>4</sup> or to-morrow. Be not alarmed at Dryander's returning to you; he consults his own interests, and cares but little for ours when gain is out of the question. Master Cox has received with the greatest respect your letter and present: I suppose you have received an answer from him before this time.

The archbishop of Canterbury, to say the truth, neither took much notice of your letter, nor of your learned present. But now, as I hope, master Bullinger and Canterbury entertain the same opinions. Should it be otherwise, you shall shortly hear.

With respect to what you write about the marquis of Dorset, if you have anything suitable in the press, contrive, I entreat you, to dedicate it to him. He is pious, good, and brave, and distinguished in the cause of Christ. You will not a little advance the glory of God by giving encouragement to him and others by your writings. Your reputation, believe me, is most honourably spoken of, as you well deserve, by all the learned and godly of this country. Take in good part the unpolished style of my letter. After some days you shall hear more. London. February 5, 1550.

Yours ever,

JOHN HOOPER.

[<sup>2</sup> Namely, Sir William Paget, who was appointed to that office in 1547. The other persons here referred to were Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr William Cecil, master of Requests, and private secretary to Somerset. Tytler, i. 206.]

[<sup>3</sup> At the same time that Somerset was secured and shut up in Beauchamp's tower, [Sir Thomas] Smith, Cecil, [Sir John] Thynne, [Sir Michael] Stanhope, and some others of his servants, were confined in their own apartments. MS. privy council books, quoted by Tytler, i. 243.]

[<sup>4</sup> The duke was restored to liberty on the 6th of February. Grafton. Hollingshed. Stow.]

P. S. You will remind masters Gualter, Bibliander and my other Zurich friends, that if they are about to print any religious work, they should dedicate it either to our king, a most excellent and learned youth, or to some one or other of the nobility. I charge and enjoin you, my most learned gossip, and every way most esteemed master, to send me something of yours in print for our king. I will take care that the work shall come to his hands, and that the offering shall not want a commendation from myself.

I entreat you not to mention this letter to any one. I would write, as I ought to do, to masters Bibliander and Butler; but God knows I have no time. I wish you all every happiness. In three days time I will write again. You shall hear in a few days respecting the Interim and other matters. The duke of Somerset will now come out of the Tower, and many other persons will be sent thither, whom I am not now at liberty to mention.

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## LETTER XXXVIII.

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JOHN HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *March 27, 1550.*

GRACE and innocence of life from the Lord! That I may in some measure extenuate, if I cannot entirely excuse, my blameable neglect of correspondence, (touching which, my much esteemed master and most loving gossip, you so deservedly and severely expostulated with me in your last letter,) this is the third letter that I have taken care should be sent you by the post since the end of January. I hope that you have received the others, and that you will receive this with all possible speed. I have already informed your excellence both as to my individual circumstances, and the news of this kingdom; but lest my letters should have been lost on the road, as has very often happened heretofore on both sides through the carelessness, or rather the dishonesty, of the courier, I think it worth my while to repeat the leading particulars in a few words.

Concerning me and mine, with whom you are acquainted,

I wrote that we are all of us in good health. My wife however is weak and valetudinarian as usual, but, by the blessing of God, in no danger of her life. Rachel, by the mercy of God, is in the enjoyment of excellent health: she grows both in stature and in talent, and holds out the best promise of a most happy memory. She understands no language so well as she does Latin. I have not yet visited my native place; being prevented, partly by the danger of the rebellion and tumult in those quarters, and partly by the command of the king that I should advance the kingdom of Christ here at London: nor indeed am I yet able to stir even a single mile from the city without a numerous attendance. I comfort myself however in this, that the employment on which I had entered under [un]promising and difficult auspices is blessed by God every day more and more; and he has given a sufficiently large and glorious increase to the seed sown by Peter and Paul. We do not water and plant in vain. May the name of the Lord be for ever blessed! But there has lately been appointed a new bishop<sup>1</sup> of London, a pious and learned man, if only his new dignity do not change his conduct. He will, I hope, destroy the altars<sup>2</sup> of Baal, as he did heretofore in his church when he was bishop of Rochester. I can scarcely express to you, my very dear friend, under what difficulties and dangers we are labouring and struggling, that the idol of the mass may be thrown out. It is no small hindrance to our exertions, that the form which our senate or parliament, as we commonly call it, has prescribed for the whole realm, is so very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects indeed manifestly impious. I sent it to our friend, master Butler, about four months since. I am so much offended with that book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the [Lord's] supper. Many altars have been destroyed in this city since I arrived here. I commenced with the epistle to Titus, having

[1 Namely, Ridley, bishop of Rochester, who was translated to the see of London on the deprivation of Bonner.]

[2 On this subject see Ridley's Injunctions to the diocese of London, and Reasons why the Lord's board should be in the form of a table. Parker Society edition of Ridley's works, pp. 319, 321. See also Soames, Hist. Ref. III. 571, and Burnet, II. 252.]

finished which, I lectured on the gospel of St John, and am now engaged upon the eighth chapter. I freely held forth upon the sixth chapter to my audience, as God enabled me, respecting the Lord's supper, for the space of three months, and lectured once or twice every day; and it pleased God to bless my exertions. A wonderful and most numerous concourse of people attended me, and God was with them; for he opened their hearts to understand the things that were spoken by me. But I incurred great odium and not less danger from the sixth chapter. The better cause however prevails; and during this Lent I have plainly and openly handled the same subject before the king and the nobility of the realm. In this city an individual of the name of Crome<sup>1</sup>, a man of excellent erudition and holiness of life, a doctor in divinity, and well known to master Butler, is combating my opinions in a public discourse.

The bishop of Westchester will preach on the ~~sixth~~ *Tri:* Sunday before Easter, and will deliver his sentiments upon the [Lord's] supper, the invocation of the saints, and the authority of the scriptures. God grant that he may teach the truth! We all piously agreed in the same opinion respecting all the articles, in the presence of the king, this Lent; I will let you know the result immediately after Easter.

The bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester<sup>2</sup> are still in confinement, and maintain the popish doctrines with all their might. The bishop of Winchester, who is a prisoner in the Tower of London, came forward and challenged me to a disputation about a month since: he doubtless assured himself of a glorious victory; should he fail in obtaining which, he would submit himself to the laws and to the king for punishment. The keeper of the prison had at first accepted the conditions. The day was fixed. But when the bishop knew for certain that I would not shrink from that duty, but that I would firmly maintain the best of causes even at the peril of my life, he changed his mind, and said, that if the king would set him at liberty, he would take his part in a disputation, in full reliance on the help of God, that he should obtain the victory. What will at length be done I know not.

[<sup>1</sup> Dr Edward Crome was Rector of St Mary's Aldermanbury. A full account is given of him in Strype, Mem. III. i. 157, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> These were Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath.]

Meantime let us pray that God may be present with us, and that we may fearlessly advance his glory.

A book has lately been published here by the bishops, touching the ordination and consecration of the bishops and ministers of the church. I have sent it to master Butler, that you may know their fraud and artifices, by which they promote the kingdom of antichrist, especially in the form of the oath<sup>3</sup>; against which form I brought forward many objections in my public lecture before the king and the nobility of the realm: on which account I have incurred no small hostility. On the fourth day after the lecture an accusation was brought against me before the council by the archbishop of Canterbury. I appeared before them. The archbishop spoke against me with great severity on account of my having censured the form of the oath. I entreated the judges to hear with impartiality upon what authority I had done so. The question was long and sharply agitated between the bishops and myself; but at length the end and issue was for the glory of God.

If the ensuing summer should be free from disturbances, we hope for much good to our church; for peace is arranged between us and the French, but I am not yet informed upon what terms. I only pray our great and gracious God, that war may not lie hid under the name of peace. The day before I wrote this letter to your excellence, the emperor sent two most beautiful Spanish horses as a present to our king. On the same day a German Lutheran sent to [Sir John] Cheke, the king's tutor, a book which has lately come forth against the anabaptists and sacramentaries: he gave the book to the king to read, but it nowise pleased either the king, or his tutors, namely, Cook and Cheke, both of whom, as well as the king, have a pious understanding of the doctrine of the eucharist. Master Bucer is now lying dangerously ill at Cambridge. The subject of his lecture is the epistle to the Ephesians, and of his sermon, on holy-days, the sixth chapter of St John.

[<sup>3</sup> Hooper's objection to the oath was the "swearing by God, the saints, and the holy gospels," when none but God himself ought to be appealed to in an oath. This clause was afterwards omitted. See the Parker Society edition of Hooper's Early Writings, p. 479, and compare the Liturgies of Edward VI. pp. 169, 339. Also Keeling's *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, pp. 373, 390, and Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* II. 246.]

Master Valerandus<sup>1</sup> has recommended him by letter not to raise any controversy on the matter of the eucharist. He replied that he should teach nothing contrary to the opinion of Peter Martyr, which I sent you in manuscript about the middle of January.

Touching the *Interim*, (you know what I mean) I have not hitherto been able by any entreaties to obtain permission for committing it to the press; but I shall probably in a few days meet the king upon business, and I will give it him for his perusal. Believe me, my much esteemed friend, you have never seen in the world for these thousand years so much erudition united with piety and sweetness of disposition. Should he live and grow up with these virtues, he will be a terror to all the sovereigns of the earth. He receives with his own hand a copy of every sermon that he hears, and most diligently requires an account of them after dinner from those who study with him. Many of the boys and youths who are his companions in study are well and faithfully instructed in the fear of God, and in good learning. Master Cox is no longer the king's tutor. He still remains almoner, is much attached to you, and (as I have often told you before) most warmly thanked you for your present. You know how it was received by the archbishop of Canterbury. Now however, as far as I know, he has become my friend. The marquis of Dorset sends his best regards to your reverence. I could wish that you would dedicate either to the king or to him<sup>2</sup> the work you are shortly about to publish. Moreover, if our excellent and most learned friend, master Bibliander, or that learned and most faithful minister of Christ, master Gualter, are about to publish any thing, let them also dedicate it either to the king, or to the duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, my patron, (who is now living at Sion, eight miles from London, and in good health, but not at present one of the king's council, though I doubt not but that he will be shortly,) or to the marquis of Dorset, or to that most faithful and intrepid soldier of Christ, the earl of Warwick. He is ill at this time, but I hope in no imminent danger: unless

[<sup>1</sup> Valerandus Pollanus was the preacher and superintendent of the French and Walloon church at Glastonbury.]

[<sup>2</sup> Bullinger dedicated the remainder of his *Decades* to the marquis of Dorset, in March 1551.]

he had been on my side in the cause of Christ, it would have been all over with me five months since, when the duke of Somerset was in such difficulties. Traheron is well; I think you have received a letter from him not long since. Your dictations on Isaiah, which you gave in charge to Christopher Hales, have not been delivered to me. I must make allowance for the misfortune of the man; for when he was sailing from Calais to England he was in so much danger from the French, that they threw all the ship's cargo overboard. I entreat you to have a new copy made with all speed, not only of [your notes] on Isaiah, but also of those upon the books of Kings; and I will satisfy both by prayers and payment the labours of the copyist. Do not send me any thing for the cloth, which I hear you have received; but, as you love me, pay for what I am now asking from you out of the price of the cloth, and also for what I may request from you in future, until you shall hear further from me. But I wish to inform you upon this point, that when you write to me in future, you may inclose your letter to me either in the letters of Richard Hilles or John Stumphius, or else they will scarcely ever come to my hands; such is the envy and hatred of some parties, that if they see a letter addressed to me they will retain it. Unless therefore you should meet with a trustworthy courier, it will be necessary to suppress what otherwise ought not to be concealed. Such is now-a-days the perverseness of men's temper, that they can interpret nothing with an upright and unprejudiced mind. Let me know how many letters you have received from me since the first of January. I do not ask this, as though there would arise any danger either to your reverence or myself from the loss of the letters. I value it not a rush, into whosoever hands they may have fallen; but I wish to know, that I may learn to estimate the trustiness of the bearer in future. If you would sometime, as is befitting your erudition and piety, send a letter of encouragement to our king, take care to do so as soon as possible, and also to the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Dorset: believe me, they would receive it most gratefully; send it to me, and I will place it in their hands with all fidelity.

The worshipful the Mayor will soon, I hope, receive another good piece of cloth at the usual price, namely, ten

Zurich batzen the ell. Master Butler will also receive one, partly white, and partly black. We thank you very much for the present which you sent to your [god-daughter] Rachel. In return, I faithfully promise you in Christ that, as long as I live, your children shall be to me as my own, if I can in any respect be of use to them. John Stumphius is residing very creditably and studiously at Oxford. You may, if you please, in your letters apply a stimulus by way of exciting him to persevere honourably in what he has undertaken. Should he be in need of any thing, I shall always be ready to assist him. There is no occasion for his parents to be anxious about him in any way. Salute them in my name and in that of my wife. John Stumphius is a great favourite with her. John ab Ulmis is also, well, and, as I hear, very diligent in his studies. He has been munificently and honourably presented, by the marquis of Dorset, with a yearly stipend of thirty crowns. Salute most dutifully in all our names the lady your wife with all your family, and masters Bibliander, Gualter, Pellican, Otto, Frisius, and Sebastian, with their respective wives. Martin Micronius wishes dutifully to salute your excellence and all his other friends at Zurich. I heartily salute master Haller, the most faithful minister of the church at Berne, and master Musculus. When you write to master Ambrose Blauer, and master Thomas his brother, salute each of them in my name. May the Lord Jesus preserve your church and commonwealth, that you may live in peace, fear, and holiness all the days of your life! Day and night do I remember you in my prayers, that God may guide, strengthen, and defend you by his holy Spirit against the snares of the devil and of the world. Do you also remember me and my labours in the Lord's vineyard: by the help of your prayers I shall raise a more glorious trophy in the church of God over our adversaries. With the exception of the church of Zurich, and those which agree with it in religion, the word is in no part of the world preached more purely than in England.

Write back, I pray you, immediately, if only one or two lines; for until I hear from you, I shall think that this letter also has been lost on the road. If you will always ask master Burcher to send your letters by the post, I will pay the expense. I desire to salute master Mayor, who is a man of God, most dutifully and affectionately in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

A certain native of Zurich, by name Valentine Wormulus, is detained here in prison : he is, if I mistake not, related to master Otho, the minister of the church at Zurich. I do not yet know for certain the cause of his imprisonment: whether he offered violence to a woman, or obtained her consent, I am not informed, but some offence of this sort is alleged against him; besides which, he is charged with having stolen a small sum of money. I shall send to-day to the prison, that I may learn more by means of master Utenhovius. I wish you would shortly let me know whether he is a native of Zurich or not. If the law can be satisfied by a pecuniary penalty, I will willingly pay it, as soon as your reverence shall authorise me to do so, provided the money be repaid me at Zurich. Farewell, most honoured master, and continue to love me. London, March 27, 1550.

On Wednesday next, God willing, I shall finish my exposition of the prophet Jonas before the king.

Yours ever,

JOHN HOOPER.

P. S. Master Utenhovius dutifully salutes your worship, and doubtless aids you all in his diligent prayers to God. You would be quite astonished, did you know how many times he has thanked me for having sent him to Zurich. There is one request I have to make of you, my most faithful friend, that when you have read this, you will write to master Cœlius the younger, who resides at Basle, and apologize to him for my not writing to him at present. I wrote some time since, and gave him intelligence respecting all the things that he had entrusted to my confidence; nor have I ever been unmindful of him, as he will know from me next Easter. I have exerted myself in his favour, as you shall hereafter know. Entreat him to persevere in his purpose, and not to be afraid. God liveth, from whom he will successfully obtain what he desires. Salute the widow, my landlady, in my name; and should she be in need of any thing, I shall not be unmindful of the kindness with which she treated me during my sojourn with you.

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## LETTER XXXIX.

## BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 29, 1550.*

GREETING. The letter which you wrote on the 13th of March, I received at London on the last day of April, by which I fully understood your ancient and fatherly affection towards me. I rejoiced much [to learn] that you and your church are regaining your former influence and reputation; but am much grieved to hear that my letters written so frequently and with so much pains have been lost on the road. I will in future inquire more carefully as to the trustworthiness of the messenger. I cannot too sufficiently wonder that master Butler has so seldom heard from me. I have frequently written to him respecting his brother-in-law, who not only holds an honourable employment at court, but most honourably defends the cause of Christ in the palace; nor is there any individual who is more fervent in this cause, or more ardent in imparting to others the word of God. He is one of the four stewards of the royal household. His deceased wife, who was master Butler's sister, went to heaven a year ago; and he has now married another pious and godly virgin, of honourable rank and lineage. He dutifully salutes master Butler, and promises to exert himself to the utmost of his power, if he should any way require his services. Let master Butler know this.

I now return to the course and tenour of your former letter, that I may reply to each head in its turn. First of all, receive this intelligence concerning me and mine. We are all of us in good health. I had an opportunity of visiting my native place and my parents for a fortnight at the Whitsun holidays. I found my father still alive, and though not a friend to the gospel, yet not an enemy to it. My uncle also I found still living, and a favourer of the cause of God; and my native country, considering the extent of its population, apt and docile. We must pray God to send forth labourers into his harvest. Having returned to London on the fourteenth day, I am going, by the king's command, to-morrow or the next day into Kent and Essex, to

the lord chancellor of the realm, who is now, for various reasons, residing in the country. That district is troubled with the frenzy of the anabaptists more than any other part of the kingdom. May the Lord assist me, that my efforts there may be attended with success! At Easter, after the sermons were ended which master Ponet and myself preached before the king and council, he on the Friday, and I on the Wednesday, during Lent, it pleased his majesty and the council to offer the bishoprick of Rochester to Ponet<sup>1</sup>, and that of Gloucester to myself. On many accounts I declined mine<sup>2</sup>, both by reason of the shameful and impious form of the oath, which all who choose to undertake the function of a bishop are compelled to put up with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits which they still retain in that calling, and are used to wear, not only at the administration of the sacraments, but also at public prayers. All these things came to the ears of the king, and he wished to know the reason of my having refused to serve God in so pious and holy a calling. He understood that the causes which I have mentioned above altogether withdrew me from it. On last Ascension-day I was summoned before the whole council to state my reasons, that it might be seen whether I could justly and lawfully decline the royal favour. The matter was seriously agitated in the way of interrogatory. At last, for the glory of God, the discussion ended to the satisfaction of myself and that of all godly persons, not through my instrumentality alone, but by the grace of God, and the favourable inclinations of the council, and their love for God and for the purity and comeliness of the rising church. But you will say, I do not yet know the result. It was such as to set me clear from all defilement of superstition and from the imposition of the oath<sup>3</sup>. On these terms I took upon myself the charge committed to me. Aid wretched me with your prayers, that I may diligently and truly seek the glory of God, lest that little flock should perish, for which Christ died.

[1 Ponet was declared bishop of Rochester on June 26, 1550.]

[2 For an account of Hooper's troubles on his nomination to a bishopric, see Strype, Cranmer, i. 302; Burnet, ii. 243; iii. 304; and Soames, iii. 560.]

[3 See a letter from Micronius to Bullinger, dated Aug. 28, 1550, which will be given in a subsequent part of this volume.]

I will not at present write much respecting myself, except only to inform your excellence, that I am now occupied upon the tenth chapter of St John, for my lecture in the New Testament, and upon the fourth chapter of Zechariah for my lecture in the Old Testament. I have finished Daniel, and also Jonah and his interpreter Nahum. I shall proceed as I can; and *I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me*. Unless his lovingkindness had assisted me, I should very often have looked back from the plough, since I begun. I could not have imagined that the office of preaching was exposed to so many and such painful anxieties. The agreement of Calvin and yourself touching the [Lord's] supper, and the letter in which the new-year's gift was inclosed for your little daughter Rachel, (for I so call her, as your sons and daughters are mine,) I have received, and replied to each. The marquis of Northampton, a man active in the cause of Christ, laid before the king's majesty, in my presence, your book that was intended for him, together with your letter. I should have presented it myself, had it not been forbidden by our laws for any one to lay before the king either a letter or anything else brought from foreign parts, without previously making it known to the council; and this law no one may dare to violate, until the king shall have arrived at the steadiness of mature age. But as far as relates to your letter and your book, he received them with the greatest courtesy and kindness, and not without many thanks; for he most earnestly inquired both respecting yourself and the welfare of your church. He moreover ordered the marquis to send you a royal present in token of his good-will. As soon as I understood this, I desired the marquis to thank his majesty in your name, and that you would esteem it a sufficient token of his gratitude, if he would himself actively and piously bestow his exertions on the vineyard of Christ; besides, that you were not in the habit of receiving presents from any one; and lastly, that it was forbidden by your municipal laws to receive gifts from princes or any other persons whatsoever: but if he wished to testify his approbation either by a letter from himself or through me, that an act of this kind would be most gratifying to you. The king then ordered me to salute you on every account in his name, and present his thanks, entreating you to remember him





CAELIUS SECUNDUS CURIO

Philosophus.

B

Nate Cyriaci Taurinorum  
a. 1507  
Ob. Basilee  
a. 1579. 6. Cal. D.B.R.

Coelius hic coelum triplici sibi vendicat usu,  
Corde pius, lingua purus, & arte bonus Fff 2

in your prayers, and to commend to God both himself and his kingdom. Master Cox also, whom, having been engaged in other matters of importance, I have not been able to call upon for many weeks, received your present in the same spirit. I have dutifully saluted all the earls and marquises in your name. They all salute you in return. The earl of Warwick has had a long illness, but by the blessing of God is now recovered, and will be present at the council on Wednesday next. To tell the truth, England cannot do without him. He is a most holy and fearless instrument of the word of God. May the Lord strengthen him! We have many other excellent councillors, the duke of Somerset, the marquises of Northampton and Dorset. [The archbishop of] Canterbury has relaxed much of his Lutheranism, (whether all of it, I cannot say;) he is not so decided as I could wish, and dares not, I fear, assert his opinion in all respects. As to your advice in your letter, that I should make friends of the bishops, I should be much to blame, if I did not endeavour by all means to do so, provided it can be done with a safe and pure conscience; and to speak the truth, there are six or seven who altogether desire and wish to promote the glory of God. These I venerate and reverence from my heart.

Now I most earnestly entreat you kindly to comply with the following request. If you can procure from master Frochover at the trade price, that is, the price at which he sells them to the booksellers in sheets, all the works of Zuinglius, your own, those of Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, *Œcolampadius*, Gesner, both his *Bibliotheca* and the treatise on Birds, which he is now reported to be writing, you will exceedingly oblige me; and as soon as I know that he has agreed to this, I will take care that he shall have the money at the next Frankfort fair, nor will I require the books till the amount is previously paid. I request you also to salute dutifully in my name master *Cœlius Secundus*<sup>1</sup>, whom I have constantly borne in mind since my arrival here, although I have not told him as much by letter; and let me know, when you write next, what are his present circumstances at Basle: I know him to be a man of profound learning, and one of whose services I

[<sup>1</sup> *Cœlius Secundus Curio* was of a noble Piedmontese family. He abjured popery, and embraced Lutheranism, and was professor at Basle from 1547 till 1569, in which year he died, aged 67.]

would gladly avail myself, when I come to know the state of my bishoprick. As primitive antiquity employed the revenues arising from this office to the edification of the church and the education of the young, I could wish each of these objects to be restored by me, which can in no way be effected unless I shall be aided by the assistance of pious and learned men. On this subject I would gladly hear and follow your advice. Send me therefore by letter, as soon as possible, an answer to my inquiries. For I know you to be discreet and attached to me, and besides this, one who is well able to look forward to the future.

I doubt not but that the cloth sent to master Mayor and master Butler has reached you long since. I request that your notes on Isaiah, on the books of Kings, and on the epistle to the Romans, from the beginning of the thirteenth chapter to the end, may be copied out for me as soon as possible. I will recompense the copyist, and will not be unmindful of the kindness of master Haller, for his having taken so much trouble for me before with respect to Isaiah. You here have the proper form of dedication of your book to the marquis of Dorset: when I return from the lord chancellor a fortnight hence, I will send the style of the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Northampton; you shall then receive farther and more certain intelligence. Meanwhile I pray the Lord to preserve you in prosperity, together with your whole family and the church; and I congratulate you and your daughters on so happy and, I hope, so holy a marriage. My wife and Rachel pray for you all happiness in Christ. Make my apologies to masters Butler, Bibliander, and Gualter, for not now writing to them. The trustworthy bearer will assign weighty reasons for this. Do you, my most honoured master and most loving friend, take in good part what I have now written with a hasty pen. I will write more in a few days. Your most wished for and delightful letter of the seventeenth of May I received on the 25th of June, and will reply to it in my next letter. Live and fare well in Christ long and holily. London, June 29, 1550.

Your reverence's most devoted,

JOHN HOOPER.

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## LETTER XL.

## BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GLOUCESTER, *Aug. 1, 1551.*

GRACE and peace from the Lord! I am not only aware, my much honoured gossip, that this long silence of mine is displeasing to your kindness, but I am also greatly displeased with myself for that very reason. But when you are acquainted with the arduous and important nature of my engagements, you will easily be induced to excuse me, and I shall free myself from the reproach of ingratitude to so dear a friend. But although, as your letter states, as well as that of my brother and singular good friend, master John Butler, I have suffered all those who have visited you from England to quit this country without any letters from myself, I have, nevertheless, written them to you very frequently; but for their having either been intercepted or lost on the road, I must blame the carelessness of the couriers, who have not only disappointed my labours, but also deceived the expectation of my best friend. And yet, if I have written to you less frequently than your exceeding kindness to me has deserved, it has not, my most learned gossip, arisen from forgetfulness of you, but from the difficulty and magnitude of my engagements. I was occupied during the past year with constant and important business, as you have doubtless heard from others. The question respecting the habits, which was always exceedingly displeasing to me, was gravely discussed between the bishop of London and myself. For my part, I very properly, if I am not mistaken, found fault with the use of them in the church, and contended for their entire removal. He, on the other hand, most urgently and pertinaciously defended their use<sup>1</sup>. But as the Lord has put an end to this controversy, I do not think it worth while to violate the

[<sup>1</sup> A copy of bishop Ridley's "Conference by writing with M. Hooper exhibited up to the council in the time of King Edward the sixth," was in the possession of archbishop Whitgift. See his Defence of the answer to the Admonition, A.D. 1574, p. 25, but its existence was unknown (see Ridley's life of bishop Ridley) in later years, till a copy, slightly imperfect, was discovered in 1844, in the extensive collection of MSS. belonging to sir Thomas Phillips, Bart.]

sepulchre of this unhappy tragedy. In future, even if my engagements should not admit of any cessation, I will perform my duty in writing to you, and will not suffer any person to go from me to you without a letter. As I now rely upon the readiness to forgive, which is a part of your character, I shall desist from offering any further apology for my silence.

My whole family is well, as I hope also that yours is, and I daily pray God that they may both long continue so. You must know however, that I have had no addition to my family since the time that I quitted your godly society. If the Lord will preserve my little daughter Rachel, so that she may embrace his Son Jesus Christ, and promote his cause, I shall think my desires abundantly accomplished in my old age, even though I should have no more family. She very frequently hears from her mother the great commendation of the country and place where she was born; and she is with great care and diligence instructed in the promises which she formerly made to the church by means of your kindness and that of the wife of master Bibliander. She sorely complains of my not more frequently saluting by letter so holy a church and such faithful ministers of Christ. She now sends an entire piece of cloth as a token of her reverence and respect, one half to yourself, the other to the wife of master Bibliander; and she heartily thanks her heavenly Father, that by you as her sponsors she has been received into the society of his holy church. Should it seem good to you that your sons should visit England for their education, you need not feel much anxiety as to what it would cost them to live here. I will take the charge of them upon myself, and that too, faithfully and cheerfully.

I have never been able to procure the printing of those writings of yours (you know what I mean) which I brought away with me from Zurich: not that they are unacceptable to godly and learned men, for they are exceedingly acceptable to all to whom I have given them for perusal; but it has been prevented by the calamity of the time, or rather by the timidity of men who prefer their own counsels to the glory of God. Many persons of learning and rank desired to read that book, and I allowed them to do so, as it was right I should; and it is now in the hands of master Cecil, his majesty's principal secretary, a man endowed with very great learning and piety, and a great favourer of the

gospel. Your other books, which you sent to the king's majesty, I delivered most carefully to the marquis of Northampton<sup>1</sup>, the lord high chamberlain of England, to lay before the king in your name, which he did carefully and readily, and the king ordered him to salute you in return with many thanks; nor do I doubt but that the king will always remember you in future. I request that you will in your turn commend him for his godly procedure, and always in your letters exhort him to perseverance in it. For the king reads your letters with attention, and takes a most lively interest in the perusal. You must not therefore think your labour ill-bestowed, although you do not receive an answer. My lord of Canterbury, who is in truth a great admirer of you, when I received your last letter in his palace, and acquainted him with its contents, could hardly refrain from tears, when he understood your feelings in regard to the king and to the kingdom, and also the perseverance of your church in these most lamentable times. He made most honourable mention both of yourself and of your profound erudition. You have no one, I am sure, among all your dearest friends, who is more interested about you, and who loves you in Christ more ardently than he does. I know of a truth that he loves you from his heart. In my conversation with him I requested his kind offices with the king on behalf of the Italian of whom you wrote: he promised to use all his endeavours, and you need not doubt him. If our gracious and most merciful God would once deliver us from this harsh and cruel tyranny of the enemies of Christ, by which we are so dangerously [surrounded<sup>2</sup>] on all sides, all the godly and learned men will be as well provided for as our poor circumstances will admit of.

You asked me to settle with master a Lasco about those eighteen crowns, which you lent to some Italian; I have done as you requested, but know not whether you have yet been repaid. I know that you will not, with your own consent, be a burden to any one, (although what you may call a burden, your friends would consider an honour;) but your most splendid gifts, received from God, have so greatly benefited the commonwealth, and the church of Christ more especially, that we owe our all to you, and you may make what trial you please.

[<sup>1</sup> William Parr, marquis of Northampton, was brother to King Henry the eighth's last wife.]

[<sup>2</sup> A word is wanting in the original Latin.]

After I had begun this letter, my wife and five others of my chaplains and domestics were attacked by a new kind of sweating sickness, and were in great danger for twenty-four hours; I myself have but very recently recovered from the same disease. Pray the Lord that he may have compassion on us, and that we may always be waiting in the fear of God for the day of death. The infection of this disease is in England most severe, and, what is a most remarkable token of divine vengeance, persons are suddenly taken off by it<sup>1</sup>. You shall know more fully respecting my affairs next Michaelmas, when I shall have some little intermission of my engagements. My wife and the other invalids have, through the favour of God, escaped the danger of the disease.

I commend your whole church and commonwealth to God, and especially the most reverend father, master Pellican. For master Rodolph Gualter, your two sons-in-law, master Gesner, with their respective wives; for all others who embrace with you the religion of Christ; for our sister your wife, and all your family, and master Bibliander, and his wife and family, we sincerely and heartily wish salvation in Christ. May the Lord also preserve master Mayor. When you write to master Cœlius Secundus, salute him, I entreat you, in my name as much as you can, and you can as much as you please. Persuade our friend master John Butler to return to England; he may be useful in many respects both to the church and commonwealth. You know that we are born for our country, and not for ourselves: were it not so, I should not now be discharging the office of a bishop. At least ask him to visit us once in England, and he shall learn from me in what way and by what means he may best provide for himself and his family. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you to the glory of his name!

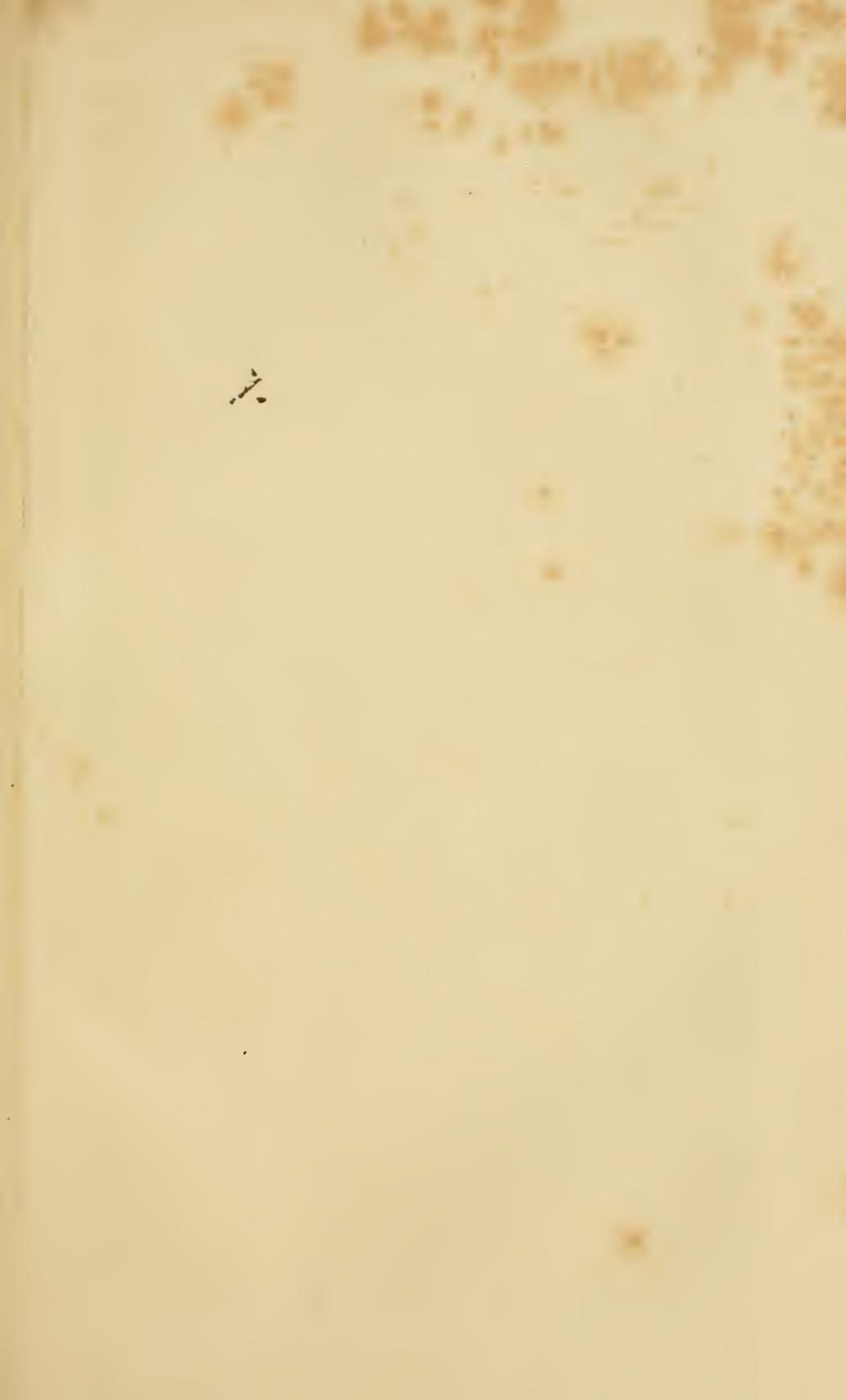
Gloucester, Aug. 1, 1551.

As heretofore and for so long a time,  
your most loving brother and gossip,

JOHN HOOPER,

Bishop of the church of Gloucester.

[<sup>1</sup> The sweating sickness was very fatal this year, especially in London, where eight hundred persons died of it within the first week. Seven householders supped together, six of whom were dead before morning. Stowe's Annals, A. D. 1551.]



Frater noster Joan. Abelus, ante aliquot  
menses, post longos ex calculo cruciatus,  
hanc vitam cum meliore committit

Edm. Grimdallus  
Episcop. Londinensis

Pro Regibus in Annod. in Anglia  
impetravit et per nos intelligit quae via et certis  
sibi et suis terminis propriis possit. Dat. post festum  
10 die Julii 1551. Clericus Cantuar.  
August. 1551.

Johannes Hoping  
Clericus Cantuar. Episcop.

P. S. I have lent to the student who is the bearer of this letter to you, and to his companion, both natives of Zurich, forty-five English crowns. You will oblige me much by sending me books printed at Zurich, those especially which contain your works, to an equal amount. If the young men of Zurich who come over here for the sake of study, should stand in need of my assistance, I will aid them as far as my slender means will allow. I return you my warmest thanks for your books and letter to me. When I shall have emerged from the waves of danger, most reverend and learned friend, I will send a messenger of my own, from whom you shall learn all my affairs. Do not, I pray you, be surprised, that I make no mention of your letters, which I very frequently kiss; for I can never forget either yourself or your kindness towards me. You shall hear in a future letter, on what subject and on what occasion so fierce and quarrelsome a dispute arose between the bishops and myself. I agree that the contest should be set at rest by the arbitration of godly men. I will explain in a few words the cause and ground of the dispute. The use of vestments peculiar to popery in the ministry of the church has been the occasion here of great disturbance. Master a Lasco alone, of all the foreigners who have any influence, stood on my side. Farewell. I pray God that you may live long and happily, and may all the people of Zurich fare well in Christ. Amen. I have written what I can; you know what I mean. Altogether yours, and deservedly so, if I am my own.

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## LETTER XLI.

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BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GLOUCESTER, *Oct. 27, 1551.*

GREETING. If, my much honoured gossip, you had received the letters which I wrote to you towards the end of August and in the month of September, yours dated at Zurich on the 29th of August, which I received at Gloucester on the 22nd of October, would not have been so full of complaint. I hope that you are by this time fully aware of the feelings and spirit which I entertain towards you. I will

make no answer by way of apology, although I have many weighty and allowable excuses which would avail with you, yourself being the judge. But you shall learn at another time, what it is still necessary for me to keep silent. You and all that belongs to you are not displeasing either to God or our king, but quite the contrary, and on that account you are acceptable to both. You say that they are displeasing to me, but I know you only say so: far be it that your writings should be lightly esteemed by me. Of all the learned men under heaven, I have none more dear to me than yourself, and deservedly so. In many ways I have received benefit, as I still do, from you and from your writings. Should it please God that I can in any respect be of service to you, you will find me most ready, and mindful, and grateful, both to you and yours. I return you my warmest thanks for your kindness in sending to me, together with your letter, your godly and learned meditations, which you are preparing by way of popular discourses: since, however, I left Zürich, I have received no manuscript besides your very useful and excellent Decades, except your commentary on Isaiah as far as the 40th chapter, and on the epistle to the Romans. I much wish for your other writings, and will amply recompense the copyist. I have not yet seen the remainder of your commentary on Isaiah; and I mourn over the faithlessness of the men to whom I from time to time entrust grave and honourable duties. But I would have you to be especially assured, that should I from henceforth fail to write to you every month, either sickness or death will be the occasion of my silence. You are altogether unconscious how deeply your complaints affect my mind. You have, I am sure, no one who loves you more in Christ than myself. Moreover, when I go to London, I will undertake, as I may be able, that a letter shall be sent you from the king, by which he may testify his good-will towards you; and I will endeavour too to relieve, if I can, by means of his royal majesty, the distress of that godly Italian, who is now suffering under the painful necessity of exile: I without doubt am entirely his debtor to serve him. You need not be anxious about the expense of sending letters from Strasburgh; I will willingly bear it. I wish that all the letters would reach me which you have sent already or shall send in future. I am greatly grieved at my letters having been lost on the road. But

they always regarded, as they ought, both God and man, and therefore make me somewhat less anxious.

The report concerning the death of Peter Martyr, I thank God, was false and groundless; he is alive and well, and boldly stands forth as a brave and godly soldier in the army of the Lord. If he has any thing which he intends to print, I am sure that he will send it you. He has not yet determined to publish his annotations on Genesis; he is meditating something upon the epistle to the Romans. I will take care, to the utmost of my power, that none of his writings shall be lost. Meanwhile, do you always act, as you now do, for the glory of God. Your writings are exceedingly delightful to me, and to all who have the true worship of God at heart. I doubt not but that, while you are actively labouring in these endeavours, you incur the hatred and envy of the accomplices of the devil and of antichrist; but happy are those dangers, which are so much connected with the glory of God. You will receive an account of my labours, which are but small and slight in the vineyard of Christ, through John Rodolph, a worthy and godly youth, whom I entreat you to receive on his return with paternal kindness, and honour him, thus recommended to you by me, with your favour: he has conducted himself here modestly, piously, and studiously, as you will afterwards learn, if you please, from the letters of all the learned and godly students at Oxford; and, to tell the truth, I do not easily bear his going away. Let him return to us, if it please the Zurich authorities and yourself, for a year or two, and I will take a portion of his expenses upon myself. When the two young men from Zurich left this country, I gave them forty-five English crowns; if they will repay me in books printed at Zurich, I shall be quite satisfied. Among other books I wish for the Bible in one large volume.

You will learn from the messenger who is travelling between us and Zurich, by what important and perpetual engagements I am overwhelmed. Excuse, I pray you, my unpolished and too hasty pen. Salute the lady your wife, with all your family, masters Bibliander, Gualter, Pellican, with their wives; my countryman master Butler with his wife, and pray tell him from me, that he is not born for himself and his friends alone, but that his country also has a claim upon him. I wish he would at least come over to us

once, and perhaps he would not repent the journey. May the Lord Jesus be always present with the Mayor, your whole senate and commonwealth, and protect his church! In haste, as you see, at Gloucester, Oct. 27, 1551.

Your ever most attached, as I ought to be,

JOHN HOOPER, bishop of Gloucester.

P. S. I request you will salute in my name those most excellent and learned men, masters Gesner and Otto, whom I dearly love in Christ. And should master Gesner wish at any time to come over to us, I will provide him with suitable companions who will shew him the rivers, and fishes, and animals of this country. I defer, for the present, any further communication. Again farewell, and pray that I may long fare well in Christ.

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## LETTER XLII.

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### BISHOP HOOPER TO JOHN STUMPHIUS.

Dated at GLOUCESTER, Oct. 27, 1551.

GREETING. Your son<sup>1</sup> will, I hope, return from his travels as safe and prosperous as you sent him forth. Receive him on his return, I pray you, as a father should do. I have been endeavouring to prevent his going away, by reason of the lateness of the season; but he has altogether made up his mind to undertake the journey in company with some other Germans, who flock over to us for the sake of study. He has conducted himself soberly, piously, and studiously; and should he happen to return, he will find me his friend.

[<sup>1</sup> John Stumphius the younger, afterwards Antistes, studied at Oxford with John ab Ulmis. In his letters to Bullinger he mentions evil reports which had been spread about him, and his father's anger in consequence. Hence Hooper's request that he would receive his son *paterne*. His father did not wish him to be a pensioner on royal bounty at Oxford. Note by Rev. S. A. Pears.]

Make him evermore to fear God, to whom I commend you; and salute your wife in my name. Gloucester, Oct. 27, 1551.

Of yourself, and all the people of Zurich,

I am the most loving friend,

JOHN HOOPER, bishop of Gloucester.

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## LETTER XLIII.

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BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Feb.* 28, 1553.

GREETING. The Englishman, Richard Hilles, promised me a month since that he would faithfully forward you my letter. If you have received it, it is well: if not, I hope that you will receive it. I request you not to impute the intermission of my letters either to ingratitude or forgetfulness, but to the weighty and important engagements by which I am continually distracted, and to other reasons which I suppress, until the time shall arrive, when I may be able to correspond with you more freely. I know that you are expecting an answer to the petitions which you have chiefly preferred by letter: wait a little; you will obtain your wish soon enough, if it is only well enough. If you have any of the Decads, which many godly persons are expecting from you every fair, already prepared, I would have you dedicate them to the duke of Northumberland. He is exceedingly partial to you, and is a diligent promoter of the glory of God. I left master Martyr on the 20th of this February, at Oxford, sick of a fever. May the Lord be with him, and restore him to health! His wife departed to the Lord on the 16th of this month. My wife and all my family salute your excellence. Salute your wife in my name and theirs; we wish your sons and daughters every happiness. Salute the Mayor, masters Bibliander,

Gualter, and Pellican, with their wives, and master Butler and his wife. London. Feb. 28, 1553.

Your ever most devoted,

JOHN HOOPER, bishop of  
Worcester and Gloucester.

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## LETTER XLIV.

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BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated from prison<sup>1</sup>, *Sept.* 3, 1553.

GREETING. You have been accustomed, my very dear gossip, heavily to complain of me, and very properly, for having so seldom written to you. But I have now written you many letters during the past year, without having received a single one in reply. I know that you are not unacquainted with the state of our kingdom. Our king has been removed from us by reason of our sins, to the very great peril of our church. His sister Mary has succeeded, whom I pray God always to aid by his Holy Spirit, that she may reign and govern in all respects to the glory of his name. The altars are again set up throughout the kingdom; private masses are frequently celebrated in many quarters; the true worship of God, true invocation, the right use of the sacraments, are all done away with; divine things are trodden under foot, and human things have the pre-eminence. May God be present with his church, for the sake of his only Son Jesus Christ! All godly preachers are placed in the greatest danger: those who have not yet known by experience the filthiness of a prison, are hourly looking for it. Meanwhile they are all of them forbidden to preach by public authority. The enemies of the gospel are appointed in their places, and proclaim to the people from the pulpit human doctrines instead of divine truths. We now place our confidence in God alone, and earnestly entreat him to comfort and strengthen us to endure any sufferings whatever for the glory of his name. In haste, from

[<sup>1</sup> Hooper was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, Sept. 1, 1553. Letters of the Martyrs, p. 97, Ed. 1844.]

id in solo deo confidimus vltro puros  
examini in nos confidimus in terroribus  
ad quos subornanda pro gloria nostr  
Pari Rapina ex carteris londini ?  
Sophtombis 1883. foliata garaff. gungory  
trud. Diny bithanda ~ fa D pathra ~  
fua, D. bithanda ~ fa ex vng alip,  
pig. Praxny, bithandinum uny D bithanda  
~ fa. J. J. saunoy & saunoy Wigorn.  
Et Clonoy Spuz



Illustissimo Viri D. Antonio  
Balthazaro Tadini

Urbine Hesperidi  
et universis  
Laudibus

prison, at London. Sept. 3, 1553. Salute your very dear wife, masters Bibliander, Pellican, and Gualter, with their wives, and all the other godly brethren; likewise my countryman master Butler with his wife.

Yours wholly,

JOHN HOOPER, bishop of  
Worcester and Gloucester.

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## LETTER XLV.

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BISHOP HOOPER TO JOHN A LASCO.

Dated from prison, *Nov.* 25, 1553.

THERE is no need for me to commend this noble person to your excellency in many words; for I think that he is known both to yourself and all the other godly persons who have lately left England. I only request that he may not be deprived of your good offices, should he have any occasion for them. You will learn from him every thing concerning myself, and also the present condition of the church. It is indeed a wretched and miserable one. May the Lord mercifully look upon us with complacency, and weaken the power of our adversaries! They are becoming more furious and insolent every day. But he, who now seems to us to sleep, will at length make his appearance, and cast down his enemies. Should the Father of mercy grant this favour to us in this life, his holy name be praised; if otherwise, his will be done. He himself commands us to die for the glory of his name. May he grant what he commands, and then command things yet more painful, if it seemeth him good! I am now writing in haste and by stealth from prison, being now kept in more close and severe confinement<sup>2</sup> than when your excellency left us. But, by God's help, I am prepared, both to endure these things, and the yet more painful trials that are about to come. Salute my old and godly friend,

[<sup>2</sup> For an account of bishop Hooper's harsh treatment from Bawington, the warden of the Fleet, see Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* vi. 647; *Strype, Mem.* iii. i. 284, and *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 96.]

master Martin, the noble personage Utenhovius, and all the rest of our brethren; and I entreat you to commend both myself and my fellow-prisoners in Christ Jesus to our Almighty Father which is in heaven, that by means of our death his glory may shine forth more and more upon this most polluted world. From prison, Nov. 25, 1553.

Your excellency's much remembered before God,

JOHN HOOPER, bishop of Gloucester.

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## LETTER XLVI.

### BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated from prison, *May 23*, 1554.

HEALTH. It is now, my most honoured gossip, the ninth month since I have endured the filthiness<sup>1</sup> of a prison. Meanwhile, however, I have sent you many letters by the hands of godly persons, to the end that by their means I might excite your reverence, with all the other learned ministers of your church, to shew yourselves kindly affectioned and merciful to those wretched and unfortunate individuals who have fled from hence for the sake of the christian religion. I wrote very briefly, as I was able, because I was not allowed, neither am I at present, to write as I wish; and I write by stealth, which, as you know, is the miserable condition of those in prison. Yet, as far as I know, you have not sent me even the shortest answer in return. I am much distressed at this; for, if I am not mistaken, you are aware how greatly I esteem you. I have always looked upon you as a most revered father and master. Of all those who are attached to you, you have never found any one dearer than myself;

[<sup>1</sup> "Having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw, a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until, by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in: of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of all the house, and on the other side the town ditch; so that the stench of the house hath infected me with divers diseases." Hooper's report of his imprisonment, in the *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 97.]

nor have I, to say the truth, ever met with a more sincere friend. Those who have brought you letters from me, since the death of our most godly king until the present time, were very dear friends and brethren; but the bearer of this is master James Haddon, not only a friend and very dear brother in Christ, but one whom I have always esteemed on every account, by reason of his singular erudition and virtue. And I do not think that I have ever been acquainted with any one in England, who is endued either with more sincere piety towards God, or more removed from all desire of those perishing objects which foolish mortals admire. I commend him most earnestly to your good offices. Salute your very dear wife in my name, your children, and all your family, masters Gualter and Pellican, and all the ministers of your church, master Lavater the mayor, and your whole city. I would write more openly, if I dared; but I have often been deceived by my friends. From prison, May 23, 1554.

In a short time, unless the Lord should restrain the tyranny of our enemies, I shall go in the blood of Christ to heaven.

As heretofore and at all times, your most attached,

JOHN HOOPER.

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## LETTER XLVII.

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BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated from Prison, *May 29*, 1554.

MUCH health. I hope, my very dear gossip, that you have received my former letters, which I have hitherto written from prison, to be delivered to you by those godly men who have gone over from hence to you. As in those letters I entreated your accustomed kindness towards my fellow-countrymen, so by this I entreat the same on behalf of the bearer, my friend Guido, my most faithful associate in the labours of the gospel. I have had no one with me who is so devoted to the flock of Christ, or who has undergone continual labours with greater equanimity: I commend him, from whom you will learn all the circumstances of my present condition,

to your kindness, and to all the godly members of your church, as the companion of all my labours in the vineyard of Christ. I would write in his favour to the other godly men, who are now, like yourselves, soldiers of Christ, but the keeper of the prison will not allow me to do so. It is with difficulty that I have been able to write thus briefly from prison, whence you may understand that my life is in very great danger. Aid me in your prayers to God. I am not unmindful of you. I salute the lady your wife, all your family, and all the rest whom you know. From prison, May 29th, 1554.

Yours, as I ought to be, most lovingly,

JOHN HOOPER.

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## LETTER XLVIII.

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BISHOP HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated from prison, *Dec. 11, 1554.*

GRACE and peace from the Lord! Your letter<sup>1</sup>, my beloved brother, dated at Zurich on the tenth of October, I received on the eleventh of December. It was very delightful to me, because it was full of comfort. I readily perceived therein your ancient feelings of love and affection towards me, and am most thankful to you that in these most dangerous times you have not forgotten me. I have always entertained an especial love for you on account of your pre-eminent good qualities, and the excellent gifts of God in you. And if, as you write, you have not received any letters from me for a whole year, this has not been occasioned by my not having written, but by my having confided my letters to careless and dishonest persons. Nor have I received all that you have sent to me, but they have been either lost by the carelessness of the postman, or intercepted by the malice of the evil-disposed. The same thing has happened both to the letters and the book of master Theodore: for I never

[<sup>1</sup> The letter here referred to is printed in Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* vi. 675, and Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 126, Ed. 1844.]

heard of [his book respecting] our Lord's sermon on the mount, which he sent me, till some days after the death of our most holy king Edward; and then [I saw it] on the borders of Wales, in the library of a certain godly man whom I had appointed dean over some churches there. But what you have now written, I will take care shall be sent to all my brethren and fellow-prisoners for their perusal.

I congratulate you all upon the safety and stedfastness of your church, and I pray to God for his Son Jesus Christ's sake evermore to fortify and defend it against the tyranny of antichrist. In this country the wound which he received is entirely healed, and he is once more regarded as the head of the church, who is not even a member of the church of Christ. You will learn from others both my own situation and the state of public affairs. We are still involved in the greatest dangers, as we have been for almost the last eighteen months. The enemies of the gospel are every day giving us more and more annoyance; we are imprisoned apart from each other, and treated with every degree of ignominy. They are daily threatening us with death, which we are quite indifferent about; in Christ Jesus we boldly despise the sword and the flames. We know in whom we have believed, and we are sure that we shall lay down our lives in a good cause. Meanwhile aid us with your prayers, that he who hath begun a good work in us will perform it even unto the end. We are the Lord's; let him do what seemeth good in his eyes.

I entreat you to comfort occasionally by your letters that most exemplary and godly woman, my wife, and exhort her to bring up our children carefully, Rachel your little god-daughter, an exceedingly well-disposed girl, and my son Daniel, and piously to educate them in the knowledge and fear of God. I moreover send your reverence two little books for your perusal, consideration, and correction, if they contain any thing not agreeable to the word of God. I have entitled the one, *An Hyperaspismus touching the true doctrine and use of the Lord's Supper*; and I have dedicated it to the parliament of England, that we may publicly reply to our adversaries in the court of parliament. The title of the other is, *A Tractate upon discerning and avoiding false religion*. And I beg that you will cause them to be printed

as soon as possible. Both the books<sup>1</sup> are approved by all the godly and learned in this country. I have moreover written many other letters to the bishops, that they should bring forward the books in parliament; and I wish these also to be printed, that all may perceive how unfairly and unjustly we are dealt with. But I need not write to you at length upon this subject; you will understand my wishes from the books and letters themselves. And if your friend Froschover should be prevented from printing them by more important engagements, I wish he would send them to Basle to master Oporinus, who prints very correctly, and sends out all his publications in a superior manner. I know he will do this, if only the books are sent to him with a recommendation from you, and which I earnestly entreat you to supply. There is no occasion for you to fear for me, as though the enemies of the gospel would rage more fiercely and with greater cruelty on account of these books. I have a most faithful guardian and defender of my salvation in our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, to whom I have wholly committed myself. To his faithfulness and protection I commend myself: if he shall prolong my days, may he cause it to be for the glory of his name; but if he wills that my short and evil life should be ended, I can say with equal complacency, His will be done! I am writing by stealth, and therefore my letter to your excellence is shorter and more confused [than I could wish]; take it, I pray you, in good part. In haste, from prison, Dec. 11, 1554.

Salute for me dutifully your excellent wife and all your family at home and elsewhere; and all others, as you know.

Your excellence's most affectionate,

as I ought to be,

JOHN HOOPER.

[<sup>1</sup> Neither of these books appears to have been printed. Search has been made for the manuscript copies here mentioned, but without success. The epistle dedicatory to the latter is given in Strype, Mem. III. i. 283. ii. 267. Bale mentions among Hooper's works written in Latin from prison, *Pro doctrina cœnæ Dominicæ Liber*, and *De pseudo-doctrina fugienda*, Lib. I. and quotes the commencing sentence of each of them. Bale, Script. Illustr. Basil, 1559.]

## LETTER XLIX.

ANNE HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *April 3*, [1551.]

I HAVE received your letter, most christian sir, in which, as in a glass, I perceive how greatly you are interested for us. But though I acknowledge myself quite incapable of returning you the thanks I ought for your especial friendship towards us, I will not cease from offering them; and I heartily pray God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may abundantly recompense you, as I am unable to do so myself. I will not acquaint you with the reason of master Hooper's imprisonment<sup>2</sup>, until I have communicated to him your letter, which at present is quite out of my power; for he went down to his see as soon as he was discharged. I doubt not but that he will satisfy your desire as soon as he is informed of it; and this seems to me far more convenient, than for me to make the attempt without consulting him. But as you inquire how my daughter Rachel is going on, I consider it my duty to give you some information concerning her. First then, you must know that she is well acquainted with English, and that she has learned by heart within these three months the form of giving thanks, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, together with the first and second psalms of David. And now, as she knows almost all her letters, she is instructed in the catechism. If I could write in German, I should more frequently take pen in hand. But if your son should happen to come to England, I shall have a better opportunity both of writing, and also in some measure of repaying your paternal affection for us, and which I value more than the richest treasures of gold or silver. I have no news to communicate respecting Ireland, except that the French king is reported to have prepared a fleet for the purpose of invading and taking possession of it, but his design was discovered by the activity of some faithful Frenchman.

[<sup>2</sup> Hooper was committed to the Fleet for objecting to the prescribed vestments, (see p. 91) by order of the privy council, Jan. 27, 1551. He was consecrated at Lambeth on the 8th of March. See Soames, *Hist. Ref.* III. 566; *Burnet*, III. 305.]

I send you a small gold coin, in which the effigy of the king of England is very well expressed, as a return for the token you sent to Rachel, for which she thanks you in her childish prattle, and sends her best love. I entreat you to recommend master Hooper to be more moderate in his labour: for he preaches four, or at least three times every day; and I am afraid lest these overabundant exertions should occasion a premature decay, by which very many souls now hungering after the word of God, and whose hunger is well known from the frequent anxiety to hear him, will be deprived both of their teacher and his doctrine. We are much disturbed by the apprehension of riots; for there is great danger of them very shortly by reason of the dearness of provisions and other things, although there is great plenty of wheat and other grain: but on whom the blame is to be laid you know better than I do. I have forwarded your letter to master Hooper, and will take care to send you his reply. Farewell. Salute master Bibliander and his wife, masters Gualter and Pellican and their wives, master Zuinglius and his wife, to whom also I send a golden coin stamped with the king's effigy. London, April 3, [1551].

Your most dutiful,

ANNE DE TSERCLAS, now HOOPER.

My maid Joanna salutes you, as does her husband, the servant of the French church. When you write to master Hooper or myself, take care that your letters are carefully sealed; for there are certain busy-bodies who are in the habit of opening and reading them, if by any means they can do it.

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## LETTER L.

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ANNE HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GLOUCESTER, Oct. 27, 1551<sup>1</sup>.

GREETING. When the bearer of this was with us, there were two reasons which prevented my answering your letter;

[<sup>1</sup> This letter was probably sent together with that of bishop Hooper's of the same date, given above, p. 95.]



Rachel tua salutē tibi precatur et uxoritur. Daniel adfert et in  
Angliā quoniam ego inductus mittit quadam honestissimā matronā  
et mihi haec longē cōmiserit. Ego D. maritum meum uxoribus comendo.

ANNE HOPER

Ego si quid pessimi vobis posui. Pater vos sicut ab hoc saeculo itegros  
in die suū. amē. Vale. 7. ap' his.

Jaco. pilkington,

the one, because I am unable to express my sentiments in German; the other, because I was overwhelmed by so many and urgent engagements that scarce any leisure was allowed me. Yet the regard I bear you drew me aside a little while from my employments, and compelled me altogether to put them off to another time. At length then I have prepared myself with much satisfaction for a diligent though hasty correspondence, that by this effort I might, in some measure at least, gratify your mind with my most insignificant letter. For I love, and esteem, and reverence you most especially, and I return you my best thanks for having condescended to write me a most elegant and kind letter, though I have hitherto been very negligent and remiss in writing. But the receipt of your letter divested me of all sloth, though indeed at this time my engagements will not admit of its indulgence: everything however that I intended to write to you I have turned over to this Mercury; and I pray you to give him credit for what he may tell you, as time forbids my entering more into the subject. I justly lament your absence, who have stood forth as my most excellent friend, nay, rather I may say, my patron; and who have so obliged me by your favours, that were I even to pledge my life, much less my property, I should be unable to return your kindness. Wherefore since my life and property are not sufficient to repay my obligations, I must still remain in debt. Oh! I wish that the distance of place did not separate us at so long an interval, that we might enjoy the same intimacy as heretofore. But I hope that you will shortly visit England, which if you will accomplish, I shall then consider myself most fortunate in being again permitted to enjoy your long wished for society. I pray you, my father, to salute your wife, my mother, affectionately in my name, as also all my other friends. Gloucester, Oct. 27, 1551. Farewell.

Rachel, thank God, is in excellent health, and salutes you and your wife, and begs your blessing, and prays that in your blessing God may deign to bless her also.

Ever your entire and obliged friend,

ANNE HOOPER.

## LETTER LI.

ANNE HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *April 20, 1554.*

MUCH health. I recognised, my venerable friend, in the letter you lately wrote me, your wonted kindness: you shew yourself so anxious about me, that I could not expect more even if you were my father. And indeed that letter was doubly acceptable, both because I perceived that I was not neglected by you, and also, because God had at that time visited me with a calamity in which I was forced not only to lament the common condition of the church at large, but also my own individual affliction. My woman's mind being battered with these two engines, what wonder if it seemed immediately about to give way? But the Spirit of the Lord was with me, and raised up his ministers to give me comfort; among whom you were one, by whose letter I was especially refreshed. May the Lord Jesus repay you with his blessing! For after I had received and read it over, I began by God's assistance to bear myself up against such a weight of calamity; and I am hitherto supporting myself, as far as I am able, by the word of God, often reading over again your letter, to add spurs to this dull flesh. You will perform an act therefore worthy of your kindness, if you will continue in this manner, by more frequent letters, to uphold one whom you have in some degree already raised up.

I thank you for expressing your wish that I were with you yonder, nor is there any other place I should prefer. But since the Lord, by my husband's bidding and the advice of my friends, has at length driven me from England, and conducted me safe to Antwerp, I availed myself of an opportunity of accompanying a party every way suitable, and joined my female relative at Frankfort, where now, by the mercy of God, the senate has granted liberty to the foreign church for their whole ecclesiastical ministry both of the word and sacraments. On this account I shall prefer remaining here in my own hired house, until I see how the Lord shall deal with my husband, concerning whom, as I have not yet received any

intelligence, I am not a little anxious. But yet I know that he is under God's care; and I therefore acquiesce in the providence of my God: and although this burden of widowhood is very painful, yet I comfort myself as far as I am able by prayer and the word of God. I entreat you for Christ's sake, to aid me both with your prayers and correspondence. Salute, I pray you, most dutifully, my very dear gossip your wife, with all your family. I salute masters Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, Sebastian the schoolmaster, and all the brethren. I pray Almighty God continually to afford you an increase of his Spirit. Farewell, my much esteemed and revered friend in Christ. Frankfort, April 20, the day after the opening of the church of the white virgins to us, when master Valerandus Pollanus, the husband of my relative, and the chief pastor of the church, preached a sermon, and baptized his young son in the Rhine. May God grant to this church a due increase, and worthy of his name! Do you pray for it. The pastor himself, my kinsman, earnestly entreated me to salute you in his name, and to commend his ministry to your prayers and those of your colleagues. Again farewell in Christ. 1554.

Your god-daughter Rachel salutes you and your wife. Daniel is still in England, and I shall send a certain most respectable matron, who has hitherto been living with me, to bring him hither. I commend my honoured husband to your prayers.

Your very loving friend,

ANNE HOOPER.

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## LETTER LIJ.

ANNE HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *Sept.* 22, 1554.

GREETING. Your letter, my loving friend, was very gratifying to me, and I thank you for continuing to be so anxious about me. I thank you too very much for your anxiety about master Hooper. By the grace of God he

bears every thing, even his threatened death, with constancy and fortitude. Your letter I know will be very acceptable to him, as he has already told me more than once. I entreat you for Christ's sake, deny him not this comfort. If I receive your letter, I will easily take care that it shall be delivered. For hitherto, by the goodness of God, he has always been allowed to write to me, and to receive my letters: only take care that your letters are delivered at Strasburgh, either to master Burcher, or to master John Garner, the minister of the French church. I have been hitherto tolerably well, and bear this calamity as firmly as I can. The Lord will aid and succour my weakness. I have need of the prayers and sweet consolations of my good friends: wherefore I earnestly entreat you not to neglect me. As to news, there is not any that I know of but what you may learn from the merchants who return to you from this place. Salute, I entreat you, in my name my excellent gossip, your most honourable wife, masters Gualter, Bibliander, Pellican, and their wives. Master Cechelles salutes you, as does Valerandus Pollanus, who also sends you this little book, from which you may know the constitution and general order of our little church: in which should there be any thing which you think requires correction, you will exceedingly oblige him by letting him know; and I entreat you to do so, for Christ's sake. I commend myself and my children to your piety and most devout prayers. Farewell. Frankfort, Sept. 22, 1554.

Your very loving gossip,

ANNE HOOPER.

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## LETTER LIII.

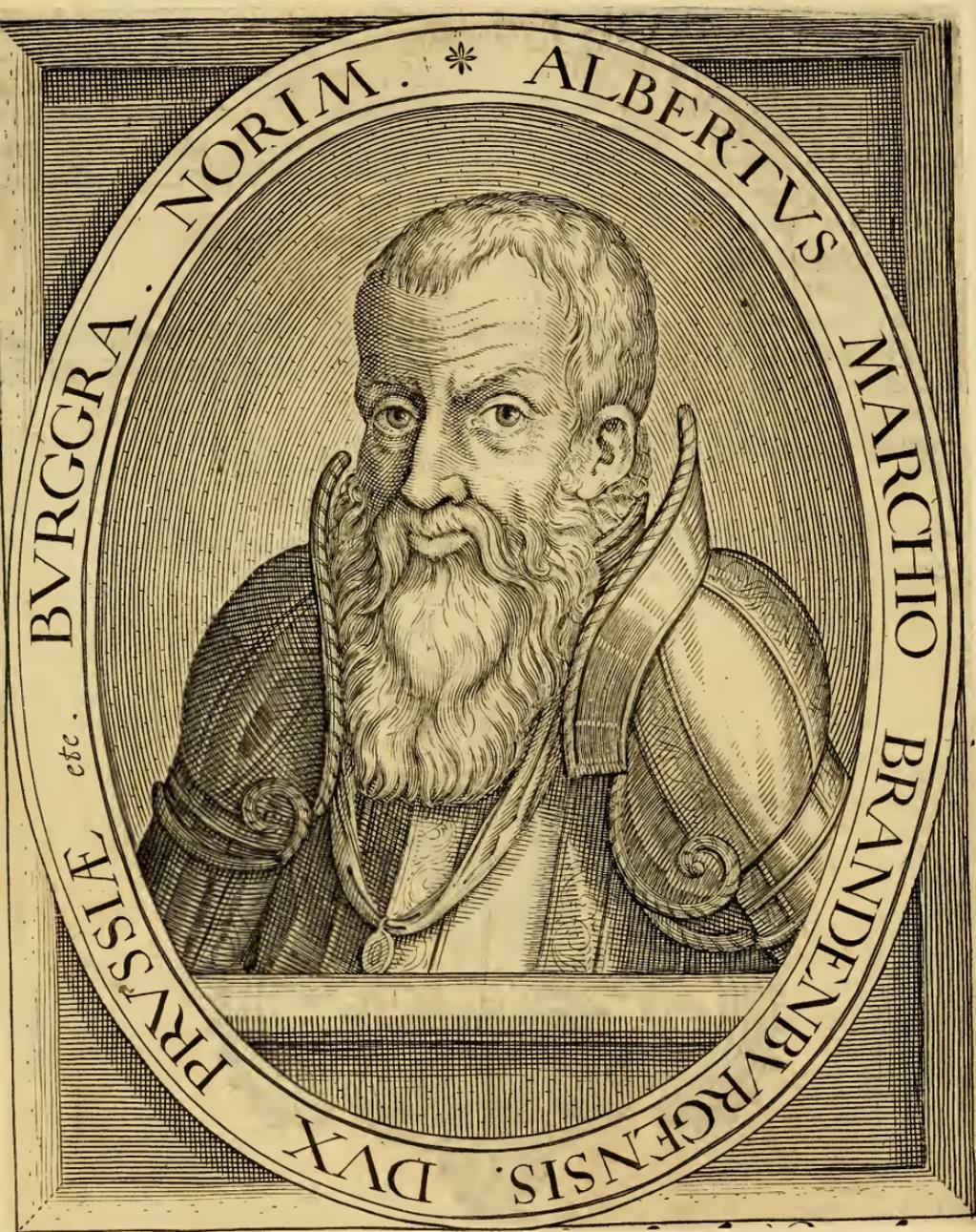
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ANNE HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, Nov. 12, 1554.

I RETURN you everlasting thanks, very dear and honoured friend, for your delightful letter, which has afforded me much comfort. I acknowledge, and experience in myself, and per-





ceive also in many others, what the Lord Christ foretold; and I often soothe my mind, when wounded by anxiety, with the sweet reflection, that our God is faithful. I earnestly entreat you therefore, not to cease pleading for me with the Lord in your prayers, and by a letter from time to time to arouse my spirit, which, to say the truth, I very often feel to be all but dead through grief. And I now require the aid of all godly persons, although I am never entirely forsaken of the Lord, who sometimes refreshes me with the anticipation of a better life. But you yourself know how suitable to a diseased mind is the conversation of a sincere friend. I trust in the Lord, that the letter which you are writing to my dear husband, will afford him no less consolation than the one to myself; and in his name I thank you for that service. He is indeed worthy of the kind attention of all godly persons. I wish indeed I may some time have it in my power worthily to repay your kindness; my very readiness to do so would shew that I am not wanting in gratitude. But you know me well.

There is no news much worth your notice. For there has not been of a long time any certain intelligence from England; except that those persons who arrived from thence on the 10th instant, assert that a meeting of parliament had taken place respecting the coronation of the Spaniard; and that the hand of an individual<sup>1</sup> had been burnt off, because he refused to hear mass, and chose rather to be brought to the stake; also that some godly persons had lately been thrown into prison for the sake of religion. If this be the case, I am more than commonly anxious about my husband. May the Lord Jesus preserve us both! The lesser assembly of the states of Germany commenced here on the fourteenth of October; but this has no concern with religion, about which they have not yet said a single word. They are labouring for the tranquillity of Germany, that it may be safe from the attacks of the marquis of Brandenburg. I cannot say what is proposed respecting the French (king), for I have not heard. I wish the people of Germany would not so rashly trust in foreign princes who are of a

[<sup>Tom</sup>1 This, probably, was Thomas Jenkins, a weaver of Shoreditch; for an account of whose martyrdom see Foxe, vi. 717. Ed. 1838.]

different religion to themselves : but you will hear more from the very respectable man who will deliver this letter.

I salute my very dear gossip your wife, and all friends. My Daniel and Rachel also salute you. Masters Valerandus Pollanus and Secelles, whom you desired me to salute, salute you in return. The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you ! I commend myself to your prayers. Frankfort, Nov. 12, 1554.

Your very loving gossip and sister in Christ,

ANNE HOOPER.

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## LETTER LIV<sup>1</sup>.

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ANNE HOOPER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *April 11, 1555.*

MUCH health. When I received, most loving gossip, the book of my dear husband, I desired, as he bade me by his letter, that it should be published before this fair. For which reason I sent it to master Peter Martyr, that he might get it done at Strasburgh. He excused himself on account of the doctrine of the eucharist, which is not received there. It might be printed here by permission of the senate; but it is better that you should first of all revise the book, and procure it to be printed yonder. But as I am well aware that his memory is most precious to you, I do not doubt but that you will be equally ready to oblige him in this matter, as if he were now alive : indeed, he is alive with all the holy martyrs, and with his Christ the head of the martyrs ; and I am dead here till God shall again unite me to him. I thank you for your most godly letter. I certainly stand much in need of such consolations, and of your prayers. I pray you therefore by the holy friendship of the most holy martyr my husband, of whom being now deprived I consider this life to be death, do not forsake me. I am not one who is able to return your kindness; but you will do an acceptable service to God, who especially commends widows to your protection.

[<sup>1</sup> The original Latin of this letter will be found in the Appendix.]



Multa à nobis exultibus habenda sunt domino Deo gratias  
Carissime domine Bachinger, quod te talem Bachinger<sup>in</sup> m<sup>in</sup> h<sup>ic</sup> h<sup>ab</sup>e  
serulo isic tam suavisio preferis. Videmus enim te cum  
esse qui isthinc afflictis membris (Bm et velis omnem  
et possis plurimam consolationem asserre.)

JAMES  
ADAMS

James

Donatus Anglus  
Wintonensis quodam qsr.

I and my Rachel return our thanks for the elegant new year's gift you sent us. Salute your excellent wife, my very dear gossip, and all friends. Farewell. Frankfort, April 11, 1555.

Your very loving gossip and sister in Christ,

ANNE HOOPER.

Your [god-daughter] Rachel sends you an English coin, on which are the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel<sup>2</sup>.

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## LETTER LV.

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JOHN PONET TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *April 14, 1556.*

MANY thanks, most excellent master Bullinger, are due from us exiles to our Lord God, for having placed over his church in this calamitous age such a teacher as yourself. For we perceive you to be one who is willing to afford every consolation, and who is able to afford very much, to the afflicted servants of Christ yonder. But how greatly your kind offices towards them have bound the rest of the English to you, I had rather imagine than express, lest, in attempting to declare your acts of kindness towards them, extensive as they have been, I should seem either to obscure their greatness by recounting them, or, by treating of them too lightly, to diminish their importance. But in speaking of myself, namely, an exile, and weighed down with various crosses from the Lord, I can neither refrain from speaking of the great consolation you have afforded me, nor can I adequately express my thanks. Master Burcher, and others, have often told me of your friendly greetings. My friend Cheke also has repeated to me your salutations in your letters to him, and so likewise has Sampson in his; in which I have perused from your pen many things most gratifying to me. For I have perceived therein your distress and vehement sorrow of

[<sup>2</sup> The English money of this period bore the effigies of king Philip and queen Mary.]

mind for the universal flock of Christ. I have perceived also, at the same time, a signal manifestation of your benevolence and regard towards me. The Lord God, I acknowledge, has taken from me all that I had, which indeed was most ample. But why should he not? He who gave has taken away. But what? worldly, earthly, perishable things; while he is intending, I hope, yea, I do not doubt, to bestow upon me things heavenly and imperishable. What is exile? A thing which, provided you have wherewithal to subsist, is painful only in imagination. I know that it is the scourge of the Lord; but with what mildness and fatherly affection he deals with me, I can readily learn even from this, that he has afforded me for my comforters Bullinger, Melancthon, Martyr, and other most shining lights of his church. Happy was the widow of Sarepta in experiencing the mercy of God, and the consolation imparted by Elijah; wretched and most unworthy were those lepers who rejected Christ their only comfort. But since it has seemed good to my God to raise up in you such an Elijah as can support me in my affliction; I write these things to you, not so much to express my thanks for your so great and truly christian care bestowed upon me, (although those are especially due to you from me,) as to acquaint you at the same time that I have both derived the greatest pleasure from those letters of yours to your friends respecting me, and that I acknowledge myself exceedingly indebted to you for them.

My friend Cheke bade me, on his departure for Antwerp, to salute you in his name: he told me also, that he had heard that Ignatius, in Greek, had been sent over to some printer at Zurich to be printed; if this be the case, will you allow me to trouble you so far as to procure me a transcript of that passage from the epistle to the Philadelphians respecting the marriage of Paul and the other apostles? I have now a controversy about this matter with a most impudent papist<sup>1</sup>. I am ashamed to say more about this request; but you must know that I am of necessity compelled to make it, for I have no other means of obtaining what I wish. But as often as I consider the character that Bullinger bears in the general opinion, my mind tells me before-hand that this little trouble

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of this controversy with Dr Thomas Martin, see *Strype, Mem. II. ii. 54, and III. i. 524, &c.*]

will not be displeasing to you. Excuse, I pray you, this liberty. Excuse also my hasty pen. Farewell, and count me, I pray you, in the number of your friends. Strasburgh, April 14, 1556.

Yours wholly,

JOHN PONET, *Anglus*,  
formerly bishop of Winchester.

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## LETTER LVI.

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### JOHN PONET TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [STRASBURGH, *June*, 1556.]<sup>2</sup>

Do not, I pray you, most excellent master Bullinger, take it ill that I have not sooner replied to your last letter. The long delay of master Martyr, who wished to be the bearer of my letter, has been the cause. His departure from hence to you is a proof of the exceeding favour of God to your church. I wish my affairs had been so circumstanced as to allow of my accompanying him; as much indeed for the sake of hearing him as yourself. I return you my best thanks for having procured the transcript of that passage of Ignatius by master Gessner. The name of that individual is of so much authority with me, that the very paper, which from your testimony I know to have been written upon by his hand, I lay up among my choicest treasures: for I am willingly superstitious in preserving the memorials of such men. Nothing affords me greater pleasure than to hear from your letter, that you will take care that our friendship confirmed in Christ shall be a durable one; for I seem thereby to be altogether united to you. I wish that what you wrote to me concerning sir John Cheke<sup>3</sup> may not prove prophetic. I doubt not but that he will seal his testimony to the gospel

[<sup>2</sup> A note annexed to this letter, in Bullinger's hand, states this to have been Ponet's last letter to him, and adds, that he died at Strasburgh, in August 1556.]

[<sup>3</sup> For an account of Cheke's recantation and subsequent repentance and death, see Strype, Cheke, 113, 130.]

with his blood. What will not Pharaoh attempt against Israel, especially on his return from exile? I acknowledge myself very much indebted both to yourself and your church, on the behalf of the Englishman, master Parkhurst. My services, although my power is altogether nothing, yet such as they are, are entirely at your command, if I can be of use to you in any thing. Salute, I pray you, in my name master Gessner, to whom I certainly would have written, had not my modesty overcome my courage. But if I am wrong in this respect, I pray you forgive me. But I hope that he will shortly take care that Ignatius be printed in Greek. May our great and good God long preserve you both in safety to his church!

Yours wholly,

JOHN PONET, *Winton.*

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## LETTER LVII.

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MARIA PONET TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *July 15, 1557.*

It is not from any fault of mine, most accomplished sir, that you have been so long without your books. My dear husband has died and left me a wretched widow, and entirely unacquainted with these things: he left also I know not how many or what kind of books, all of which, as I thought they belonged to me, I sold to that excellent person, and my very good friend, master Cook; which when I had done, master Jewel informed me by letter, that some of them belonged to your excellency, and that you were making inquiry after them. As soon as I understood this to be the case, I addressed myself with all diligence, and frequently too, to master Cook, that I might be permitted to re-purchase, at whatever cost, those books of yours, which I had before sold him by mistake for my own. But from some cause or other I could not obtain my request. Since therefore I was exceedingly anxious to restore you your books, and could find no other way of doing so, I have purchased new ones

at the booksellers, which I have destined for your reverence, and caused to be forwarded to you by my worthy friend John Abel. For although I am but a poor widow, I had rather die than do an injury to any one, or than not pay every one their due, as far as lies in my power. It truly grieves me very much, that I have put off this business till the present time: but your kindness will excuse me, for I should have accomplished it sooner, if I could any where have met with the books on sale before. Farewell, very learned and dear sir: I request you too of your kindness not to forget me in your prayers, and I will always pray for you. Strasburgh, July 15, 1557.

Your reverence's most devoted,

MARIA PONET.

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## LETTER LVIII.

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RICHARD COX TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at the Palace, WESTMINSTER, *Oct. 22, 1549*<sup>1</sup>.

THERE are many things, my very dear friend in Christ, which ought justly to inspire me with veneration for yourself; namely, your singular erudition and piety, so renowned throughout all Christendom. Many and splendid are the monuments of your talent, which have everywhere most clearly set forth the glory of God. These things however, important as they are, being of general interest, are not so likely to affect individuals: but the instance of your kindness with which you have lately favoured me, has more intimately and powerfully impressed my mind; I mean, your having done me the honour of presenting me with your most learned letter, and jewel of a book. For there shine therein the jewels, not of earth, but heaven; not those which attract the sight, but which wonderfully delight the mind. I thank you therefore most heartily, and I implore the

[<sup>1</sup> See the letter of John ab Ulmis, dated Oct. 20, 1549, in a subsequent part of this volume.]

great and good God very long to preserve both yourself and those like you, as the most solid pillars of his church. Farewell. From the king's palace at Westminster, Oct. 22, 1549.

Your most devoted,

RICHARD COX.

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## LETTER LIX.

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RICHARD COX TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Nov.* 1, 1550.

I SEEM very much indebted, very dear brother in Christ, to the divine goodness, for having requited my short and barren letter with such an exuberant and copious treasure of your writings. This is the manner of the Lord our God, who is wont to bestow all things in rich abundance upon those who diligently seek him. You have followed his example, and, in imitation of his fruitful fields, which return more than they receive, you have repaid my letter with abundant interest.

Your letter ought, on these accounts, to be most gratifying to me; first, because it is full of all kindness and affection towards me, and a most certain evidence of it; secondly, because it exhibits a heart glowing with all the ardour of piety and divine love; lastly, because it declares that not only the queen dowager, but likewise others of the more pious nobility of this kingdom, regard their Bullinger with so much love and affection. Your little work presented to the queen dowager was received by her most kindly, and read with the greatest interest and attention. Nothing can be more gratifying to her than studious labours executed by godly men. I return you my best thanks for having again favoured me with another present, and that not so much a paper one, as one that breathes heavenly ambrosia on every side. Moreover you have no reason to fear any exception being taken to your books, as long as the divine mercy shall preserve to us our king; in whom, believe me, there

already shines forth an incredible measure of learning, with a zeal for religion, and a judgment all but mature.

I have carefully saluted in your own words the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Warwick, and the marquis of Dorset, all of whom desired me to salute you most courteously in return. We are anxiously expecting those other works which you promised shortly to publish, that you may never cease to deserve well of us, and receive a most abundant recompence, not from us, but from him in whose service you are especially enlisted. Farewell.

After I had written the above, my letter being long detained either through my own negligence, or by reason of the infrequency of the post, it was reported to me that certain other of your works had been published; which diligence of yours I congratulate both on your account and our own. Again farewell, my very dear brother in Christ. London, Nov. 1, 1550.

Your much attached,

RICHARD COX.

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## LETTER LX<sup>1</sup>.

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RICHARD COX TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at WESTMINSTER, *May 5, 1551.*

YOUR having deigned, most esteemed brother in Christ, to honour and distinguish me with such abundant favours, has added very considerably to my former obligations to you. You have requited my laconic and barren letter with almost an entire volume, and that too a most learned one, and most gratifying to me in the perusal. You proceed, moreover, to make me happy with a double present, namely, the treatise of master Calvin concerning that most christian concord established between you in the matter of the eucharist<sup>2</sup>, and the fifth Decade of your sermons, which John ab Ulmis brought me yesterday night. For these presents I return

[<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is given in Strype, Mem. ii. i. 532.]

[<sup>2</sup> This refers to the Consensus Tigurinus in 1549, when Calvin came to an agreement with Bullinger and other divines of Zurich respecting the doctrine of the Lord's supper.]

you the best thanks in my power. I am exceedingly delighted with them both. Oh that the most merciful God would grant, some time or other, that in treating of the holy supper the universal church of Christ would aim at the same mark of truth!

In reading your books, especially when any passage shall occur which may peculiarly affect me by its piety, I will not cease to bear you in my remembrance, and to importune God in my prayers, that he may very long preserve you to his church, and more and more endue you with his holy Spirit. And when in so candid and christian a manner you remind me of my duty, and so seriously excite and so solemnly engage me to the right performance of my office; I consider this as done by the most holy Spirit of the Lord, that I may not be inactive or negligent in his work. For I daily feel how supine we are in the Lord's business, and how diligent and earnest in our own.

Moreover, I embrace your sound and wholesome counsel respecting the reformation of the church of God, with the greater readiness, inasmuch as you so entirely coincide with me in that belief which a merciful God has given me in these things. For I am of opinion that all things in the church should be pure, simple, and removed as far as possible from the elements and poms of this world. But in this our church what can I do, who am so deficient both in learning and authority? I can only endeavour to persuade our bishops to be of the same mind and opinion with myself, and in the mean time commit to God the care and conduct of his own work.

You are most worthy, my Bullinger, of receiving the greatest favours, since you so gratefully accept those which are either of no value, or at least, of very little importance. Those two youths, who resided some time with me, are from their piety, and ardent desire of learning, worthy of the favour and good-will of pious persons. The other two, who have lately arrived, and whom you so greatly recommended to me, I will treat, were it only for your sake, with the greatest kindness in my power. I will not fail to salute in your name those two noble personages, and your great admirers. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety, and give you both strength and courage for the re-

storation of his church! Farewell. Westminster, May 5, 1551.

Your much attached and  
 very loving brother in Christ,  
 RICHARD COX.

## LETTER LXI.

RICHARD COX TO HENRY BULLINGER.

[Dated at WINDSOR, Oct. 5, 1552.]

ALTHOUGH I have nothing of any consequence at this time to write to you, very dear brother in Christ, yet I am loth to dismiss our friend John [ab Ulmis] altogether without a letter from me; and he himself would be much grieved at my doing so. As to what concerns the true religion, blessed be the Lord God, a ray of whose glory is wonderfully shining upon us from day to day, we have now for the second time altered the administration of the public prayers and even of the sacraments themselves, and have framed them according to the rule of God's word; but the severe institutions of christian discipline we most utterly abominate. We would be sons, and heirs also, but we tremble at the rod. Do pray stir us up, and our nobility too, by the Spirit which is given to you, to a regard for discipline; without which, I grieve to say it, the kingdom will be taken away from us, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruit thereof.

But there is one thing, my Bullinger, respecting which I most anxiously desire to be thoroughly instructed. I read in the place where you treat of the Lord's supper, in your fifth Decade<sup>1</sup>, these words: "Since it is not a public or general assembly when four or five communicate with a sick person, those who affirm that the supper may be administered to the sick at home, if others also receive it at the same time, say nothing to the purpose." What if, when the congregation is

[<sup>1</sup> See Fiftie godlie and learned Sermons, divided into five Decades, conteyning the chiefe and principall pointes of Christian religion, written in three severall tomes or sections, by Henric Bullinger, &c. London, 1577. Tom. III. p. 1080.]

duly called together, three, four, or five only, out of many hundreds, are willing to receive the sacrament of the eucharist, all the rest refusing to do so, is it not allowable for them to receive it either in the presence of the others, or after they have left the church? Why then should a sick person be deprived of this benefit? I much wish for fuller information upon this point, as soon as you shall have leisure to afford it. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you to us in safety, to the glory of Christ and the edification of his church! Windsor in England, Oct. 5, 1552.

Your brother in Christ,  
RICHARD COX.

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## LETTER LXII.

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OWEN OGLETHORPE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at Magdalene College, OXFORD, Oct. 30, [1548].

GRACE and comfort of the Holy Ghost! Your illustrious reputation and singular learning, most accomplished sir, have for many years past excited in my mind a great regard for you; so that it has for a long time been my most earnest desire that a fitting opportunity might sometime be afforded me, if not of personal communication with you, at least of addressing you by letter, that a mutual regard might be established between us. And this ardent desire of mine was in a measure accomplished, when about ten years since Nicolas Partridge, a person most dear to me upon many accounts, being overtaken with sickness on his way into Italy, was entertained by you at your house, and having recovered his health by means of your liberality, on his return to England together with your friend Rodolph<sup>1</sup>, was the bearer of a letter to me from you; which as I preserve by me no less willingly than carefully as a signal token of your regard to me, so I most earnestly embrace and reverence your courtesy, who, easily excelling as you do all persons in learning, have nevertheless condescended to write to an individual

[<sup>1</sup> Rodolph Gualter accompanied Nicolas Partridge of Lenham, Kent, on his return to England from Zurich in 1537.]

like myself, and, as you have most politely said, to court my friendship. And availing myself at that time of the favourable opportunity of writing, I sent your excellency by that same attendant of yours my unpolished letter, with the intention of writing more frequently, had a suitable means of communication been afforded me. But I am now once more addressing your reverence in this letter with the greater freedom, because John ab Ulmis, a young man of good hopes, has lately brought me a salutation from you, with the expression of your desire (as he informed me) in your letter to him, that John Rodolph Stumphius, a youth no less amiable than studious, who has most courteously offered me his services, might not return to you without a letter from me. I willingly commend him to you; and if you will assist him in his studies, according to your exceeding kindness, there is no doubt but that he will some time or other be of great benefit to the state. Farewell, most illustrious sir, and may the Lord Jesus long preserve you, and prosper your studies! Oxford, from Magdalene College, Oct. 30.

Your excellency's most attached,

OWEN OGLETHORPE.

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## LETTER LXIII.

ROBERT HORN TO JOHN WOLFIVS.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *Feb. 2, 1556.*

SINCE, my dearest Wolfius, nothing is more becoming a christian man, than to have a mind full of love towards all, and feelings of compassion and kindness towards those who are miserable exiles for the sake of the true religion, (feelings which all the English who heretofore sojourned at Zurich ought to recognise in yourself, and which I myself experienced beyond the rest;) so nothing is more unbecoming him who professes even the least regard to what is right, than to shew himself unmindful of, or ungrateful for, a benefit received. The slightest possible suspicion of such conduct I earnestly desire may be removed from me as far as possible. And I have therefore thought it better to let you know this by a

letter, however brief, than by my silence to afford you any occasion of suspecting evil of me. Receive then this short letter, as a testimony of a mind ready and prepared to return your kindness, had not fortune denied me the ability corresponding to the readiness of my inclination. My dear brother Richard [Chambers] salutes you, and acknowledges himself bound to you by an equal obligation with myself. Salute, I pray you, in our name our very dear friends in Christ, masters Pellican, Gualter, Bibliander, Simler, Zuinglius, Lavater, Haller, Frisius, John ab Ulmis, and both the elder and younger Froshover. And especially salute most affectionately in my name one who deserves so well of me, Peter Stainer, with his most amiable wife: nor would I desire to pass over our landlady, who, as she wrote word to master Richard, sold, by your assistance, the two beds for fourteen florins, and I know not what other articles besides; which amount we desire to be transmitted by Froshover, or some other confidential person, to Frankfort at the next fair, together with a small portmanteau which we also left to be forwarded by your kindness, and that of John ab Ulmis. Farewell, most excellent sir. Frankfort, Feb. 2, 1556.

Yours wholly, in Christ,

ROBERT HORN.

P.S. Out of the money which our landlady has in charge, please to give her one florin for her trouble, and send the balance to us.

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## LETTER LXIV.

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ROBERT HORN AND RICHARD CHAMBERS TO THE  
SENATE OF ZURICH.

Dated at [FRANKFORT,] Feb. 3, 1556.

HOSPITALITY indeed is always commendable in every one; and in you, most grave and potent lords, it has been truly admirable: for that those whom nature, or rather God, has rendered brave and powerful in war, for the purpose, as it should seem, of fighting the Lord's battles,—that you, I say, should become so compassionate, as to be the entertainers of

the humble, wandering, dispersed and wretched members of the church, cannot indeed be passed over without great admiration; and chiefly for this reason, inasmuch as not having been disturbed in your own persons by any storms of misfortune and calamity, your not having hitherto been under any necessity of requiring assistance, your not having had recourse to any one for support, in a word, your not having been in the way of experiencing the benevolence of others in this respect, proves that this your hospitable feeling cannot arise from the desire to return a kindness, or from your having been subjected to the like calamities yourselves. Many persons indeed are led by the feelings of commiseration to relieve those who have suffered the like misfortunes with themselves; and all persons, those at least who have any regard to principle, consider themselves so obliged, as it were, by the law of requital, as that, having been in circumstances of trouble and distress themselves, and having therein experienced the liberality of others, they are unwilling, through an instinctive sense of natural justice, to refuse to persons labouring under the like afflictions that assistance, which the more fortunate are always able to afford to those in need without any detriment to themselves.

I will not, however, any longer praise you, but rather acknowledge in you the efficacy of the word, or the power of God in his word, which was mighty in you also who believed unto salvation. "The voice of the Lord is powerful, the voice of the Lord is full of majesty," as the Psalmist says; and it has certainly the power of renewing and transforming us into other men. That frequent exclamation of master Zuinglius has also reached my ears, where he is wont to affirm, speaking from experience, that evangelical doctrine (though it has done much beside), yet, if it had effected nothing else, has however produced this advantage, that by the preaching of it men are rendered much more civilized in their manners, and altogether much more humane in their feelings. If that most excellent man, so worthy of everlasting and pious remembrance, were now living, I should address him in the same language that formerly in the gospel the citizens of Samaria addressed to the woman of that city, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard and know ourselves;" yea, we have experienced, we have felt it. For with what entire liberty, as far as our re-

ligion was concerned, did we exercise freedom of conscience among you! how exempted were we from all tributary exactions, which you might justly have demanded for the public necessities even from your own citizens! Nay, how favoured were we by the liberality of your townsmen as well as your own! Why should I mention the advice, the consolations of your ministers; the lamentations of the citizens sympathising with us on our condition; the gratuitous services of the apothecaries and physicians? So that we were evidently not regarded and considered by you as guests, but as citizens, and, if possible, yet more. What pains you took to examine into our wants, our deficiencies, that out of your plenty and abundance you might provide for their supply! Lastly, how did you spontaneously offer us, on our departure, in case we should have occasion to return, the same kindness, the same quiet habitations, the same liberty of permission to reside among you; so that you have, as it were, your gates always open to ourselves and our countrymen! Truly this your affection towards us was more than paternal. We never indeed experienced in our own country greater compassion, kindness, and munificence; so that we all of us regarded almost as a proverb the saying, "It is good to be here." We should never have suffered ourselves to be torn from you, had we not been invited, and almost compelled as it were, by the two importunate letters of our countrymen, to relieve the extreme necessity of the now almost ruined church of our exiles at Frankfort<sup>1</sup>. Forgive us therefore that we could no longer be *onerous* to those to whom we desire to do *honour*.

And since we can in no way gratify you more than by a grateful commemoration of the benefits we have received from you, we will not cease, in returning thanks for them, to have a continual remembrance of you in our petitions to God, that since we ourselves are unable to repay or discharge our debt, he may repay and discharge it [for us] in his Christ. Moreover, taking fresh occasion from our late experience of your hospitality, we earnestly desire that you should be en-

[<sup>1</sup> Horn was "in the election" to succeed Whitehead in the pastoral office at Frankfort, where he "entered the church the first off Marche, Anno Domini 1556, &c." See a Brieff discours aboute the troubles begonne at Franckfort in Germany, Anno Domini 1554, aboute the Booke off common prayer and ceremonies, &c. p. lxii. London reprint, 1845.]

treated and prevailed upon, that, in case any reason of importance should arise to drive us from our present abode, we may still meet with some place among you sufficient for our necessities. In the mean while may the eternal Lord God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the giver of the Holy Ghost, bless you with all spiritual benediction, make you fearers of God, and feared and dreaded by your enemies; may he furnish you, as the constant patrons of gospel truth, with unflinching boldness, courage, and power, to the edification of his whole church, and the glory and power of his holy name! Amen. Feb. 3, 1556.

Your most attached,

ROBERT HORN, *Anglus.*

RICHARD CHAMBERS, *Anglus.*

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## LETTER LXV.

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ROBERT HORN AND RICHARD CHAMBERS TO  
HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated *Feb. 3, 1556.*

THOUGH I had long since intended to write to your reverence, I have been prevented by continued and almost endless engagements, as you know is usual with persons who are constantly changing their place of abode: but thus it has pleased God to try us, and the necessity of our church required this very thing, that we, who of late enjoyed among you the most entire liberty, together with no small degree of literary repose, are now on the contrary, through the magnitude of our affairs, scarcely able to obtain leisure for writing a single letter. We will not therefore entertain a doubt but that you will kindly bear with this our tardiness in writing, when you have considered the extent of our necessities, and understood the affection, love, and esteem of our hearts towards you according to our power. And since we have no other method of expressing it, we think it better to do so late than never by a letter addressed to yourself. But if we should here

attempt to enumerate all the benefits you have conferred upon us, it would probably be too disagreeable to yourself, who prefer rather to be active in doing good, than to have the reputation of it; and it would be also too troublesome a task for ourselves. For how much should we have to record of your counsel, sympathy, and protection! You it was, who conciliated to us the good-will of your townsmen, and who procured the munificence of the government to be extended towards us. Nor did you content yourself merely with obtaining for us the good offices both of your family and your country; but in addition to this, by letters to those at a distance, you occasioned the liberality of other and unknown individuals to be poured out upon us from all quarters. By your writings also you sought to reach even those our friends at home, by whose kindness we have been supported; and this, that you might not be behind-hand in exciting them to so godly a purpose, and in aiding us that we should not be deprived of their assistance. It is indeed far more easy for us to relate these benefits than in any measure to requite them. We therefore commend you and your ministry to God, who will repay you in that day.

Meanwhile we entreat you to do us this kindness, namely, to take upon yourself the charge of returning, to the whole senate, more suitable and abundant acknowledgments than such as we could include in our scanty and short epistle; and (forasmuch as we cannot look forward to so long and continued a peace as to effect any change in our condition, before a free permission is granted us to return into our country,) most earnestly to entreat them in our behalf, that if there should, by any possibility, arise such a change, as to expel us from our present abode, we may nevertheless once more freely return to, and obtain a quiet sojourn among you. But we have no fear, either concerning yourself or those excellent men, but that you will grant us this favour. In the meantime salute in the name of us all your most amiable wife, and at the same time all the ministers of the word among you, our reverend masters Pellican, Bibliander, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Zuinglius, Haller, Frisius, John ab Ulmis, Stumphius, and others, as your occupations will allow. We think master Gessner, whose kind offices to us were innumerable, must by no means be passed over; neither must the two Froschovers and their wives, whose extreme kindness to-

wards us demands rather our letters than our salutations: we have at this time however contented ourselves with the latter, because on account of so many engagements we are unable to write more. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all! Amen. Feb. 3, 1556.

Your very affectionate,

ROBERT HORN,  
RICHARD CHAMBERS, } *Angli.*

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## LETTER LXVI.

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ROBERT HORN AND RICHARD CHAMBERS TO  
HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [FRANKFORT,] *Sept.* 19, 1556.

GRACE and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ!

We have received, most excellent master Bullinger, your letter, in which we easily perceive how much you esteem us, and that you are not forgetful of us. Not indeed that we should have had any doubt upon this point, if you had not written to us at all. But now, on the perusal of this most delightful letter that you have sent to us, we consider it as most evident, that your regard, fear, and solicitude extends not only to ourselves, but to the whole of our country; by which feelings we hope you will be more effectually stirred up to offer also more fervent prayers to God on our behalf, for the reformation of our church, respecting which we certainly conceive better hopes, in that you, and other men of God like you, are earnest in your prayers for this very thing; whose supplications, for the sake of Jesus Christ our only mediator, cannot be in vain, but acceptable to God, as being sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and inspired (as it were) with the breathings of the Holy Spirit. We acknowledge your good offices, your labours, your exertions; and we pray the Lord to direct, establish, and confirm all things for the good of the church, the honour of God, and your own comfort.

The much esteemed master a Lasco still remains at

Frankfort, in daily expectation of a summons to bring him back into his own country. We communicated to him your letter. As to the matter of Brentius, we only pray that the Lord may compose the dissensions of the church, and multiply its peace. Nor are there every day wanting those, who, desirous of novelty, by their novel errors impugn the truth. It is indeed wonderful with how much loquacity, with what proud bombastic philosophy, certainly not "scientific demonstrations" (as he calls them,) but with the swelling blasts of Pelagius, and vain conceits of human wisdom, a certain Justus Velsius<sup>1</sup> has filled the schools, conceded to us by the kindness of the magistracy who preside over this state, with doctrines opposed to the eternal predestination of God. We send you his conceits: his blasphemies against God, his railings and invectives against master Calvin, (and indeed they are quite severe enough,) we would rather omit mention of than defile our paper with such foul abuse.

We expect no good news from England: all things seem to be growing worse and worse. So great is the number of the martyrs, who in their cheerful profession of the word of God are most cruelly dragged to the flames and to torments, that those godly men who, on former occasions, made it their business to inquire into this matter, are now unable to ascertain either the number or the names of the sufferers. Nor can the ferocity of the queen, and of Bonner the pseudo-bishop of London, and of the other papists, restrain itself, satiated with domestic blood, without moreover crossing the sea, and raging so furiously, that no godly person can now remain at Antwerp in security and free from danger. Sir [John] Cheke<sup>2</sup> and Sir Peter

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of Justus Velsius and his opinions, see Strype, Grindal, 135.]

[<sup>2</sup> Sir John Cheke, in the spring of 1556, on his return from Brussels towards Antwerp, was, with Sir Peter Carew his companion, by king Philip's secret commandment, suddenly apprehended in the way by the provost marshal, bound, and thrown into a cart, with his legs, arms, and body tied to it, and so conveyed on shipboard, brought a prisoner into England, and clapped up, as some great malefactor, in the Tower of London; and at length was forced to acknowledge and subscribe to the popish doctrines, and recant publicly his former good profession of the gospel, there being no other way to save himself from burning. He fell into exceeding melancholy and trouble of mind,

Carew<sup>3</sup>, both taken by treachery, and carried before the queen, were thrown into prison, but are now, it is said, set at liberty, or are shortly to be so. But, alas! it is stated, (yet we hope the report is untrue,) that most iniquitous conditions of their restoration to, and enjoyment of, liberty, have been proposed to and accepted by them both. However it be, we may learn this, that it is vain to place our confidence in man.

Charles, not yet enough broken by disease, and his sister<sup>4</sup>, together with his son Philip, being about to visit England, I know not for what reason, are recalled while on their very journey. Neither the nobility nor the people will patiently endure the arrival of these princes, nor do they in the mean time dissemble their impatience in this respect; notwithstanding that the queen with some of the nobles of her party are using all their influence and endeavours to aggrandize Philip with the hereditary right of government, the royal crown, and other distinctions; and this, with consent of parliament, as they call it. In Suffolk, they are proclaiming the lady Elizabeth queen, and they associate lord Courteney<sup>5</sup> as her supporter; by which bold attempt has been occasioned the execution of at least sixty or eighty persons by an ignominious death on the charge of treason. Respecting the number, however, nothing is known for certain. It is more certain, that on this account not only the lady Elizabeth, but also the lord Courteney<sup>6</sup>, are brought into suspicion of treason, and in no small peril of their lives: but may God change all things for the better! Thus much concerning the affairs of our country.

Still, however, not yet satisfied with these things, we are keeping secret a thing which is rather to be de-

and in great repentances ended his miserable life within less than a year after. See Strype, Mem. III. i. 515; Cheke, 106, &c. Soames' Hist. Ref. iv. 565.]

[<sup>3</sup> Sir Peter Carew had fled abroad on account of having been concerned in Wyatt's rebellion. He was sent to the Tower at the same time with Sir John Cheke. See Strype, Mem. III. ii. 7.]

[<sup>4</sup> Mary, queen of Hungary and governess of the Low Countries.]

[<sup>5</sup> The real lord Courteney, earl of Devon, was personated by a young man of the name of Cleobury, who was afterwards executed at Bury in Suffolk. Lingard's Hist. of England, v. 112. 4to Edition.]

[<sup>6</sup> Lord Courteney died of an ague at Padua a few months after the discovery of the plot here mentioned.]

sired than expected. We will however communicate it to you. We are in fact desirous of a conference about the affairs of religion; but we are not yet able to affirm for certain whether it will take place. Should there occur any thing of the kind, we are in hopes that master Calvin will come back again, and that he will have both yourself and other learned men as his companions not only of his journey, but of his labours in this business. May the eternal Lord God grant this through Christ, that you may, some time or other, being assembled in the fear of God, (with Christ presiding in your council,) set forth at length a pure confession without any stain of error, to the confusion of the adversaries, the peace of the church, and the glory of God; to whose protection we commend you, your wife, family, and all your friends. Farewell. Sept. 19, 1556.

Your reverence's most devoted,

ROBERT HORN, and

RICHARD CHAMBERS.

## LETTER LXVII.

JAMES PILKINGTON TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at GENEVA, *April 7, 1556.*

COME, Lord Jesus, come quickly! Health and peace in Christ Jesus!

Since Paul in all his epistles is so earnest in the salutation of those brethren, whom he perceived to love Christ in sincerity, though many persons think lightly, or rather not at all, of this duty, because it consists only in a few bare words; yet for my part, most illustrious sir, induced by so weighty an example, I can by no means consider it as of no importance. This being the case, whom can we English salute with greater reason than you, our good masters at Zurich, by whom we have been regarded as brethren? and to whom else can I

especially, whom you have so liberally entertained far beyond my other friends, wish grace and life in my frequent and affectionate letters, rather than to yourself? Your prudence knows how to estimate things according to the intention of the giver, and not according to the value of the gift; and you are able likewise so to compare the power of shewing kindness with the opportunities of doing so, as not so much to regard what each may have given: but if you could have been enriched by kind words, I should long since have made you happy; for I am unable to gratify you in any other way.

You will be much surprised at my departure from you, and not indeed without reason, for I was surprised at it myself; but when I had considered with myself what a people we are, and what we proverbially say of ourselves, I then ceased to wonder. For we commonly say of ourselves, that the English will never let well alone. Allow us, therefore, to be Englishmen, that, when we have learned wisdom to our cost, we may perceive the constant evil of being inconstant. I do not say this because we have been in need of any thing, or suffered any ill-treatment, but that you may know that we had learned by experience the happiness of living at Zurich; and though we have met with many persons who are willing to do us a service, we have found but few who have shewn us the same kind attention as yourselves. And though it is a great alleviation of sorrow for those who are afflicted to pour out their griefs into the bosom of a faithful friend, who may be able by wholesome counsel and soothing words to relieve their distress, and who will entreat the Lord for them with earnest prayers; I had rather that you should commune with yourself upon the unhappy aspect of our church, (both that portion of it which is oppressed by wolves at home, as well as that which is dispersed abroad,) than that I should attempt to relate what cannot be described. You have formerly acted a part in this tragedy yourselves, but the Lord has granted you a happy issue: we are now brought upon the stage, that, being humbled by adversity, we may discover him, whom in our prosperity we did not acknowledge as we ought, to be a kind and merciful father.

Let this my letter, I pray you, salute as affectionately as possible that common father of the afflicted, master Bullinger, to whom, as he so richly deserves, I wish every happiness; and

since the Lord has made you witnesses of my affliction, go on, as you have begun, to love me, to help me by your counsel, and entreat the Lord for me in your prayers, that I may again be restored to you, when it shall seem him good. I thank also master Gessner for all his exertions on my behalf, and for the letter full of good advice, which I lately received from him; for by his means, next to the Lord who worketh all things, the pains in my stomach are daily so decreasing, that I cherish good hopes of regaining my former health. I have not yet tried any of the remedies which he last prescribed; but should I be compelled to adopt them, I will write to him that he may know their effects. I commend to you master Parkhurst and his wife, my friends Spenser and Frensham, and would especially desire to be commended to the venerable Pellican, the most learned Bibliander, masters Wolfius, John ab Ulmis, and all the other ministers. If I can do any thing for you, I am at your service. May the Lord keep you pure from this world unto his day! Amen. Farewell. Geneva, 7 April, 1556.

Yours, as you so well deserve,

JAMES PILKINGTON.

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## LETTER LXVIII.

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JAMES PILKINGTON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at CEVENNES, *June 27, 1556.*

COME, Lord Jesus, quickly! Since nothing is more foreign to a human being than inhumanity, and humanity adorns a human being more especially from the connection between its name and nature; that you may not with reason think me inhuman because I, whom you have often treated with so much humanity, have not written to you, your humanity has induced me to address you by my letter. For since the Lord always abhors the ungrateful, who do not acknowledge benefits received, and the ungrateful are odious to mankind themselves; lest I should fall into that fault of my own accord which I had always condemned in others, my duty has

required, your dignity demanded, and both together have impelled me to write, that in words at least I might acknowledge an obligation, which in deed I am unable adequately to discharge. May you live then, I pray, with all your friends, long and happily; and for the hospitality with which you have so kindly received all the exiles, and with the agreeable recollection of which I delight myself, may the Lord, according to his kindness, for ever bless you. Continue, moreover, as you have begun, and do honour to yourself and all your friends by your kindness to the exiles: for the Lord is pleased by such offerings, he has them in everlasting remembrance, and can never forget your beneficence towards his proscribed people. But though your numerous noble actions are quoted by many with much grateful acknowledgment, there is not any thing in which they really rejoice more, than in that you are endeavouring to draw over to you Peter Martyr<sup>1</sup>. Many persons remark how unfitting it is, and especially in these times, that the mouth of such a man should be stopped; and many persons are promising themselves great things concerning him, when they perceive how great an accession he will be to the cause of truth in your most free city. And though it is agreeable and almost necessary to our exiles, that all we English should meet together in the same church, and by our united complaints and ardent prayers importune, supplicate, entreat the Lord on behalf of our ruined church; yet both my inclination leads me to return to you as soon as I hear that he has arrived, and a light occasion will bring me. Whatever you may wish to know respecting me, the good bearer of this letter is willing and able to give you faithful intelligence in every respect. Salute for me my dear master Gualter, with the rest of your fellow-ministers, and especially master Gessner, through whose means, by the blessing of God, I am still living, and daily somewhat improving in health. May the Lord Jesus continue to preserve you and your church, and in his mercy restore our fallen one! Amen. Cevennes. 27th June, 1556.

Yours most deservedly,

J. PILKINGTON, *Anglus.*

[<sup>1</sup> Peter Martyr was invited to Zurich by the magistrates of that city in 1556.]

## LETTER LXIX.

EARL OF BEDFORD TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at VENICE, *April 26*, [1557.]

My singular regard for you, and the constant esteem I have ever entertained towards you for the sake of religion, as well as your incredible kindness, experienced by me in many ways when I was at Zurich, have occasioned me, most learned Bullinger, to give this young man this letter to you, as a most assured token of my affection towards you, and as it were a sealed evidence, which I was anxious to afford, of my continued love to you. And herein I thank you in such wise for your kindness, that I promise to repay it, if I ever have it in my power to oblige you in any respect. And I would have you regard this as said by me, not as men do, who now-a-days make a certain outward shew of words, and a mere parade of serving you, and this, rather that they may seem to be what they assert themselves, than be such in reality; but rather that you may persuade yourself, that it proceeds from a mind altogether sincere and entirely devoted to yourself. Wherefore, should I ever have it in my power to do you any service, (I am aware how trifling it will be,) yet, trifling as it is, it shall be altogether yours. But enough of this, and perhaps too much; especially since it is my intention, should not other circumstances intervene to call me elsewhere, to visit you on my return to England, when I shall confirm in person what I can only express now by bare words.

The young man who bears this letter, has informed me of the death of Conrad Pellican<sup>1</sup>, (of whom I make honourable mention;) which when I heard, I grieved exceedingly as I ought to do, not so much for his sake as for that of the whole church. For he has most gloriously finished his course in labours, watchings, constant studies, and encouragement of learned men; and at length, by dying as he lived, he is translated to a better life in heaven. But the church will long regret a man who was every way so perfect; so that while I rejoice on his account, I cannot but grieve most

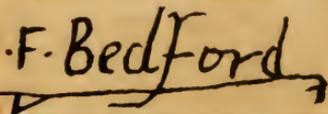
[<sup>1</sup> Conrad Pellican died Sept. 14, 1556.]

exceedingly for her sake. But your presence, as I hope and wish, will easily mitigate the occasion of this sorrow; and may Almighty God in his mercy long preserve you safe to his church and to all good men! Venice, April 26, [1557].

Your most attached,

F. BEDFORD.

P. S. Diligently salute, I pray you, my dear friends masters Gessner and Gualter.



F. Bedford

LETTER LXX.

SIR ANTHONY COOK TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Jan. 20, 1558.

UNLESS our friendship, my worthy sir, had been too firmly established to be affected by any light matter, I should probably have been charged with neglect for not having hitherto replied to the most gratifying and courteous letter you sent me by master ———<sup>2</sup>; by the admonition of which, however, I am the more reminded of my duty, and by the repeated perusal of it, from time to time, I console myself in this winter of our calamity. But I well know your candour, and silence does not always imply forgetfulness. For what the comic writer asserts with respect to asking advice, that shame forbids it in one quarter, dignity in another, the same may also take place in respect to letter-writing. For if I were not ashamed to write to you as often as I desire to address you, to hear you, to enjoy your society, not a day would be without its letter. Besides, since (as you state) more painful and severe trials are daily arising to us, it not only distresses our minds to relate them, but even to think about them. Such an one is that which we have lately heard concerning Calais<sup>3</sup>, that the town is either taken by the

[<sup>2</sup> The name is illegible in the original MS.]

[<sup>3</sup> The duke of Guise encamped before Calais on Jan. 1, 1558, and four days after, it was surrendered by lord Wentworth the governor, after it had been in the possession of the English above 200 years. See Stowe, 632. Godwin Ann. 331.]

French, or in the greatest danger. Should we have lost it, I do not choose to conjecture, though it is not difficult to foresee, what mischiefs will ensue, and which, if we would only have been quiet, might so easily have been avoided. But alas! for our carelessness, or (shall I say?) our blindness; who, though we have treacherously forsaken the Lord, are yet without fear of the punishment due to our wickedness, and denounced against us by the voice of God.

I wish it were in my power to converse with you at large upon these and other matters, that in the abundance of my grief and tears your learned and godly discourse might afford me comfort. Frequently indeed have I intended to come and see you, and I may probably pass a month with you during this next Lent. But do not mention a word of this to any one; for I am not yet sufficiently able to form my plans, and if I should undertake this journey, it will be known to very few persons beforehand. I pray our Lord Jesus to be pleased to shew compassion upon England, in many ways so afflicted, and to aid his troubled church according to the working of that mighty power, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself. May God long preserve you in safety to all godly persons! Strasburgh, Jan. 20, 1558.

Yours wholly,

ANTONY COOK.

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## LETTER LXXI.

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SIR JOHN CHEKE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GREENWICH, *June 7, 1553.*

WILL you then, my Bullinger, strive to be received into my friendship, which I ought rather to have offered, and not wait till it was solicited? But that which is to be commended in you, I think is blameable in me; for those persons who cultivate real friendships, resemble good husbandmen, and those who receive them, good land. I therefore, being anticipated by yourself, and also more tardy in cultivating friendships, have the inferior position: for in proportion as the



*Ingenium magni moderatus Principis exul  
CHECUS, at inconsans in Sicelate fuit. B)*

*Engraved by T. Perry.*

From the Original in the HEROLOGIA.



husbandman is superior to the soil he cultivates, in that same proportion am I excelled by yourself. To bestow a benefit is a virtuous act, to recompense it is a duty; and it is far more blessed to confer a favour than to receive one, yea indeed, than either to be grateful for it, to remember it, or to requite it. But as your learning, your zeal for true religion, and your published works are universally known, and the affection which I had long since conceived for you had nowise shewn itself; you must still bear in mind, that even if my regard had been unknown to you, I have notwithstanding been for a long time your admirer.

The books which you have written to the king's majesty, have been as acceptable to him as they deserved to be. A large portion of them I delivered to him myself, and am able therefore to inform you how kindly and courteously he received them, and how greatly he esteems them; and I can offer you my congratulations upon the subject. But since the king's majesty, debilitated by long illness, is scarcely yet restored to health, I cannot venture to make you any promise of obtaining a letter from him to yourself. But should a longer life be allowed him, (and I hope that he may very long enjoy it,) I prophesy indeed, that, with the Lord's blessing, he will prove such a king, as neither to yield to Josiah in the maintenance of true religion, nor to Solomon in the management of the state, nor to David in the encouragement of godliness. And whatever may be effected by nature or grace, or rather by God the source of both, whose providence is not even contained within the limits of the universe, it is probable that he will not only contribute very greatly to the preservation of the church, but also that he will distinguish learned men by every kind of encouragement. He has long since given evidence of these things, and has accomplished at this early period of his life more numerous and important objects, than others have been able to do when their age was more settled and matured. He has repealed the act of the six articles; he has removed images from the churches; he has overthrown idolatry; he has abolished the mass, and destroyed almost every kind of superstition. He has put forth by his authority an excellent form of common prayer; he has published good and pious homilies to lessen the ignorance of uneducated ministers. He has invited the

most learned men to teach at the universities, and has done many other things of the same kind, every one of which would be considered as a great action in other men, but as nothing in him, by reason of the magnitude of what he has accomplished. Besides this, he has lately recommended to the schools by his authority the catechism of John<sup>1</sup>, bishop of Winchester, and has published the articles of the synod at London, which if you will compare with those of Trent, you will understand how the spirit of the one exceeds that of the other. Why should I say more? I send you the book itself as a token of my regard, and believe me yours in Christ. Fare thee well. Greenwich, June 7, 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

Yours in the Lord,

JOHN CHEKE.

Salute, I pray you, masters Rodolph Gualter, and Conrad Gessner, to whom I am shortly about to write<sup>2</sup>.

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## LETTER LXXII<sup>3</sup>.

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SIR JOHN CHEKE TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Oct. 20, 1555.

AT one and the same instant I have been informed of the arrival of master de Sancto Andrea and of his departure. I am anxious, however, to address a few words to you. As far as I can perceive, I shall pass the winter in this place, enjoying in this my exile the society of my old friends, from whose kindly intercourse I shall not willingly withdraw myself. I rejoice that the Lord has delivered you not only from the

[<sup>1</sup> This catechism set forth by bishop Ponet, with the articles appended, is printed in the volume of Liturgies, &c. of Edward VI. published by the Parker Society.]

[<sup>2</sup> A note added to this letter in Bullinger's hand, states it to have been Sir John Cheke's last letter to him a little before the death of the king, and his subsequent imprisonment. He was committed to the Tower as a traitor, July the 28th, together with the duke of Suffolk. See above, p. 132. n. 2.]

[<sup>3</sup> The original of this letter is preserved at Geneva.]

Sed qm̄ L. M. has longa & q̄r̄m̄s & fractus, n̄q̄ m̄tere d̄shur convaluit  
de his illius ad h̄ ostimendis n̄q̄ sibi aliquid polueri possim, co aut  
quo esset q̄ h̄, quem tu impnis optares asseſſe erare possim.

Tuus in Dno Joannes Cherus.



violent illness with which you were afflicted, but also from a calamity<sup>4</sup> which would have been utterly fatal both to your church and state. Though these events are now of long standing, yet they are new to me, who now hear of them for the first time. I therefore heartily thank God for having afforded these extraordinary and remarkable manifestations of his providence to others, that he may call forth their faith and veneration of himself. Nothing is more effectual in bringing over the minds of our enemies to entertain correct thoughts respecting God, than when godly persons are defended by his protection against the snares and machinations of the wicked.

And I pray that in this general confusion and overthrow the Lord may afford some aid and assistance to wretched England, wherein there are very many manifestations of his most heavy displeasure, and but very few of his goodness and mercy. For good men, and, what is yet more distressing, those who take the lead in learning and authority, by whose counsels and prudence many and important measures have been effected in the church, are not only brought in danger of their lives, but are actually under condemnation, and are daily expecting a death, which though desirable to themselves, will yet be lamentable and disastrous to the church. These ought by their example and constancy not only to give encouragement to those of the present age, but to afford an eminent example to future generations. Among whom, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the bishops of Canterbury, London, and formerly of Worcester, having firmly and boldly persevered in the christian doctrine they had embraced, and not allowing themselves to be led away from it by the terror of punishment, death, and the flames, are now condemned, and degraded, as they call it; and are either, I understand, already burned<sup>5</sup>, or are shortly to experience the power of the flames and the cruelty of their tyrants. It is most painful and distressing to us to be deprived of those, whom, if God should be pleased to effect any alteration of affairs in our wretched and now greatly ruined England, we should not be able, or at least should hardly be able, to dispense with.

[<sup>4</sup> This may refer to the conspiracy formed against the ministers of Geneva in 1555.]

[<sup>5</sup> Ridley and Latimer were burned at the stake Oct. 16, 1555, and Cranmer on the 21st of March following.]

But why should I mention these things to you, who are well aware that this example of constancy and fortitude will tend to strengthen the universal church, scattered as it is far and wide, and that the living cannot be so useful by their teaching, as the dead can by their example? But I must confess, and, humanly speaking, I am confirmed in my opinion, that what Paul said respecting his own life, I think may be applied to them, if this divine chastisement were to have a respite and cessation in England, and to bring us away from ungodly worship to true Christianity<sup>1</sup>. But what must we expect from God in this slaughter of godly men? It may be that our people, like the Amorites, must fill up the measure of their impiety, that the more heavy severity of divine justice may be exercised upon them. But whatever be the Lord's purpose, whom I ought to obey and not prescribe to, I know and believe that he will effect it in such a way as that all things may tend to the good of his elect, whose support and protection he undertakes. So that I feel less anxious about whatever may happen, and think it my duty so to judge of the Lord's purpose, as to consider it replete with wisdom and goodness, and that it neither can, nor ought to be, either amended or found fault with, by our opinions or powers.

You see how, when I am writing to a friend, I write every thing that comes into my mind. But while you are wearied by my prolixity, pardon my freedom, who am less careful in writing to those who love me, as not fearing reproof where the offence is rather worthy of pardon than censure. May the Lord preserve you for yourself, and for me, and his church! Salute, I pray you, master Stafford, and his wife and family, and also his host of St Jerome's with whom he sojourns; and your friend the marquis, if he has yet returned to you, Normandy, masters Budæus, Parr, and your brother. Strasburgh, Oct. 20, 1555.

Your most devoted,

JOHN CHEKE.

[<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this and some other passages in this letter is difficult to be made out, from the circumstance of some words being rendered illegible by the binding of the MS.—The allusion seems to be to Phil. i.]

## LETTER LXXIII.

SIR JOHN CHEKE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *March 12, 1556.*

Our people frequently converse respecting the kindness not of yourself alone, but also that of men of all classes, and of your whole commonwealth, towards the English who came to reside among you by reason of the change of religion in their own country. I consider this not kindness merely, but hospitality, to be especially acceptable to God, and approved of men; and that it will never perish from the memory of any of our countrymen. As to me, should I ever have it in my power to render any service to yourself, or your godly friends, or your commonwealth, I pledge myself to be so ready to perform it, as that the anxiety of a grateful mind and the desire of returning an obligation may evidently appear. I ought also upon other grounds to shew both to yourself, and to masters Bibliander and Bernardine, as much respect as is due to learned, pious, and friendly persons, who have deserved well of the church of Christ. This your hospitality, therefore, is not only praise-worthy in itself, but is yet more so by comparison with the ill-treatment of others. For I suppose you are not ignorant, that those parties who maintain the body of Christ to be every where<sup>2</sup> can nowise endure the members of Christ to be any where, and have harassed them with all kinds of cruelty and atrocity, in order that with the absurdity of the opinions they have imbibed they may also join a savageness of disposition, and a brutal ferocity towards the meek children of God. But if the truth of opinions is to be judged of by their fruits, and there is as wide a difference between men's sentiments as there is in the christian life, truly they ought to have been long since convinced, and to have given up so stubborn an opinion. But of the stupidity of these parties at another time. May God enlighten their blinded mind with the light of his Spirit, and bring them out from this thick darkness of error to a better perception of the truth, and a more harmonious consent of feelings.

[<sup>2</sup> This refers to the Ubiquitarian controversy. See Zurich Letters, first series, p. 92, n. 1, and second series, p. 245, n. 6.]

I hear that Ignatius has been sent to you to be translated and printed, a measure which I suppose has been adopted for certain reasons. I had seen the book at Augsburgh, and had copied out some passages where the name of the mass was mentioned, and where he speaks of the wives of the apostles<sup>1</sup>. I request you, my Bullinger, and implore you again and again, to take care that the Greek be printed together with the translation. For it is of very great importance to scholars to read the author himself in his own language, and especially where grave and controverted matters are to be considered. I never read a translation without requiring the author himself as an interpreter of it. And I wish this had been done, not only in this author, but in all others, and in Procopius. It would have removed suspicion in regard to many passages, which appear to have been introduced by the translator, where the meaning of certain Hebrew and Latin words is discussed by a Greek unacquainted with those languages. But now translations are so obtruded upon us, to the depreciation of the authors themselves, that there must of necessity arise that inconvenience which the papists object to us in the eucharist, namely, that we use the antitypes instead of the prototypes. Wherefore, if you will take care that good authors, when put in print, shall either be printed with the translations, as master Gesner has properly done in Stobæus and others; or even separately, if that should be thought more expedient, lest the translations only should be cried up, and the authors themselves perish; you will confer many and important benefits both on the present and succeeding generation.

You see with what familiarity I address you: forgive me, I was only intending to salute you, and to thank you for your kindness towards our people; but when Ignatius and the other authors of whom we are deprived came into my mind, I could not but commend to you the cause of those authors, and entreat you, as it were, in their name not to suffer them to speak only through interpreters, when they might readily

[<sup>1</sup> The following passages, from the *interpolated* Epistles of Ignatius, seem to be referred to: Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν, where the last words in the Latin translation are, *neque missas celebrare*. Ad Smyrn. p. 197. Ed. Voss. Lond. 1680. ὡς Πέτρον καὶ Παύλον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων. Ad Philadelph. p. 178.]

be seen and heard by many in their own language, and be rescued from the danger of destruction which usually attends the Greek writers. Should there be any thing in which I can be of use to you, pray command me: and I beg you to say the same from me to masters Bibliander and Bernardine. I wish an opportunity were afforded me of performing these my promises. Salute, I pray you, the good old man, master Pellican, masters Rodolph Gualter, Conrad Gesner, and especially your wife. May the Lord preserve you! Strasburgh. March 12, 1556.

Your friend and brother in Christ,

JOHN CHEKE<sup>2</sup>.

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### LETTER LXXIV<sup>3</sup>.

SIR RICHARD MORISON TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *April 17, 1555.*

IF Cheke has sinned against your kindness, so I cannot but confess, most learned Calvin, that I have now for many months acted in the same manner. He can aggravate my fault, but can nowise acquit me, nor I him, from the charge of neglect. Nay, there is rather reason to fear that you should withdraw the hospitality you have so kindly afforded to the English. Is it for this that you have given up to us your house, and become a mere tenant in your own home, that in so many months from that time you should receive from me not a single atom of gratitude? I am writing to the marquis; and if there is nothing in that quarter to clear me in your eyes, I know with whom I have to do, and had rather acknowledge my fault, than offer you a new injury while I in vain attempt to palliate the old one. And yet you must know that I have written to him nothing but what is true, namely, that I and mine are at this very time exposed to the greatest danger, and that there are not wanting those who wish me either to

[<sup>2</sup> A note in the Simler collection states this to have been sir John Cheke's last letter before his capture, respecting which see above, p. 132, n. 2.]

[<sup>3</sup> The original of this letter is preserved at Geneva.]

return home, or, like an outcast, to pass the life of an exile in a foreign country. And as I am not wanting in friends, who make other promises, so I am afraid that my bitter enemies will do more to injure me, than my lukewarm friends will do towards the restoration of my affairs. As to what is going on at home, since every one knows it, I suppose that you cannot be ignorant. This our friend Luke will easily tell you all that I know. I must tell you in the last place, that I had rather requite your deeds by corresponding deeds on my part, than seem to wish to recompense your exceeding kindness by a verbal acknowledgement. Luke will tell you the rest. Farewell, most courteous Calvin, and forgive me, I know not whether to say my silence, or my tedious letter. Strasburgh, April 17, 1555.

Yours heartily,

RICHARD MORISON.

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## LETTER LXXV.

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SIR RICHARD MORISON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Aug. 23, 1555.*

I HAD been informed, most learned Bullinger, before the arrival of your letter, that it had been decreed, both by the authority of the chief magistrate, and the order of the senate, that no foreigners newly come should be admitted within your city: not indeed that foreigners are not most kindly received by you, and when received, treated with the greatest hospitality. But the necessity of this enactment has been solely occasioned by the influx among you at this time of Italians from Lugarno being so great, as hardly to leave room in your city for any new guest. When these things were related to me, as my friend Bernardine had not then written an answer to our friends here, the winter too threatening a true German frost, I considered it to be my next best plan, not to decline the house voluntarily offered here, and which by reason of the garden adjoining is very convenient. For it seemed to be quite time to procure wood,





*Paulus 4<sup>th</sup>*

and hay, and other things necessary either for the support of a family, or for guarding against the cold: for among the people of Strasburgh, when the cold regulates the price of wood, scarcely an ounce is offered for sale; and when it is sold, you would scarcely be able to procure it at the most exorbitant price. I would ask you therefore, again and again, that if I have been at all to blame in this matter, you would pardon me for having caused you to wait upon the most illustrious chief magistrate to no purpose; unless I knew for certain that you would easily pardon me both this and far greater faults: although what is not done at this time can easily be arranged at the beginning of spring, should not our affairs induce us to return to England. Do you, meanwhile, only let the chief magistrate understand, as regards myself, that I have not changed my purpose through any want of decision, but that I was of great necessity compelled to put it off to another time. This, indeed, is some part of the inconvenience, which men who are compelled to undergo a voluntary exile are wont to suffer, that when they desire above all things to arrange their affairs with some degree of certainty, they are seldom or never rightly able to effect this. Unforeseen events are so apt to disarrange all our purposes and designs with the greatest ease.

This anti-Paul<sup>1</sup>, Paul of the apostasy, the servant of the devil, this antichrist newly created at Rome, thinks it but a very small plunder that is offered to him, that he is again permitted in England to tyrannise over our consciences, unless the revenues be restored to the monasteries, that is, the pigsties; the patrimony, as he calls it, of the souls which are now serving in the filth of purgatory. Our ambassadors, who went to Rome for the purpose of bringing back the wolf upon the sheep of Christ, are now with the emperor, and bring us these demands of the chief pontiff: God grant that he may urge them in every possible way! Perhaps those who have suffered the gospel of Christ, that is, the sceptre by which Christ both governs his kingdom and extends its borders, to be taken from them by threats, will not allow

[<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Caraffa was elected pope, May 23, 1555, and took the name of Paul IV. He published his bull *Rescissio Alienationum*, in which he annulled without exception all alienations of the old ecclesiastical possessions. See Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*.]

their revenues, the life and blood of mankind, to be taken away, even by force. At all events, that will come to pass which Almighty God knows to be best for his people. If Socrates was accustomed to make no definite request from the gods, shall it be a great thing for us to depend altogether upon the good pleasure of God our Father? Since he is our Father, he cannot for ever be angry with his children. Nay rather, when he has an assurance of our improvement, he will then certainly think of punishing both his enemies, and ours for his sake. Saul sought to destroy David, but did no more than attempt so great a crime. Among us, how many living members of Christ are thrown into the flames! Saul, who was his own murderer, saw his three sons slain in one day; and shall Winchester always live? Shall he live to increase, and not to lay aside his boldness? God liveth, and is no less a hater of wickedness now than he has ever been heretofore. But I must conclude. Farewell, excellent Bullinger, and love me. Strasburgh, Aug. 23, 1555.

Yours as you so well deserve,

RICHARD MORISON.

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## LETTER LXXVI<sup>1</sup>.

THOMAS LEVER TO ROGER ASCHAM.

Without place or date.

YOUR friends, masters Nevinson, Alen, Butts<sup>2</sup>, the king's physician, and Redman<sup>3</sup>, have departed this life since I last wrote to you. Dr Bill<sup>4</sup>, the master of our college, has by his

[<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is preserved at Geneva. The writer's name is not mentioned; but it appears, from internal evidence, to have been written by Lever in 1552.]

[<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 37, note 6.]

[<sup>3</sup> Dr John Redman was originally of St John's college, but was appointed master of Trinity in 1546. An account of his opinions, confirmatory of the statement made in this letter, is given in Strype, Cheke, 67; Mem. II. i. 527, &c. He died in November, 1551.]

[<sup>4</sup> A grant of the mastership of Trinity college to Wm. Bill, D.D., for life, void by the death of John Redman, was dated in November, 1551.]

majesty's favour succeeded Redman in Trinity college, and I have succeeded Bill in St John's college<sup>5</sup>. Dr Redman died of consumption after a long illness, in constant expectation of death, and in continual discourse respecting God and true religion, as one who ardently desired to be delivered from the prison of this body, and to be with Christ.

I will communicate to you, my Ascham, a part of the communication<sup>6</sup> which John Yong (who, as you heard at Cambridge last year, was the most violent opponent of Bucer<sup>7</sup> in the public schools) received in person from the mouth of Dr Redman immediately before his death. First, Redman was requested, as Yong himself informed me, by himself and the other learned men standing by, to deliver his opinion upon certain points of religion; whereupon he forthwith undertook to answer as in the presence of God his judge, according to his real sentiments, upon any subject that they might think proper to propose. Being asked what he thought of the see of Rome, he answered, that it was a sink of wickedness, whence was derived the stream of filthiness which had burst forth like a torrent upon the church of God. Being asked his opinion respecting purgatory, he said that there was not any such purgatory as the one imagined by the schoolmen; but that when Christ shall come, surrounded by fire, all who meet him will be purified, as I believe, said he, myself, and as many of the ancient doctors are of opinion. Being questioned respecting the mass, he said, that those who regard the mass as a sacrifice for the dead, are opposed to Christ himself, and to the benefit of his death. As to the proposition concerning justification by faith only, he declared it to be a delightful doctrine, and certainly full of comfort, provided it were understood of a true and living faith; and that no works were deserving of eternal life, not even works of grace in the person justified. When he was asked his opinion respecting transubstantiation, he replied that he had for the last

[<sup>5</sup> Thomas Lever was appointed master of St John's, by royal mandate, in November, 1551, and ejected in 1553.]

[<sup>6</sup> For a full account of the communication between Dr Redman, on his death-bed, Yong, and others, together with a letter from Yong to sir John Cheke on the same subject, see Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 267—274.]

[<sup>7</sup> For an account of the controversy between Yong and Bucer, see Zurich Letters, second series, p. 18, and Strype, Mem. ii. i. 327.]

twelve years directed all his studies and attention to that subject, and had remarked that the writings of Tertullian, Irenæus, and Origen were openly opposed to that doctrine, and that it was neither maintained nor delivered in other ancient writers: and when he had long and vainly expected to find some certain and undoubted statement upon that subject in the writings of the schoolmen, he discovered in them nothing whatever sound and solid, but only deceit and gross error. With respect to the presence, he said (as Yong related the conversation), that Christ was really and corporally present in the sacrament: but when he was asked whether that was the body of Christ, which we see the priest lift up, he affirmed, that the body of Christ was now incapable of being lifted up or let down by any human hands; and it is, he added, a very corrupt custom to carry about the sacrament to be adored. He affirmed also that the wicked do not receive the body of Christ, but the sacrament of it. He earnestly exhorted Yong diligently to read the bible itself, and to beware of the doctrine of men. He added, moreover, that it was an excellent book<sup>1</sup> which the most reverend archbishop of Canterbury had lately written upon the eucharist, and he recommended Yong to read it with much attention. Yong told me himself, "As heretofore," saith he, "I myself would have encountered death with willingness and alacrity, in defence of transubstantiation, and that too more readily than in defence of the doctrine of the incarnation of Christ himself; so it shall be my endeavour for the future that all my studies and opinions may rest upon a more solid foundation than that common agreement of individuals, which they have erroneously denominated the church."

I hope, my Ascham, that not Yong only, but many persons will be led away from the doctrine of men to the true religion of Christ, by means of this divine discourse of Redman just before his death.

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[<sup>1</sup> The original edition of Cranmer's Defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the Sacrament was published in 1550; his answer to Gardiner, in 1551.]

## LETTER LXXVII.

THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GENEVA, *April 11*, [1554].

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. On the first night of our journey we arrived at Lentzburg, when father Gervase, having read your letter to him, seemed to me to pour out upon us, as though we were his dearest friends, the admirable benevolence of a pious mind. For he brought us in the evening from the public inn, and took us to the delightful quiet of his own house; and early the next morning he accompanied us for two hours on our way, and so exactly pointed out to us the description of the road, and the names of godly persons (in our route), that profiting by their advice, and by the marks previously pointed out to us, we arrived at Berne without any difficulty. We were there informed that Musculus, Haller, and other learned men were exceedingly well disposed, and, in consequence of your letter to Haller, were ready to afford us any assistance: for many of them being assembled in the same house invited us to a good supper. Haller too, in addition to supplying us liberally with a gratuitous lodging for three days, took us every day to whatever we wished to see or hear. At Lausanne also Beza<sup>2</sup> and Viret proved both by word and deed, that we were recommended and made welcome in consequence of your letter to them. At last, however, on the seventh of April, we reached Geneva, where, in the absence of Calvin, to whom I stated that you had given me a letter, we were immediately received as guests by a pious and worthy man, who is expecting Calvin to return within these few days. I perceive, therefore, and acknowledge, that your fatherly care for me not only provided for myself and my companion a most delightful lodging in your own house, but has also procured for us in other places and with other persons favour and kindness far beyond our expectation. And for this cause, which next to God I attribute to yourself, I have long since begun to consider myself not so much a traveller exiled

[<sup>2</sup> Beza was appointed professor of Greek at Lausanne in 1549, and continued in that office ten years.]

from my country, as a fellow-citizen of the saints now sojourning in the household of God.

I now therefore feel no anxiety respecting myself, but an almost incurable solicitude for those whom I suspect to be overwhelmed by most grievous perils at home. For a certain Englishman, passing through Berne, wrote to his countrymen at Geneva, that the Bernese government had been informed by a letter sent to them from the court of the king of France, that the queen of England had been slain by a mob, exasperated by her perfidious cruelty. Another person, however, who left London on the 13th of March, has to-day informed me that no priests were executed in the rebellion raised by Wyatt, and that very few were put to death after his apprehension. He said that only the duke of Suffolk<sup>1</sup> and his daughter lady Jane, with her husband, were beheaded, and that they all continued stedfast in the profession of the true religion. He affirmed too, that he had heard it for a certain fact, that Cranmer<sup>2</sup>, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London, Latimer, a very celebrated preacher, and [sir James] Hales<sup>3</sup>, a pious lawyer, had all been removed together from London to Oxford, to be burnt at the stake, after having been condemned for heresy by the doctors of that university. From all these circumstances I can only conclude, that either, if the queen is alive, there is a most grievous persecution of the church; or if a turbulent mob have the upper hand, the kingly government in England will be irrecoverably lost. But the hardness of my heart, which ever prevents my melting into tears, either of commiseration for these calamities, or of repentance for my own misdoings, is often wont to disturb my mind, to blunt my temper, and to confuse my memory. Wherefore I pray you, my father, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to invoke with me my heavenly Father in my behalf, that regarding our miseries, the merits of Christ, and his own mercies, he may pardon me my neglect and wickedness, take away my hardness of heart, and bestow upon me the Spirit of repentance and sanctification. Give, I pray

[<sup>1</sup> The duke of Suffolk was executed on the 23rd of February.]

[<sup>2</sup> Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were sent down to Oxford about the 10th of April.]

[<sup>3</sup> A full account of Judge Hales is given in Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 710.]

you, from myself and Hugo my companion, our salutations and very many thanks to your wife and all your family. And I again request you to salute in my name the venerable old men, Pellican and Bibliander, and the other learned and pious men, Gualter, Gesner, Lewis [Lavater], Zuinger and Zuingerlius. May Christ long preserve you for the benefit of his church! Farewell. Geneva, April 11.

Your son,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXVIII.

THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GENEVA, *April 23*, [1554].

MUCH health in Christ. As I told you before, so I now also acknowledge myself very much indebted to your fatherly foresight, through which, by means of your letter, I received from many persons to whom I was unknown the greatest kindness on my travels. No fresh tidings have reached me from England, except the contradiction of those rumours by which it was stated here for some days that the queen had been murdered. For she is still alive, persevering and increasing in wickedness.

I hear that some Englishmen have come to you at Zurich, together with that very godly man, Richard Chambers<sup>4</sup>: I am sorry that they have reached you sooner than my letter could reach them. For Richard Chambers is the person who has actively devoted himself and all his property to provide for the safety of the ministers during this persecution; and, though my journey ought to have diminished his labours, yet the vain expectation of a letter from me has increased both his toil and anxiety. But Christ, through whom all things work

[<sup>4</sup> Richard Chambers is represented by Strype as a great friend of learning and favourer of the oppressed. He allowed Jewel 6*l.* a-year for the purchase of books in divinity. He was one of the exiles at Frankfort, and was agent with Grindal to the Strasburgh exiles to treat about the English service-book. Strype, Mem. III. i. 225. Grindal, 14.]

together for good to them that love God, will turn this also to the honour of God, and the comfort of those who seek the glory of Christ with all their heart. I hope therefore that the opportunity now afforded you by God of manifesting your kindness towards true Christians, faithful ministers, and wretched exiles, will not prove unacceptable, and that the contemplation of your church worshipping God with such holiness and purity will not be without benefit to them. Take care, I pray you, that the letter addressed to the above-named Richard Chambers, Englishman, may speedily be delivered to him. Forget me not, I entreat you, in your prayers to God. Master Calvin, like many others, was more favourably disposed towards me for your sake; whence you may understand that you are now much indebted to many for my sake. I will always do what alone is in my power, namely, entreat God long to preserve you for the benefit of his church. Farewell. Geneva, April 23.

Your most devoted son in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXIX.

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THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GENEVA, *June 28*, [1554].

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. The fatherly benevolence and kindness which you have manifested towards me since my arrival in these parts, as an exile from my native land for the sake of religion, has mitigated my distress at leaving my country, and enabled me with cheerfulness to bear the cross of Christ. It has also been of great service to others of my countrymen; and I cannot doubt of its continuance towards us, because I seem to myself to perceive, not our merits, but your kindness, in your continual favours conferred upon us. When indeed I received a little book and letter from you not long since, in both which I may daily hear, by the perusal of them, the words and voice of my most esteemed father in Christ; I considered it as an admonition and encouragement to me, to proceed and advance with the diligence

of a son in the path of your paternal piety and instruction. And in truth that book seems, not only to myself, but to very many other pious and learned persons, to be worthy of being translated into many languages. Peter Tonvillanus, the bearer of this letter, has translated it into French, and left it here to be printed, as he was called from this place to advance the cause of the gospel in Poland. And since in my familiar intercourse with him I have found him to be a learned, godly, and honourable man, I have willingly entrusted him with this letter to you, by which he hopes likewise to become better acquainted with you, and on a more intimate footing. Your kindness towards all persons of this character will not allow him to be disappointed of his hope. Should my friend Spenser not return, master John ab Ulmis will, I hope, take care that your annotations on the lesser prophets, or any other that you may have entrusted him with for me, may be copied out. For as I desire nothing more fervently than such writings of yours, I earnestly requested master John ab Ulmis, by letter, to lend me his assistance in this matter; with which request I hope he will faithfully comply.

We have had of late no news from England, except that persecution still continues, or rather increases. May God have pity upon us, and sending power from above may he put forth such labourers into his harvest, who may thrust out the foxes from his vineyard, England!

Salute, I pray you, in my name, your wife and the rest of your family, to all of whom I always wish the choicest blessings in Christ. May the Lord long preserve you to us and to the church of Christ! Farewell. Geneva, June 28.

Your most devoted son in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXX.

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THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GENEVA, *Jan.* 17, [1555].

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. For that true fatherly affection and beneficence, which you have manifested both to-

wards the other Englishmen who are in exile for the cause of religion, and also to myself, as though I were your own son, I cannot sufficiently return due and adequate thanks; but as far as is in our power, we will earnestly and prayerfully entreat God for yourself, for the church committed to your charge, for your family, and for all your friends. May God grant that we may sometime prove by our actions, that we have learned from you to treat with affection, and courtesy, and benevolence, those who are wandering about for the cause of Christ!

Since you have conducted yourself as a father to me, receive, I pray you, from me as from your son an account of my manner of living and of my studies. I am residing here free and unfettered by any public employment. I attend all the sermons and lectures of Calvin, and some of those of other persons, and have hitherto employed the remainder of my time in the publication of a little book<sup>1</sup> in our vernacular English; it is now in the press, and, God willing, will shortly be sent to England. After I shall have sent forth this book, I have determined to bestow as much time and attention as I can upon the study of the prophets. I should certainly proceed in that study with greater alacrity and advantage, if I were able sometimes by any means to consult you. Wherefore, my reverend father, who have never refused me any thing hitherto, I pray you now to impart to my friend, master Spenser, some of your writings which may conduce to the understanding of the prophets, and which are not yet printed; so that he may get them copied out for me, in the same manner as he is now procuring me what you are writing upon the Revelation of St John.

I have not at this time any thing new or important to write to you about: whatever reports there may be, you may, if you choose, hear more easily from the relation of this messenger, than from my letter. For he is a pious and worthy man, by name Richard Harvel; and having left England, his country, for the sake of religion and learning, he is anxious

[<sup>1</sup> Entitled, "The right way from danger of sin and vengeance in this wicked world unto godly wealth and salvation in Christ." Written at Geneva, and published in the time of queen Mary; afterwards reprinted in London 1571, 1575. Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 479; Herbert's *Ames*, II. 97G.]

to see and converse with you. Such has been my intimacy with him here at Geneva, as to make me wish that this recommendation of mine may be of use to him.

Salute, I pray you, your very dear wife, as my own mother, and that worthy matron who ministered to us English, like the mother of a family, when we were all together under the same roof. May God long preserve you to us for the benefit of the church of Christ! Farewell. Geneva, Jan. 17.

Your attached in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXXI.

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THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *Feb.* 12, [1555].

EVERLASTING health in Christ Jesus! As I always found in you, when I was at Zurich, godly counsel, learning, and example, to my exceeding comfort and advantage, so now, most revered father in Christ, I hope that I shall obtain the benefit of your pious prayers for the edification of the church of Christ of the English at Frankfort. And as many others of my countrymen regard you as their patron, so do I acknowledge you to have been a father to myself, as I hope and desire that you will continue to be. And since I perceive that I am destitute of all power and opportunity of returning my obligations, I write this, that you may understand me to be neither unmindful nor ungrateful.

There is no certain intelligence from England; but I have heard from uncertain rumours, that the queen has never been pregnant, and that the council, which they call the parliament, was suddenly dissolved; and this, because the king not only rejected, but treated with contempt, three petitions preferred by the magistrates; one of which was, that he should restore the true religion, the second, that he should make peace with France, and the third, that he should not admit into his councils any one born out of England. I understand that more persons are seeking comfort from empty reports than

from true repentance. Do not think it a trouble to salute my mother your wife in my name, together with the rest of your family, to all of whom I shall ever wish every blessing. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you for the welfare of his church! Farewell. Frankfort, Feb. 12.

Your most devoted son in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXXII.

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THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Jan. 4*, [1556].

MUCH health in Christ Jesus! While I was so engaged at Geneva, both in my private studies, and in hearing the discourses of the preachers in the public congregation, as that nothing at that time seemed to be more desirable both for my own individual improvement and the edifying of the church; some of my fellow-countrymen, who were banished from England on account of religion, and had settled at Wesel, sent a letter to me, wherein it was stated that by the majority of their votes, and the common and united consent of them all, in a free election, I had been chosen as their pastor. They therefore earnestly entreated me by letter, and implored me in Christ, that I would neither decline the charge which God (in answer to their prayers, and overruling their votes) had imposed upon me, nor delay my journey to them, who were anxiously expecting me. For since their late pastor had already left them of his own accord, and the magistrates had forbidden them the use of the sacraments, they hoped to be enabled by my arrival both to have a minister, and re-obtain the permission of the magistrates for the free use of the sacraments, or at least that they should receive some useful and necessary counsel. Having therefore perused their letter to this effect, and with prayer to God, after consulting master Calvin and my pious and learned brother-ministers of the church of England, I am now on my road from Geneva to Wesel; entertaining such a view both of their state and condition, and of my own slender

Saluta quæso Charissimam Proxerem tuam, ut meum meam,  
& honesta illam matronam, quæ nobis Angliis ministravit, cu-  
eramus pariter in Divis, adibus, ut matrem familiae nostræ!  
Deus te diu nobis ad ecclesiam Christi utilitate servet. Vale  
Genevæ 17 Januarij.  
Thomas Levens



abilities, as that I am persuaded that I ought neither to undertake the office of their minister, nor yet to refuse any diligence or labour of instructing them. For the ministerial office neither seems to myself, nor to others whom I have consulted, to be capable of being exercised either with or among those to whom the ministry of the sacraments is forbidden: and indeed I do not as yet find in myself those qualities which the word of God declares should exist in a minister. Whatever gifts of God I may discover in myself, I shall never refuse, by God's help, to impart all of them freely and diligently to my brethren in Christ at their request. In accordance therefore with your fatherly goodwill towards me (which I have so often experienced from our first acquaintance unto this present moment) I entreat you, my reverend father, in the bowels of Christ, to continue always mindful of me in your prayers to God; and sometimes too by your letters to me to advise and instruct me, as your son, how I may better learn to serve Christ and his church with humility, alacrity, and fidelity. And as I have no means of repaying you, I will diligently endeavour in my daily prayers to obtain for you and yours every blessing from God.

I pray you likewise to salute in my name masters Peter Martyr, Bernardine Ochinus, Gualter, and the other ministers of your church; to all of whom, for your kindness to myself and to my countrymen, I acknowledge myself your debtor to the utmost extent of my power. Salute too, I pray you, from me in the Lord your wife and all your family, and lastly, that worthy matron who attended upon us English, or rather, supported us in the same house. May God long preserve you to the edifying of the church of Christ, and the overthrow of the kingdom of antichrist! Farewell. Strassburgh, on my journey, Jan. 4.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

## LETTER LXXXIII.

THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BERNE, *May* 12, [1556].

MUCH health in Christ Jesus, with my warmest thanks for your constant fatherly kindness and good-will towards me. And though you have often bestowed many favours upon me, yet nothing could have ever happened to me more acceptably, or agreeably, than that by my reliance on your advice, and by making use of your letter, I have at length met with an asylum where my very dear countrymen and brethren in Christ, who are exiled from their country for their avowed and faithful profession of Christ, may by reason of the same profession be kindly and willingly received. For master Haller, upon the receipt of your letter, so advocated our cause, first, with many of the senators of Berne collectively and individually, and at last in a full assembly in the senate itself, that there is now permitted us the liberty of sojourning in any part of the Bernese territory. And master Haller requires or rather recommends us, that after we have examined a number of localities, we should return to Berne to make known to them what place within their territory will best suit us, that we may receive from the magistrates of Berne themselves especial letters of commendation to the mayor and inhabitants of that place. With regard too to the free use of the word of God, and of the sacraments, and also with respect to the manufacture of English cloth, when the subject was mentioned, the Bernese seemed candidly to acknowledge, that this was the very art which they wished us to exercise among them, and that there would be no difficulty in our obtaining permission from them. I am expecting therefore to-day a general letter from the magistrates of that state to all who are under their authority; on the receipt of which I have resolved to set out to-morrow on a journey to the English at Basle, that I may consult together with them upon the hastening all the rest who are still loitering on their road towards Basle, and upon surveying the district around Berne, with the view of discovering and providing the most suitable place of residence. I pray

you therefore and beseech you in Christ, that, as you have hitherto done, so you will always continue (whenever God may give you an opportunity) to pour out abundantly upon me your paternal kindness. I should wish indeed to have placed myself with my friends under your wings, had it been possible, in the territory of Zurich. But not what I will, but what our heavenly Father willeth, will be done : to him be all honour and glory, and to us mercy and salvation in Christ Jesus ! Do not, I pray you, be displeased at my asking you to salute your wife as my own mother, and all the rest of your family as most dear to me in Christ in domestic love. I do not so much ask, as I wish and hope, that you will always be ready to give me advice upon such matters as you think may tend to the glory of God, and to the comfort and edification of me and mine in Christ Jesus. Farewell. Berne, May 12.

Let us pray for each other.

Your son faithfully in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXXIV.

THOMAS LEVER TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at BASLE, *May 27, 1556.*

JESUS Christ God with us ! Much health in Christ Jesus. Your great kindness, and the very prudent advice you gave me in your house at Zurich, was an exceeding comfort to me ; and your letter to master Steiger for the magistrates and senate of Berne has been of great service to our cause. That you may not be wanting in an opportunity of persevering in your godly commiseration and diligent attention to us, behold ! we are daily coming into greater difficulties and tribulations. For we English, after our banishment from England, our removal from Wesel<sup>1</sup>, and wanderings over

[<sup>1</sup> At Wesel the English were under some trouble ; and the senate were about to command them to depart thence, because of their different sentiments from the Augustan confession in some points. Strype, Cranmer, 507.]

almost all Germany, have suffered a repulse in Basle<sup>1</sup>, and are at length compelled to have recourse to the hospitality of the people of Berne. For the councillors of king Ferdinand, who are at Emsen, will not allow any Englishmen, who are exiles for the sake of religion, liberty of passage through that territory of Ferdinand which lies between Strasburgh and Basle. Whence you may easily perceive the length, fatigue, expense, difficulty and danger of our journey, and how greatly we are in need of protection, advice, liberality and assistance. Remember us, therefore, I entreat you, in your prayers to God, and in your correspondence and conversation with such individuals as you may know to be both able and willing to aid us in the cause of Christ. Farewell. Salute, I pray you, master Parkhurst and his wife. The bearer is in haste. Again farewell. Basle, May 27.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

[<sup>1</sup> The following account of this repulse is given by John Young, in a letter to Bullinger, dated May 17, 1557. "Measures had been taken by the brethren for receiving the English exiles, before I had returned from Constance; but they suffered a repulse from our magistrates, to the great sorrow and lamentation of the brethren, and of all godly persons. On my return, by the advice of the brethren, I again endeavoured to obtain from the senate that a residence might at least be afforded to those who were already on their journey; for that it would be a most cruel procedure, and an offence to all christian people, to cast them out. But this appeal also was made in vain; for they would not allow them any greater indulgence than what is granted to the veriest mob that flock into the town, namely, the liberty of using the public houses. Alas! my brother, how blind and impious must those persons be, who so rashly, so irreligiously, to say no more, repel from themselves and their families, to the great scandal of the churches of God, so great a blessing offered them from the Lord! Which indeed as it has now returned to the people of Berne, we congratulate both them and the exiles, as much as we justly deplore our own misfortunes. Pray God for us; for unless he support us in our distresses, I perceive that entire destruction will ensue."]

## LETTER LXXXV.

THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at ARAU, *Sept.* 18, [1556].

JESUS Christ God with us! Much health in Christ Jesus. I have lately received two letters from your reverence, and your truly useful and delightful book for the use of the English church in this place. We plainly perceive therein your true fatherly affection towards us, and must candidly acknowledge, that while we promise you as much as will ever be in our power, we are utterly unable adequately to return our thanks. And as it is a father's nature to rejoice when he beholds his children profiting by his instruction and kindness, and eagerly and successfully making progress towards piety and happiness; so shall it be our earnest endeavour both to derive this advantage from your writings, and to afford you the happiness of observing our improvement.

And now to discourse with you somewhat familiarly respecting myself, I would have you assured that your advice with respect to not contending about things indifferent was exceedingly gratifying to me. For I had previously come to the same determination myself, and, being now supported by your authority, shall persevere with much greater firmness and alacrity in taking care to avoid offences and useless controversies; so that every thing may be more easily and effectually accommodated to the peace, and concord, and edification of the church. For when I sent my friend master Richard Burcher to Berne, to consult master John Haller with respect to the use of ceremonies here in our church, I pointed out the reasons which induced me to wish that leavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's supper; but in the mean time I was unwilling either to prefer any petition to the government, or to act in all respects as I was empowered to do, but only in reference to such things as seemed in his judgment both lawful and expedient. And indeed he wrote back the very same advice that I received from you in your letter; so that I shall readily follow your suggestion not on this subject only, but also upon any thing

else which with your wonted piety and discretion you may recommend or advise to be done or to be abstained from : and I pray you to write me word at the very first moment you have to spare, what you think I ought to do. If a man wishes to marry the sister of his deceased wife, or if he has already done so, ought he to retain her or send her away ? I request also that you will peruse this little book upon the church discipline of the English at Geneva, and let me know your candid opinion of it. You see how boldly, relying upon your clemency and kindness, I address your reverence, whom I know to be always engaged in numerous and important affairs. You must therefore defer compliance with my request until a suitable opportunity of leisure shall occur. All the English who are here most cordially salute your reverence in Christ, and we all of us beg to offer our best acknowledgments for your letter and the book.

Salute, I pray you, in my name, the ministers of your church and all your family, for all of whom I shall always remember to pray to God, and for you especially, that you may enjoy long life, and ability to adorn the church of Christ, to the confusion of antichrist, and to our comfort. Farewell. Arau, Sept. 18.

Your most devoted in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXXVI.

THOMAS LEVER TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at ARAU, *Aug. 11, 1557.*

JESUS Christ God with us! Much health in Christ Jesus. After a long and wearisome tossing about<sup>1</sup> I at

[<sup>1</sup> On the English congregation leaving Wesel, they passed by Frankfort, and "perceiving the contention to be among them so boiling hot, that it ran over on both sides, and yet no fire quenched, many had small pleasure to tarry there, but went to Basle and other places; while M. Lever made suit to the lords of Berne for a church within their dominions, whose letters he obtained with great favour to

length seem to myself to have arrived with some of my friends at Arau, as at a harbour of refuge. For we have explored the whole Bernese territory, both in Germany and Savoy, and found in each country one place especially, namely, Arau in Germany, or rather in Switzerland, and Vevay in Savoy, that was both able and willing to afford a comfortable home to the English exiles for the sake of religion. And in these two towns we found the inhabitants favourable to us beyond all expectation. But the people of Arau<sup>2</sup>, by reason of their confined situation, are unable at present to supply and accommodate us with more than seven houses. And the people of Vevay, though in a short time they will be able and willing to receive the whole twenty-five families, are yet a great way off, and difficult of access. Wherefore we have judged it far better and more practicable, that some few persons here in this neighbourhood, commencing with a small number, should gradually advance from small beginnings, and daily increase by fresh additions, than that all of them should

all their subjects for the friendly entertainment of the British nation. These letters obtained, M. Lever, M. Boyes, M. Wilford, M. Pownall, and T. Upcher, came to Geneva to have the advice of that church, what was best to be done touching the erection of a new church. They of Geneva gave God thanks for that it had pleased him so to incline the hearts of the lords of Berne towards them, and gave encouragement that they should not let slip so good an occasion. Passing through many parts of the lords of Berne's dominions in Savoy and Switzerland, they found such favour in all places where they came, as verily may be to the great condemnation of all such Englishmen as use the godly stranger so uncourteously. M. Lever and the company at length chose Arau for their resting-place, where the congregation lived together in godly quietness among themselves, with great favour of the people among whom for a time they were planted." Brief discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort. p. 185. reprint, 1845.]

[<sup>2</sup> A letter from Young to Bullinger, dated Basle, Aug. 5, 1557, states that "a large portion of the English are remaining here. The rest will go to Arau, unless more eligible terms are offered them at Vevay. I went up to Arau with them last week, and easily obtained leave of residence for them among the citizens themselves, but we could not meet with suitable houses and apartments for more than seven families. The church of St Ursula is appropriated to them, and licence to engage in the manufacture of wool, in spite of the opposition of some of the more wealthy of the inhabitants. God be praised!"]

contend at once with great expense, and labour, and peril, for the attainment of their object. As many persons therefore as the seven houses which Arau supplies with can contain, are now established there with their wives and children. The remainder, wishing rather to join us here than to remove as far as Vevay, are lingering in other places, hoping and desiring an opportunity of coming hither. And thus we English, driven from our country by popery, and from Wesel by Lutheranism, are now, most of us, by our mutual wishes, counsels, and assistance, tending to one spot, where it is still permitted us freely, sincerely, and openly to acknowledge and worship Christ. And we shall all at length come together to such a place, if God see fit : if otherwise, his will, and not ours, be done ! But certainly, whatever may happen to us in future, we shall all acknowledge ourselves exceedingly indebted to master Bullinger and yourself, by means of whose advice and commendatory letters I found and obtained for our countrymen from the people of Berne far more and better accommodation than I could have previously believed. Wherefore I entreat you both to continue to assist me by your letters, counsels, and admonitions, that I may retain and improve the favour, kindness, and all other comforts necessary for the gathering together, and consolation, and edifying of those, who, having quitted their country for the cause of Christ, are still looking out for a place where they may best be able to worship God in sincerity, and by mutual kind offices to supply each other with the necessary means of subsistence. Salute, I pray you, in my name, with many thanks, masters Henry Bullinger, P. Martyr, B. Ochinus, and the other godly men ; also master Parkhurst and his wife. Farewell.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

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## LETTER LXXXVII.

THOMAS LEVER AND OTHERS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at ARAU, *Oct. 5, 1557.*

GRACE and peace in Christ Jesus. While others are wont to dedicate their writings to princes and great men, with the view either to popularity or reward, you alone, most illustrious sir, have made choice of us poor exiles to whom to address your midnight studies and lucubrations, to commend us in your discourses, and to render our condition (miserable as regards this world, but glorious if we regard him to whom we have consecrated ourselves, namely, Christ crucified,) memorable to all posterity. Your motives for having thus acted we can admire as well as account for. For we are almost all of us unknown to you, and have no means of returning the obligation. But herein appears your zeal for the Lord's household, in that you not only diligently feed the flock over which the Lord has placed you, and instruct all other churches by your learned commentaries; but also this our exile, in which we are deserted by our friends, laughed to scorn by many, spurned by others, assailed by reproaches and revilings by the most, you alleviate by your learned discourses, that we may not sink under the pressure of these evils; and, like a good shepherd, you tend, strengthen, and cheer us all in our dispersion. We accept therefore your princely gift, and embrace it with the feeling we ought; and in return send you what alone we can do, namely, our thanks, our affectionate regard, and a frequent mention of you our master in our prayers. For your divine and honour-giving present, which no time shall ever bury in oblivion, receive this perishable paper filled with lasting thanks; and as often as we shall take your book into our hands, so often shall we seem to ourselves to hear you preaching, or rather the Lord himself revealing his mysteries to us by your ministry.

Farewell, very dear father and much esteemed master in Christ, and always regard us poor exiles with the love you are wont to do: for by your kindness is it that we this day experience, (nor are we alone in this feeling,) how true that

is, which so many histories bear witness to, that the Swiss have been at all times remarkable for hospitality. Continue therefore to edify the church of the Lord by your unwearied labours and studies, to commend us to your countrymen, and to let pass no opportunity of befriending the distressed. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you for the good of his church! Amen. Arau. Oct. 5, 1557.

The exiled congregation of the English at Arau, most devoted to you in the Lord, has commissioned the following persons to subscribe their names in the name of all the rest:

THOMAS LEVER,  
RICHARD LANGHERN<sup>1</sup>,  
ROBERT POWNALL,  
WALTER KELLY,  
JOHN PRETIE,  
THOMAS TURPIN,  
THOMAS ATTYN<sup>2</sup>.

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## LETTER LXXXVIII.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Feb.* 23, 1555.

I DO not cease from doing here, as I did at Lausanne, that is, I am expecting a reply from your kindness. And indeed I am more anxiously expecting it, in proportion as I perceive the flame is lighted up with increased vehemence amongst us English. For a strong controversy has arisen, while some desire the book of reformation of the church of England to be set aside altogether, others only deem some things in it objectionable, such as kneeling at the Lord's supper, the linen surplice, and other matters of this kind; but the rest of it, namely, the prayers, scripture lessons, and the form of the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper they wish to be retained. Some contend for

[<sup>1</sup> Richard Langhern, Robert Pownall, Walter Kelly, and Thomas Turpin, afterwards received ordination from bishop Grindal, in 1560.]

[<sup>2</sup> Probably an error for *Allyn*, but it is thus in the MS.]

Th. Levens  
Margaret Langdon  
Robt. Pomeroy  
Nathaniel Kelley  
H. Sprague  
~~James~~  
James Thompson  
James Allen

David Smith  
James Flaherty  
James W. Ford  
William Mair  
James Seabey  
Gregory Raiton  
To Fawcett  
Edmund Wilson

Richardus Christy  
of







LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

retaining the form, both because the archbishop of Canterbury defends the doctrine as sound, and also because the opposite party can assign no just reason why the form should be changed. They exclaim on the other hand, that the sole object of these persons is the establishment of ceremonies. You see, most excellent Calvin, how Satan is permitted both at home and abroad to rage against the English. May God have compassion upon us! and I entreat you by Christ our common Saviour, to give your best consideration to these disturbances of ours, and shew me how we may best remedy this present evil. I well know how much weight the authority of your letters will have with both parties in the settlement of this dispute.

I have few things, and those far from pleasant, to tell you about the affairs of England. On the dissolution<sup>3</sup> of parliament the bishop of Winchester summoned before him all those who were in prison in London for the word of the Lord, in number eighty<sup>4</sup>, and he urged them by promises, rewards, and threatenings, to sign their recantation. All persevered most stedfastly, these two only excepted, Barlow<sup>5</sup>, formerly bishop of Bath and Wells, and Cardmaker<sup>6</sup>, archdeacon, I believe, of the same church: for these submitted to him. Five of them, after a few days, were again brought to trial, condemned as heretics, and, as we say, delivered up to the secular authority to be burned. Whether the execution has taken place, I know not; but all the English are of opinion that they will most assuredly suffer. Their names are Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Bradford, Saunders; all of them formerly celebrated as ministers of the word. The three bishops are still alive, and it is thought that a conference will be held between them and Pole. Philip has not got possession of the crown. The bishops are authorised to seize at pleasure upon all suspected of heresy. You see, excellent sir, the

[<sup>3</sup> This parliament was dissolved on Wednesday, Jan. 16, 1555. See Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 584, last edition.]

[<sup>4</sup> The preachers were summoned to the bishop's house at St Mary Overy's, on Tuesday, Jan. 22. Foxe, vi. 587.]

[<sup>5</sup> Bishop Barlow got free, and escaped into Germany, where he "did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel." Strype, Mem. III. i. 431. Foxe, vii. 78.]

[<sup>6</sup> John Cardmaker, prebendary of Wells, was burned in Smithfield, May 30, 1555. See Foxe and Strype as above, and Soames, iv. 416.]

state of England; I commend it to your prayers and those of your church. Farewell, and write to me in return. In haste. Strasburgh, Feb. 23, 1555.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

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## LETTER LXXXIX.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Aug. 6, 1555.*

GREETING. There are two motives which now induce me to write; one, that I may not be so neglectful of my duty, as, after having received from you so many friendly salutations in the letters of others, not to salute you, most learned sir, in return. I both express and desire for you, and that from my heart, eternal blessings. The other reason is, because I wished to make use of your name, under which I might transmit to master Chambers these letters and the parcel which I send along with them. If I have taken too great a liberty in this respect, your courtesy towards the English has given me this licence. But I know that you will undertake this trouble with the same kindness that you are always wont to exhibit towards the English who are in exile for Christ's sake. Merciful indeed and faithful is our God, who, though we have left our natural parents, does not withdraw from us parental kindness. I wish I could sometimes seriously bear this in mind, and both shew myself not wholly ungrateful to God, and in some measure also grateful to yourself and those patrons who are like-minded with you. And because, as I hope, my brethren at Zurich far excel me in this respect, so I am bold more freely to interest you in their affairs than in any private business of my own. Farewell. Master Martyr, who is in good health, salutes you. You will hear the English news, which is but little, from master Chambers. Once more farewell, my father and most revered master. Strasburgh, Aug. 6, 1555.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

## LETTER XC.

THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, April 6, 1556.

I HAVE received your letter, most reverend sir, in which you state that you have received a packet of letters from me. I am glad that those letters were so faithfully delivered. The kind messages which you sent to the English, I distributed, and especially to our bishop. [Sir Richard] Morison was already dead. Sir J. Cheke has left this place. I have thus acquainted you with these things as my duty required. Dr Cranmer was burned at Oxford on the 21st of March. A certain absurd recantation<sup>1</sup>, forged by the papists, began to be spread abroad during his life-time, as if he had made that recantation: but the authors of it themselves recalled it while he was yet living, and he firmly and vehemently

[1 See Soames's Hist. Reform. iv. 515, for a full account of the recantations attributed to Cranmer; also Todd, Life of Cranmer, II. 476. Sampson seems to refer to the fifth of the papers afterwards published by Bonner as a part of "All the submyssions and recantations of Thomas Cranmer, &c.," printed by Cawood, 1553. Dr Todd says: "To these artifices Cranmer yielded, and to the words on the 'little leaf of paper,' which they brought, subscribed, as it should seem, in their presence. 'This recantation,' says Foxe, 'was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer with a solemn subscription; then followed the witnesses, Henry Sydall and John de Villa Garcina.' The privy council were displeased at the hasty publication of this paper, and the two printers of it were commanded to deliver all the copies to be burned." See also Foxe, VIII. 82, and Burnet, III. 375. Soames, p. 525, notices and answers Dr Lingard's theory, that the paper thus printed alone, by Rydall and Copeland, was destroyed as an infringement on Cawood's copy-right, and thinks it was suppressed lest it should be disavowed by the prisoner or his friends. It is to be noticed also, that the continuator of Fabian's Chronicles, speaking of the burning of the archbishop in 1556, says, "after he had recanted his *supposed* recantation." The original words of Sampson in the letter here translated are, "Recantatio quædam absurda et a papistis conficta cæpit eo vivente spargi, quasi ille eam palinodiam cecinisset; sed auctores ipsi eam, eo vivo, revocarunt, et ille fortiter reclamabat vivens pernegabatque." They are worthy of notice in connexion with the circumstances already recited. The whole of the "submyssions and recantations," as printed by Cawood in a pamphlet of six leaves (see Herbert's Ames, II. 794), are reprinted by Dr Jenkyns in his Remains of Cranmer, iv. App. p. 393.]

denied it. The enemies of God are plotting dreadful and most cruel schemes against England. May Almighty God turn away his anger from us! Mary declares that her husband Philip shall be crowned in spite of every one. She is so bold as to say this, even contrary to the advice of her council. She is making great preparations both of money and arms. You see whither these things tend; entreat therefore the Lord for us.

As to what I had written in my last letter respecting the "Antichrist" of master Gualter, the matter now stands thus: while I was preparing to translate it into our language, I was informed that some other Englishman had not only undertaken the same task, but had also completed it. I think therefore that it is now either in the press, or already printed. Satan is here trying in many ways to disturb the peace of the churches; nor does he stir up only the turbulent Westphalians and those who are like them, but he is scattering his seed also among us exiles. The French church at Frankfort is now suffering under this disease: for there is a great contention between the pastor and some of his flock, if indeed they are true sheep. Do you, excellent father, since these devices of Satan cannot escape your notice, oppose your prayers against his subtle attacks. I wish we did this with the earnestness that the occasion demands.

I ask but one thing more. When I was at Zurich, it was permitted me (such was your singular kindness towards me) to hear and learn from you by conversation and conference those things in which I had need of advice and instruction. You will do me the greatest kindness if you will allow me, since I am now absent, to experience the same favour by correspondence. I promise you that I will not be too troublesome, neither will I expect from you such speedy replies, as not to be willing always to wait patiently for the immense pressure of your engagements. I dare not however make the experiment before I have obtained your consent, lest I should be a hindrance to one who is so diligently labouring in the Lord's vineyard. May the Lord, whose servant you are, and in whose affairs you are engaged, preserve you long in life and health to his church! In haste. Strasburgh, April 6, 1556.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

## LETTER XCI.

THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Without place or date<sup>1</sup>.

GREETING. Although, most learned sir, you have no time to waste upon reading my trifles, yet since the letters which I have received from our brethren at Frankfort must be wrapped in paper, I should wish even the blank paper to salute you for me, as my duty requires. Your sermon has long been circulated in English, and, as I am informed, is by no means unacceptable to the English. The afflicted flock of Christ is still suffering the misery of persecution; for on the 27th of January there were seven<sup>2</sup> burned at London, and on the same day five<sup>3</sup> at Canterbury. This is the power of darkness. Heath, archbishop of York, obtains the office of chancellor<sup>4</sup>; White of Lincoln is now made bishop of Winchester<sup>5</sup>: our languishing Penelope<sup>6</sup> is waiting the return of her Ulysses, who is celebrating bacchanalian orgies at Antwerp on account of his happy attainment of the dukedom. Uncertain tidings are reported about a truce between Philip and the king of France; but most disgusting accounts are given of their dancing, nightly buffooneries, and ravishing of virgins, to which things he has now entirely given himself up at Antwerp. God will at length appear as an avenging judge: to him do you stretch forth your suppliant hands, even to weariness, as Moses did, on behalf of England.

[<sup>1</sup> This letter seems, from internal evidence, to have been written from Strasburgh, and probably in June or July, 1556.]

[<sup>2</sup> These were, Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlett Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Brown; Isabel Foster, wife; Joan Warne, alias Lashford, maid; in 1556. See Foxe, Acts and Mon. vii. 715, &c., and Strype, Mem. iii. i. 470.]

[<sup>3</sup> These were, John Lomas, Ann Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole. See Foxe, vii. 750, &c. who says the martyrdom took place Jan. 31st.]

[<sup>4</sup> He was appointed Jan. 1. 1556. Strype, Mem. iii. i. 469.]

[<sup>5</sup> This appointment took place, April 15. Strype, Mem. iii. i. 487.]

[<sup>6</sup> One Mr Kemp came from king Philip about the 19th or 20th of June, with the news that he had deferred his coming for two months longer; whereat the queen was much cast down, and for several days after Kemp's coming she was not in case to hear any suitors. See Strype, Mem. iii. i. 495.]

Farewell, most excellent father. Salute, I pray you, that excellent man, and great patron of the English, master Gualter. May Almighty God requite you all! I am now employed upon his "Antichrist," that the English may see an epitome of that book saluting the pope in English. Again, farewell; live most happily in Christ.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

Should master Gualter have any thing else, which, inserted in [my translation of] his work on antichrist, may be a means of improving it, he will do a service most acceptable to myself and profitable to the church, if he will please to send it me. If not, I shall publish his Antichrist, by God's blessing, just as it is, only a little abridged. Now, for the third time, farewell. In haste.

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## LETTER XCII.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LAUSANNE, Aug. 12, 1556.

GREETING. The letter, most excellent Bullinger, that you gave me to be delivered to master Haller, has been of considerable service to me. For when I came to Berne, and found none of my friends there, he arranged matters for me most admirably, not only by entertaining me with the greatest hospitality as his guest, but most diligently procuring me a fellow-traveller to accompany me to Lausanne. And all this he has done, because you had made mention of me in your letter to him. I have therefore to express my thanks to you for having so kindly designed to commend me to so kind a friend; and I entreat you to convey to him my thanks for the courtesy he manifested towards me. I acknowledge myself indeed most exceedingly obliged to you both. May our great and good God long preserve you as an useful minister of his church! Salute, I pray you, in my name, my most obliging host, master John James Wickius. Farewell. In haste. Lausanne, Aug. 12, 1556.

Yours in Christ,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

## LETTER XCIII.

THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LAUSANNE, *Sept.* 13, 1556.

I WROTE to you, my excellent Bullinger, as soon as I had arrived at Lausanne, but am in doubt whether you ever received my letter; so that I think it well now to repeat what I had also written before, namely, that I am by no means unmindful of my duty towards you, and that I both know and acknowledge myself to be on many accounts much indebted to you. This acknowledgment is due both to your kindness, and to that of Haller, afforded me for your sake. Enrol me therefore, most reverend father, among the number of your friends. Oh! how much am I indebted to Almighty God, who has so provided for me the privilege of possessing such patrons, while my beloved England is in such miserable bondage. I have received from doctor P. Martyr the following account of her servitude,—that Philip is now arrived in London, where he was received with the general applause of the people. Thomas a Becket is publicly set up as a saint<sup>1</sup>. Inquiry is made after all those who refuse to go to mass. Some Friars minor have arrived, and are residing at Winchester. So far concerning public calamities. Respecting those of individuals, he adds, that judge Hales threw himself into the river<sup>2</sup>, and so was miserably drowned: such is the punishment of his apostasy. But to return to England: you see how she is compelled to be in bondage to the Spaniards, the worst of all nations, pretended saints, most degraded children of anti-christ, and of the worst kind of idolatry. But it is not only this bondage that is to be lamented, and to which we are involuntarily subject; but that also by which we are willing slaves to our impenitence. This slavery it is that so miserably oppresses us; this it is that keeps us in bondage within the stone walls of our hearts, and compels us to be in slave-like

[<sup>1</sup> The image of Thomas a Becket was set up in stone in 1555 over the gate of Mercer's chapel. Strype, Mem. III. i. 333.]

[<sup>2</sup> See Strype, who says "it was a shallow pond, near his own house, which is shewn to this day." Mem. III. i. 276. A long account of judge Hales is also given in Foxe, Acts and Mon. VI. 710, &c.]

subjection to most filthy swine ; yea, it almost turns us into swine and dogs ourselves, and yet there is in us no desire of returning to our Father : and albeit this is the only way for our recovery, to obtain from our offended Father reconciliation for Christ's sake, with tears ; this only way we disregard, although we are desirous of being thought over careful in every thing else. Hence proceeds apostasy, hence despondency, or desperate recklessness in impiety.

I am complaining to you of these things, my excellent friend, that you may the more earnestly entreat God on our behalf, in proportion to our own neglect ; and also, that I may be allowed more freely to beseech you, if you have leisure, to give some exhortation and advice to the English, (among whom your influence is very great,) by which they may be instructed how best to conduct themselves at this critical period. If you will do this in Latin, there will be those who will translate your discourse into English. Master Bucer, of pious memory, published a congratulatory epistle<sup>1</sup> to the English, when England first received the gospel : and let Bullinger publish something now, by which the godly may be comforted, and the wicked admonished. Should I seem too urgent in this request, I am ready to bear the charge of importunity, provided only you will confer this benefit upon our church. I call it a benefit, because I am most fully persuaded that very many of our people will hence be led to a solid repentance. And as soon as the Lord shall have found this to be the case among us, he will then shew himself a compassionate Father, and will freely restore to us both the gospel and our country likewise ; and how great a blessing this will be, any godly person may easily determine. Come then, my excellent Bullinger, if your other engagements, so useful to the church, will allow you leisure, come, and direct your attention to what you consider will most profit our afflicted church. May our eternal God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, evermore guide you by his Spirit into all truth !

Your most devoted,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

[<sup>1</sup> This was published in 1548, and entitled, *Gratulatio Buceri ad ecclesiam Anglicanam de religionis Christi restitutione.* Strype, Mem. ii. i. 229.]

Salute, I pray you, in my name, master Gualter, to whom also I commend the care of our church. I know indeed that he has an exceeding regard for her: may he always retain this, and earnestly entreat God on her behalf; and may he also stretch out his hand to her in her state of languishing! Salute also master Wickius my host, and our English friends. Give this letter, I pray you, to one of your boys, to take to my brother. May the Lord Jesus bless you and all yours! If you will do me the favour to reply, master Beza can always forward me your letters.

Lausanne, Sept. 13, 1556.

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## LETTER XCIV.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LAUSANNE, Oct. 13, 1556.

GREETING. Such is your favourable inclination towards England, most learned Bullinger, that I can easily persuade myself that your kindness will pay the same attention to what I requested of you in my intercessory letter, as if I had addressed you more fully and frequently upon the same subject. I therefore commend to you my petition for my country England, the state of which is deserving of commiseration in proportion to its wretchedness. Our affairs are indeed getting worse every day. For I have just heard from England, that the earl of Sussex<sup>2</sup> has been sent with some troops into Norfolk and Suffolk, to compel the gospellers to attend mass. What tyranny is this! Do you not think that the truly pious now stand in need of comfort, and the weak of exhortation? Come then, if you have leisure, most excellent father, and address our friends by your letters. Philip has demanded of the council to be inaugurated, that is, as we

[<sup>2</sup> Henry Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was appointed by queen Mary commander-in-chief of the temporary army raised in the beginning of her reign, and justice of the forests south of Trent. She also entrusted him with the direction of the numerous spies and informers, who were distributed in his counties for the purpose of detecting the protestants. See Lodge's Illustrations, &c. I. 263.]

commonly say, to be crowned king of England; he has also required ten thousand English troops to be sent to serve under the emperor in the French war. Both requests, however, were denied him. From hence most deadly evils will arise to England, unless Almighty God of his great mercy shall avert them; which that he may do, do you earnestly implore him for Christ's sake, and make some mention of me, if only at the end of your prayer.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

Lausanne, Oct. 13, 1556.

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## LETTER XCIV.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *April 23, 1557.*

I HAVE received your letter, my learned friend, together with the sermon concerning the confession and denial of Christ our Lord. But, as I was about the next day to go to Frankfort, I was neither able to answer your letter, nor to satisfy myself even up to this present time with respect to the object I had in view. Having now returned, and obtained some leisure, I have no other answer to make, save to express my thanks for your kindness, and this not in my own name only, but in that of England. For you have not only performed a most agreeable service to myself, but a most useful one to England, unless we stand in the way of our own advantage. I have already determined with myself to translate that sermon of yours into our vulgar tongue as soon as possible, and thus present it to the perusal of Englishmen. That I did not undertake to have it printed in Latin, is owing partly to the terms of my request, in which I only pleaded for the English; and partly because I was unacquainted with your wishes on the subject. I leave the Latin therefore to your discretion; respecting which, however, if I may be allowed to give an opinion, I should say that it is very necessary in this declining age. However, I will execute as faithfully as I can what I have willingly taken upon myself. England owes you



*Engraved by W. Balfour from a Drawing in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, © Geo. Phillips 1846*

PHILIP II. of SPAIN.

*Printed for C. Cooke, 27, Paternoster Row.*



thanks, and, I hope, will pay them. May God of his mercy long preserve you in life and health to his church! Believe me exceedingly attached to you; for I am yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

We all commend to your kindness our brethren, who will give you every information respecting our affairs.

Strasburgh, Apr. 23, 1557.

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## LETTER XCVI.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *April 8, 1558.*

MUCH greeting. Though I have had no letter from you since my reply respecting the Hebrew books, and though nothing has arisen since that time about which it was necessary to write to you; yet I have now thought it proper to address you, lest I should seem to be wanting in my duty. For the friendship of such a man must not be buried in silence; and I feel it to be for my advantage to retain your friendship for me by all possible means. I am writing therefore, in fact, from self-love; for my little writing-desk, so empty of all erudition and knowledge, desires to be replenished with the crumbs which fall from your table: on which account I have, God willing, decidedly resolved upon visiting you towards the end of May, and will then have some conversation with you respecting my intentions. Meanwhile I must request (I dare not say, Peter Martyr to receive me into his house: this is denied me; yet I should be very glad if that sentence could any wise be recalled; but if not, I must request) Julius to look out a lodging for me. I wish to have a bed-chamber to myself. I do not intend staying there beyond three months at farthest. Should Julius find any difficulty in meeting with such a lodging, let him call upon master White in my name, who was my landlord when I was there last; and if he can procure a separate bed-chamber at his house, I will willingly engage it, if I can obtain one no where else. I requested also our friend Jewel to receive a parcel from the bearer of this

letter, and take charge of it till I come. You see what trouble I am giving both to you and yours by my proposed visit; but you always pardon my importunity, and therefore I treat you with greater freedom. I will only add, that, should it be convenient, I shall be glad to hear respecting the receipt of the parcel, and also what is done about the lodging; and this before the middle of May, namely, before I leave Strasburgh. I have requested Julius to write; do you also charge him to do so.

We have no news from England, except that the queen is wholly occupied in raising money and troops, it may be, possibly, to make war against herself. However this be, a war is threatened. You have, I suppose, heard of the extinction of the most splendid of all the masses throughout Europe. I was present at its funeral, and saw the emperor crowned<sup>1</sup> without the mass. I have here met with Beza, who obtained from the princes, while they were here, a letter to the French king for the liberation of the prisoners of Christ. What has been done by us besides, I will tell you when we meet. Salute your friend Julius, and all your friends in my name. In haste. Frankfort, Apr. 8, 1558.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

Peter Perne has my things, and will send them to you; I will pay the carriage when I come.

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## LETTER XCVII.

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THOMAS SAMPSON TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *July 10, 1558.*

By the blessing of God I have returned in safety to Strasburgh, and find all my friends well; and I am glad to hear that you are well also. I venerate and embrace that holy and inviolable friendship, which you promise me in the

[<sup>1</sup> The college of electors assembled at Frankfort, Feb. 24, 1558, and declared Ferdinand of Austria the lawful successor to Charles V. See Robertson, iv. 267.]



FERDINAND brother to the Emp. Charles V.



cause of Christ. Besides, I regard with the greatest delight this most useful kind of study, though I am now, through the fault of certain individuals, compelled to put off till another time that which, for the sake of my studies, I had intended to accomplish immediately after the fair: and that is my journey to you; at the thought of which, as I often turned it over in my mind, and rejoiced exceedingly, so I am now obliged, not without much regret, both to witness and to desire its postponement. I shall come however, I hope, shortly: in the mean time, I entreat you for Christ's sake, let there exist between us that inviolable friendship which you promise; let there always be in you the same mind, the same desire of assisting me in my little studies, and, aided by the divine blessing, I will not neglect the opportunity afforded me. But I will give you notice of my coming. Your promise about the Hebrew books is most gratifying; and I beg that you will act altogether in this matter just as if it were your own concern, and you shall neither find me dissatisfied nor ungrateful. When you have agreed with Perne or others, whom you may think qualified for this business, about the means of obtaining the books, and will let me know, I will send you the money, together with a list of the books that I wish to purchase. I only add, what you do, do quickly. Master Heton and his wife salute you. He hopes to visit you at Zurich before the end of September. Master Chambers salutes you. All our friends are well. My wife and our Joanna salute you. The people of Frankfort (I mean the English there) are in a perpetual motion, more perverse than useful. Philip is still in England. Almost all are making preparation for a war with England. But your countrymen on their return from the fair will be full of news; so I will make an end of writing. Farewell, and live most happy in Christ. Affectionately salute for me master Bullinger. Strasburgh, July 10, 1558.

Your most devoted,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

## LETTER XCVIII.

CHRISTOPHER HALES TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *March 4*, [1550.]

ALTHOUGH I promised, most learned Gualter, to write to you from Antwerp, and tell you all the occurrences of so long a journey ; yet, to tell the truth, I was so fatigued with riding, that scarce any part of my body, much less my hand, could perform its office. But now, lest I should seem altogether forgetful of our friendship and mutual promise of correspondence, I write at length, not, as I had intended, from Antwerp, but from London, where I arrived from Calais with greater difficulty and danger than I had met with through the whole of my previous journey. For thus far I had brought all my property in safety, with the exception of a dog, which in the open plain of Brabant, on this side Bruges, refused to follow me any farther : but on our passage over we fell in with a French pirate, (for the truce of fifteen days was on land only, and did not extend to the sea,) by whom our vessel was very near being captured. And had not the tide, as God so willed it, failed the privateer which was in pursuit of us, we should without doubt every one of us have been taken prisoners. But the matter did not end thus. For after we had waited on the shore seven hours in expectation of the flow of the tide, we did not get off without the greatest danger, and some damage to our property. We were compelled, unless we preferred learning French, to run our vessel on shore, sailing and rowing as expeditiously as we could ; in which flight the sailors, as usual in the greatest extremity, that they might more quickly reach the shore, threw overboard whatever first came to hand, without any regard to its value. Among these was my trunk, in which, as you know, were contained my books, and the letters of my excellent friends. I care very little about the destruction of my own property ; but the loss of the letters of those worthy men, to whose kindness I am so deeply indebted, grieves me most exceedingly. But I hope, when they know of my escape, (such is their friendliness and good-will towards me,) that they will not so much regret the

loss of their letters, and feel angry with me, as praise the Lord with me, who has delivered me from such great and imminent danger.

Thus much then of myself; I now come to other matters. Throughout my whole journey I could have no suspicion whatever of the emperor being at war, as all things were as quiet as possible; but when I reached home, I heard that a large fleet was in preparation by him, though what he is intending, or in what direction, I have no certain information. This only I know, and I am very glad of it, that no injury can be done you by sea. I found all my friends and property safe and well at home, to my great pleasure and delight. The facts were true which I had related to you concerning my brother; but God, the just judge, and best defender of innocence, delivered him from prison almost at the very time I left you.

Hooper is daily setting forth with all boldness the heavenly doctrine of our heavenly Father: he is to-morrow to preach before the king<sup>1</sup>. The bishop of Rochester, by name Ridley<sup>2</sup>, a worthy minister of Christ, succeeds the bishop of London, who is deprived. Another post is allotted to the bishop of Westminster<sup>3</sup>, where he will do less mischief. Salute in my name all the brethren in the Lord, and especially that excellent soldier of Christ, and chief minister of your church, master Bullinger, to whom, I pray, make my excuses for having lost his annotations; and request him at the same time to procure me another copy, when I will satisfy the copyist for his trouble. Salute the reverend presbyter, master Pellican, Theodore [Bibliander] learned in the Lord, Otto, Zuinglius, Wolfius, and the witty Frisius, with all the rest; as also each of my fellow-countrymen, whose letters I have lost, which you will mention to them, that they may write them over again. Salute your very dear wife in my name, to whom I would have now sent a small present, if I had any means of forwarding it. When an opportunity is afforded me, I will certainly send it. Meanwhile, I request you, my dear Rodolph, to procure your Apelles to paint for me the following portraits,

[1 This was on Wednesday, March 5, 1550. See above, p. 75, n. 1.]

[2 Ridley was translated to the see of London, in April 1550, by the king's letters patent. Strype, Mem. II. 1, 338. See above, p. 79.]

[3 Bishop Thirlby, who, on the dissolution of the see of Westminster in 1550, was preferred to Norwich. Strype, Cranmer, 129.]

those namely of Zuinglius, Pellican, Theodore, master Bullinger, and yourself, holding books in their hands; of the same size as that oval one of yours which you shewed me, and on wood, not canvass; and I request you to see that four verses, the subject of which I leave to your discretion, be written underneath. Make an agreement with the painter that the colours be good and carefully set off, even though the expense be increased. When finished, let them be packed up in a wooden box, and sent to Burcher, who will pay for them. The sooner they are done, the more acceptable will they be. And if you think the artist can paint a good likeness of *Æcolampadius*<sup>1</sup>, I would have it in addition to the other five. Do not take it ill of me, my worthy host, that I impose upon you this trouble: for did I not love you, and think myself loved by you, I should not do so. If life be granted me, you shall not find me an ungrateful guest. Take care that you be well in the Lord. Send an answer, I pray you, as soon as possible, but take care that the painter put his hand to the work as speedily as he can. I leave the whole matter to your fidelity and discretion. London, March 4.

Your most attached,

CHRISTOPHER HALES.

## LETTER XCIX.

CHRISTOPHER HALES TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *May 24*, 1550.

I HAVE received your letter, my excellent Rodolph, by which I learn with very great regret how little honour there is among men, and how few persons there are in whom any confidence can be placed. But I hope that such is the courtesy of your senate, united with the greatest discretion, that they will endeavour to arrange this whole business, whatever it be, to the glory of God's great name; and I have no doubt

[<sup>1</sup> *Æcolampadius* died Dec. 1, 1531.]

but that the Author of peace will grant them a happy issue. Let us diligently pray in the mean time that he may be pleased to do this as soon as possible. For godliness has no voice in the midst of arms, the truth of which saying we, alas! as you well know, have lately experienced in our grievous intestine discords. And I could wish that others, being warned by our example, would lay aside their arms, and learn to lead a peaceable life in all godliness, a thing we have but lately begun to understand. But now at length, thank God, we are in the enjoyment of great tranquillity: may our good and gracious God grant that we may employ it to his honour, and the benefit of our neighbours! John a Lasco<sup>2</sup> came back to us ten days since, in consequence of things in Poland not turning out according to his godly desires. His king would not grant him an audience, for fear of the bishops. As soon as I have heard from him how your friend Florian is going on, I will let you know in my next letter. Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester two days since, but under godly conditions: for he will not allow himself to be called Rabbi, or my lord, as we are wont to say; he refuses to receive the tonsure, he refuses to become a pie, and to be consecrated and anointed in the usual way, with many other things, which you shall hear at another time: from this bishoprick he has two thousand crowns per annum. God grant that he may so preside over his flock as to afford a godly example to the other shepherds; and I would desire you, my Rodolph, and the other learned ministers of that church to labour earnestly in his behalf. Your friend Oglethorpe, as I hear, is imprisoned for superstition, and is about to lose, it is said, the presidency of Magdalene college. The new bishop of London is now employed in his visitation<sup>3</sup>, and threatens to eject those who

[<sup>2</sup> John a Lasco arrived in England for the first time in September, 1548, upon the invitation of Cranmer, with whom he resided at Lambeth for six months. He returned to Embden in the spring of 1549; but the introduction of the Interim into Friesland accelerated his departure from that country, which he quitted in October, and having resided for some time at Bremen and Hamburg, he embarked from the last named town, and reached England in the spring of 1550, where on July 24th he was appointed the superintendent of the foreign protestant congregation established in London. See Burnet and Strype.]

[<sup>3</sup> For the injunctions given in this visitation see Ridley's works, Parker Society edition, p. 319.]

shall not have come to their senses before his next visitation; and if I know the man, he will be as good as his word.

I wrote to you in my last letter about some portraits; and I now repeat my request, that you will be mindful of me in this matter. Salute in my name your excellent wife Rachel, to whom I send two candlesticks, and twenty dishes, some of them of pewter, and some of wood. I wish indeed that they had all been silver; for the kindness of you both has deserved that from me and a great deal more. Salute moreover in my name all the ministers of your church, and especially masters Bullinger, Pellican, Theodore [Bibliander], Otto, Wolfius, and Zuinglius, my friend Butler too, and John, if he is over yonder, and your merry friend Frisius, and all the rest. Farewell, master Rodolph, and command my services. London, May 24, 1550.

Your friend and brother in Christ,

CHRISTOPHER HALES.

## LETTER C.

CHRISTOPHER HALES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 12*, [1550.]

I WAS exceedingly rejoiced, my most excellent Bullinger, at hearing from our worthy friend Abel, that you were alive and well: but when he delivered me your letter, I then knew for a certainty that this was the case; and that you have not yet laid aside from your remembrance our friendship contracted in the intercourse of a few months, which circumstance I am inclined to attribute to your singular kindness. But I wish that an opportunity may sometime be afforded me of being serviceable in any way either to yourself or any of your friends. I would certainly take care that mutual fidelity, faith, and good-will, should nowise be wanting in myself. As to the pictures, I will endeavour that no offence be occasioned by that matter. And not only in this, but also in every thing else, I will defend, as far as lies in my power, the fame and

reputation of you all; which I know to be entirely pure from any of those things which can in any way impair the glory and praise of God. I think that my elder brother, John Hales, who was the cause of my quick and sudden departure from you, will come over to you this summer from Augsburg. Should he wish to make use of your most prudent counsel in any matter, let him perceive that my recommendation has been of some use towards the attainment of that object. And any kindness you may shew to him will be much more gratifying and acceptable to me than if you had shewn it to myself: which though it may appear to you a bold assertion, yet such is my love towards him, that when I have said every thing, I seem to myself to have said but little. Farewell, most excellent sir, and believe that I am yours. Salute in my name all the most worthy ministers of your church and school, to whom I wish every happiness in the Lord. Farewell. London, June 12.

Yours heartily,

CHRISTOPHER HALES.

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## LETTER CI.

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CHRISTOPHER HALES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Dec.* 10, 1550.

MUCH health, most excellent sir. Your letter has been brought to me, wherein I perceive the candour of your mind, and your more than common kindness towards me. Your candour appears, in that you have borne the loss<sup>1</sup> I occasioned you with so much courtesy and good temper: although I was entirely free from blame, since it arose not from any fault of mine, but from, I know not whether to call it, the wilfulness or bad-faith of the sailors. But however it be, you have afforded me no common pleasure by so kindly interpreting the whole matter. Your exceeding kindness appears in this, that you have both sympathised in my misfortune, and so courteously congratulated me on the favourable state of my affairs. What you say, that I have you in my remem-

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, of the letters mentioned above, p. 184.]

brance, is indeed true; and not one year only, nor all the years of my future life, will be able to efface that remembrance; as you shall certainly find to be the case, as soon as I shall meet with any opportunity of shewing it.

I have delayed to write respecting the study of medicine at Oxford, and the expenses there, until I could give you a correct statement. I have however learned from a friend, who is resident there, that the university of Oxford is not to be compared with that of Paris or the schools of Italy; but still it is one in which a studious youth may be occupied with great advantage. The same is to be said of Cambridge, but I rather recommend Oxford on account of the greater salubrity of the air. Cambridge, by reason of the neighbouring fen, is much exposed to fever, as I have experienced more frequently than I could wish. With respect to expense, my friend informed me, that thirty French crowns would suffice tolerably well for a year; to which if other ten could be added, a man might expect to live very comfortably. In my time, ten years since, twenty crowns were a sufficient allowance; but in these latter days, when avarice is every where increasing, and charity growing cold, and this by a divine scourge, every thing has become almost twice as dear as it was. And this I attribute to no other cause than our proud and Pharaoh-like rejection of the spiritual food of our souls so liberally and abundantly offered. May God have mercy on us, and give us better minds, that we may at length truly and heartily repent; lest, abusing the singular mercy of God, we should call down upon ourselves a more grievous retribution!

I have written to master Gualter to procure six portraits to be painted for me, which he writes word that he has done, but has retained four of them for two reasons; first, because there is some danger lest a door shall hereafter be opened to idolatry; and next, lest it should be imputed to you as a fault, as though it were done by you from a desire of empty glory. But the case is far otherwise. For I desired to have them on this account, both for an ornament to my library, and that your effigies might be beheld in the picture, as in a mirror, by those who by reason of distance are prevented from beholding you in person. This is not done, excellent sir, with the view of making idols of you; they are desired for the reasons I have mentioned, and not for the



S. P. Rodolpho optime. Binas literas abs te accepi ex quibus preclare  
intelligo me a te amari ac res meas minus quidem audacter tibi a me  
impositas summa fide ac diligentia a te esse administratas. Quod ego  
non tam ex rei ipsius euentu quam propensa animi tui erga me  
Voluntate estimo.

Tuus ex aīo C. Halesius.

sake of honour or veneration. For except myself, who always desire your reputation and honour in all respects unimpaired, there is no one who knows for what reason these pictures are coming to me. I request therefore, most excellent sir, that I may be allowed to obtain from you this favour. Do not, I pray you, shew yourself obdurate in this matter, which is both trifling in itself, and not capable of occasioning injury to any one. Farewell, most accomplished sir. London, Dec. 10, 1550.

Your most devoted,

CHRISTOPHER HALES.

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## LETTER CII.

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### CHRISTOPHER HALES TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Between *June 12, 1550, and Jan. 26, 1551.*

MUCH health, my excellent Rodolph. I have received two letters from you, by which I clearly understand your affection for me, and that the commission which I too freely imposed upon you, has been executed by you with the greatest fidelity and diligence. And this I do not so much gather from the result itself, as from the favourable disposition of your mind towards me. I know that every thing was most diligently undertaken by you, and rather choose to lay the blame upon my own fate than to entertain the slightest suspicion of any fault on your part; so that there was no occasion for making me any apology. You have indeed admirably discharged your office, and I certainly consider myself undeserving of so much kindness. You must not therefore suppose that I view the matter in any other light than if the whole affair had succeeded according to my wish. I am greatly surprised that Burcher should persist in thinking that portraits can nowise be painted with a safe conscience and a due regard to godliness; since there is not a single letter in the holy scriptures which appears really to sanction that opinion. For, if I understand aright, images were forbidden in the

sacred books for no other reason, than that the people of God might not be drawn aside from the true worship of one true God to the vain worship of many false gods. And if there be no danger of this, I do not see why pictures may not be painted and possessed, especially when they are not kept in any place where there can be the least suspicion of idolatry. Who worships the monkey that is placed in your fish-market? Who worships a cock fixed on the church-steeple, as your father-in-law actually has, who is so determined an enemy of idolatry? Who bows himself before your Charles<sup>1</sup> placed on the top of the tower? Who is so senseless, as to worship a painting or picture deposited in the library? Supposing that there are those who honour them when hung up in churches and sacred places, which I by no means approve; yet where is the man so devoid of all religion, godliness, fear of the most high and Almighty God, and so entirely forgetful of himself, as to regard with veneration a little portrait repositied in some ordinary place in a museum?

But it is said that times may occur, when there will be danger lest encouragement be given to idolatry by their means. Well then, it may in the same manner be argued, that no image or likeness ought to be made of any thing whatever! But I am so far from suspecting you of an opinion of this kind, that I do not suppose it is entertained by any man upon earth. Indeed, my worthy friend, if I thought it possible that the worship of idols could be re-established by such means, believe me, that if I had the pictures, I would tear them into a thousand pieces with my own hands.

Another reason is next alleged, which if I had considered a true one, I certainly, my Rodolph, should never have made this request. I know your disposition, and that of the rest of you. It is impossible that you should ever suppose me capable of thinking so unfavourably of yourself and of the other ministers of your church, whom I consider to be as far removed from all anxiety for display as any persons living. But you have no occasion to fear what others may think of you, as there is no one, or at least very few; with the exception of our two selves, who know from what source these pic-

[<sup>1</sup> The south tower of the Gross-munster or cathedral at Zurich is called Charles's tower, from a statue placed there, which is supposed to be that of Charlemagne.]

tures will be brought to me. Who lays it to the charge of the Romans of old, that we have their resemblances engraved upon numerous medals? Who blames Luther, Bucer, Philip [Melanethon], Ecolampadius, and very many others now living, because their likenesses are every where to be met with? This is nothing extraordinary, but a thing of very frequent occurrence among all nations, for men fond of learning to adorn their studies with the memorials and images of literary characters; and this I think no one would say is done with a view to the establishment of idolatry. These things are done in general for the sake of ornament, not to do honour to individuals; so that you need not imagine that you will ever become the instruments of some impious and ungodly purpose.

As to your telling me that each of you has retained his own portrait for himself, I have no right to find fault, since you seem to have done this under the excitement of godly zeal. I know that you are prudent and well-judging men, and that you have not rashly changed your purpose, which I certainly wish you had not done without being influenced and supported by grave reasons; and if they had known me well, they would not have thought they had any thing to fear from such a circumstance. For I am not one who would have the true worship of God adulterated in any, even the least, matter; much less would I wish the reintroduction of gross idolatry, so hateful to the Lord of heaven and earth.

Wherefore I request you, my beloved brother in Christ, to explain to them these my sentiments on this subject, and to ask, in my name, permission for me to obtain from their kindness this single request, namely, that the remaining four portraits may be sent me. And if you cannot obtain this, (though I hope otherwise,) I at least beg and indeed insist upon this, that your Zeuxis shall be paid at my expense. For I by no means consider it fair, that those worthy men should pay the penalty of my offence, if offence it be: I have been in fault, and I must bear the blame. In the next place, I entreat you, my worthy friend, that should I not be able to obtain all the portraits, I may at least obtain the two others, namely, that of Theodore, which you tell me was taken without his knowledge, and as it were by stealth, and also your own; for I am well assured that you are of

quite the contrary opinion, unless you have lately very much changed it, or else you would never have had the portraits taken of your wife and little girl. I am now dealing with you upon what you have set your own seal to, as they say; see what reply you have to make. But I know that not only yourself, but that the most excellent master Bullinger is of the same way of thinking, and this too from your own statement. For you tell me that the portrait of *Cœcolampadius* is taken from the copy which he has in his possession; which if he had considered to be unlawful, I am sure that a man of so much piety and godliness would never have allowed so impious an act. But enough of this. Excuse me if I have dwelt somewhat too long upon the subject.

And now respecting the expenses and studies at Oxford; I have been more diligent in my inquiry, because the youth was a connexion of yours, and the son of that excellent man, the senator Cellarius. You must know then, that I have ascertained from an Oxford friend, who has himself tried it, that medicine is so studied there, as that a man may devote himself to literature with great advantage. In the next place, that the expense of living is such, as that thirty crowns a year will be amply sufficient; but if ten more be added, there will be no deficiency of means for every proper purpose. And if I may interpose my opinion, I would rather that such allowance should be provided, as that there should be ten pounds too much, rather than one too little. Should he come hither, I shall most willingly shew him every kindness for your sake. Lastly, with respect to the pewter and the cloth, I cannot send them at present, but, God willing, you shall certainly receive them at the next Frankfort fair. Christopher Froschover is now at Oxford; I have received a letter from him, but have not yet chanced to see him. Your Zurich courtesy will not allow me to refuse any service that he may require. I hear that your wife is in the family-way; wish her from me a happy delivery. Take care of your health, Rodolph, my very dear brother in the Lord. Salute from me all our godly brethren sojourning among you. Though Butler is named last, let him know that he has not the last place in my friendship. Salute him therefore, and his wife, when you have an opportunity. Although the church of God be oppressed, it cannot be

destroyed. Our godly bishops are planning, for the second time, a more complete reformation of our church. God grant that all things may turn out to the glory of his name! Amen, Amen. Farewell, my beloved Rodolph.

Yours heartily,

C. HALES.

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### LETTER CIII.

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CHRISTOPHER HALES TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *Jan. 26, 1551.*

MUCH health, most excellent Rodolph. You desired me, in your last letter, to send you some of the pewter ware of this country, and some cloth suited for hose. This commission I have executed as faithfully and diligently as I could, and I hope that it will meet your approval. I have delivered the articles to our friend Richard Hilles, who has promised to take care that they shall be handed over to Froschover at Frankfort at the next fair. And that you may know more certainly what you are to receive from him, you must know that I have inclosed in the package six dishes of a larger size, and as many smaller, to which I have added six saucers. There are also twelve plates, which, if I am not mistaken, are of the kind you wished for. They cost six and twenty shillings and seven pence of our money: if this price appear to you too great, I assure you, that not only ware of this kind, but also every thing else, is twice as dear as usual. As to the cloth, I purchased it for seven shillings of our money, which, at the present rate of exchange, amounts to one French crown and two batzen. As you gave me no positive direction in your letter, I have sent as much cloth as will make one pair of hose. Should I understand that this expensive kind of cloth meets your approbation, I can easily contrive for you to have at any time as much as you may require.

And now as to the pictures and the labour of the artist. I must again entreat and implore you that, if it be possible, you will let me have them. But if I cannot obtain this, at least let the work of the artist be paid for at my expense.

For I do not think it right for me to impose such a burden upon those excellent men. Farewell, my worthy Rodolph, and number me among your friends. Salute in my name all the worthy ministers of your church, together with your excellent wife and our friend Butler. Entreat the Lord continually for us in your prayers; for his church was never placed in greater danger. The affair of the bishop of Winchester<sup>1</sup> is now going on, and he will probably ere long be deprived of his office, together with some other not godly bishops. May Christ grant, (for the whole cause is his,) that other godly men may be appointed in their stead! London, Jan. 26, 1551.

Yours heartily,

CHRISTOPHER HALES.

The whole cost of the pewter and cloth together amounts to five French crowns and one or two batzen.

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## LETTER CIV.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated [in *August*, 1540.]

PATIENCE, that when you have performed the work of God, you may obtain the promise! God knows, my most honoured master, how greatly I have always desired to write to you, and how slenderly I am furnished with materials for writing in Latin. He who dealeth to every man the measure of faith, and gifts according to his will, has bestowed upon me some little knowledge of Latin, but not the ability of expressing myself at all clearly in that language, so that I have never yet ventured to write in Latin to any one. But as you have so often challenged me with your hortatory and truly comforting letters, and, so to speak, have compelled me to write you something in reply; and especially as I am persuaded that with your wonted courtesy and kindness you will take every thing in good part that will anywise admit of a right

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of the proceedings against bishop Gardiner, see Foxe, vi. 64, &c. Soames, III. 607.]

interpretation; I have now sent you this ill-composed letter, which however I certainly should not have sent at present, had I not previously lost all hope of seeing you this year. I certainly intended to have gone into Switzerland with my wife this present August, chiefly for the sake of paying you a visit; but my brother Butler, who is now busily engaged in courting a widow of Strasburgh, has been away with her relatives the whole of this month; so that unless we choose to travel by ourselves, we are at present obliged to remain here, though I do not expect to have so much leisure time again for a whole year. Do not, I pray you, mention this to any one; but he is at present uncertain whether she will marry any body, and I am afraid she will hardly become his wife, by reason of a disorder under which she has long been suffering, even during her late husband's lifetime. It has often come into my mind to write you the news from England, and the changes that are continually taking place; but I have been prevented by a becoming modesty from persevering in my intention; for I not only write Latin as barbarously and ungrammatically as I speak it, but even the words themselves fail me. Relying, however, upon your wisdom and good nature, by which you know how to be unlearned among the unlearned, that you may unite them to Christ, I send you herewith a summary of those matters respecting the state of our kingdom last year, which I have gathered from the letters of brethren worthy of credit, and which I had intended to communicate to you in person. I only request you to receive in good part what has been written, though in a rude and barbarous style, with a friendly disposition towards you.

As to the state of our commonwealth before the feast of Easter last passed (namely in the year 1540), I hope you have been sufficiently informed by our aforesaid brother Butler. For in my letters to him I described very carefully, as far as my abilities would allow me, all the events that had occurred, and this that he might afterwards communicate them to the learned and godly men yonder, and especially to yourself. I received your letter dated on the sixth of this month, and also the one you had previously forwarded by that Frenchman, at the same time, and heartily thank you for them both; and especially because you thought

fit therein to afford me such true and godly consolation from the holy scriptures, and so diligently to exhort me to patience and longsuffering, in which graces I am greatly deficient. In the next place I have received from your letter, by God's blessing, this great benefit, namely, that I have considered and deliberated much more carefully and discreetly than before, what it is to leave one's first love, and how unbecoming it is for a Christian to return to his vomit; and how fearful a thing it is for any one to fall into the hands of the living God! Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who has doubtless oftentimes comforted you in your tribulation and distress, that you may thereby be more able to comfort them which are in any trouble!

Meanwhile however, that you may know the state of my affairs, it is as follows. When I perceived that there was no place left for me in England, unless, as Ustazades<sup>1</sup> replied to the king of Persia, I chose to become a traitor both to God and man; I forthwith left the country, but on the pretext of carrying on my trade in this place. This motive however is known by all my godly acquaintance to be a false one, and also suspected to be such by my ungodly adversaries. But as I have not been indicted for heresy, or summoned before the courts of law, all my property yonder is at present tolerably safe; so that I remit to England at every fair, for the purpose of importing a fresh supply of cloth, the money that I receive both here and at Frankfort. I have mentioned this with the view of making you acquainted with my affairs, lest, in case you should hear any report of my voluntary exile in these parts, the account of my troubles in England should fail of being noticed. Meanwhile, I freely confess to you, (though it would not be safe for me to make the same acknowledgment to every one,) that I have determined not to return thither, unless it should first please God to effect such a change, as that we may serve him there without hindrance, and without being forced to sanction what is evil. My wife, thank God, makes provision for our comfort here quite as well, or indeed better than myself. Although, by God's help,

[<sup>1</sup> See *Historia Tripartita*, Lib. III. cap. ii. p. 325-6. of *Auctores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Basil. 1533. Also, Pilkington's Works, Park Soc. Ed. p. 637.]

I do not doubt of my perseverance even unto the end, I entreat you to pray the Lord for us, that he which hath begun a good work in us may perform it until the day of Christ. Our brother Butler returned to England after the last Frankfort fair; but so miserable was the state of things in that country, that he did not remain there more than eighteen days.

Furthermore, I entreat you for God's sake not to mention to any one what I am now writing, except to masters Theodore Bibliander, Pellican, Leo Judæ, and other godly and learned men of the same stamp; and above all, let it not be known as coming from any Englishman. And I implore you not to let them read my letter, for fear they should ridicule, as it deserves, my rash and foolish presumption in writing in this unpolished and unconnected manner. I should have given my letter to Butler, if he had been at home, or to some other Englishman in this place, to be put into better Latin, only that I am not willing for them to know (though I do not distrust them) that I have communicated so many things to all of you together; lest probably, when they are writing to England, they may, with a good intention, acquaint some godly person or other, who, without sufficient caution, as frequently happens, will<sup>2</sup>.....

I thank you much for the information you give me respecting Falcner; and I request that if there are any other pious and God-fearing men yonder, who are in the habit of purchasing English cloth, you will let me know their names, that, should they at any time wish to obtain some cloth from me upon credit, I may let them have it. For I do not feel disposed to credit any persons with any large sum, except the people of Zurich, and a few, it may be, at Schaffhausen: wherefore, if you will do me this favour, I shall be much obliged. I will pray Christ to requite you in return, for whose sake I know that you love me; just as you hate the ungodly for the devil's sake, and for his image in them, as did the prophet David, and all holy men besides. How well do we learn by daily experience the truth of that verse of Solomon, The righteous abhor the wicked, and those who are in the right way are abominable to the ungodly. Farewell, honoured pastor, most happily in the Lord, and may Christ, the chief

[<sup>2</sup> The remainder of this sentence is altogether unintelligible.]

Shepherd, grant you so to fulfil your ministry, that when he shall appear, you may not be ashamed, but have confidence, and obtain the incorruptible crown of glory promised to those who are like you. Amen. My wife dutifully salutes you, and especially your wife. We both of us very much desire to visit you. You have no need to wish for us, for we cannot in any way be of comfort or service to you, but in many ways a hinderance and impediment to your studies. Again farewell in Christ, my very dear master, and do not, I pray you, forget to salute in my name your godly wife, and joint heir with yourself of the kingdom of heaven.

Yours heartily,  
R. H.

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## LETTER CV.<sup>1</sup>

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [LONDON, 1541].

BEFORE Whitsuntide three persons were burned in the suburbs of London, in that part of the city belonging to the diocese of Winchester, because they denied transubstantiation, and had not received the sacrament at Easter. And as these things took place in the diocese of Winchester, it was remarked by many persons that these men were brought to the stake by the procurement of the bishop; just as he burned, shortly after, a crazed man of the name of Collins<sup>2</sup>. This man had previously been kept in prison for two or three years, but I do not exactly know for what reason. Once, as he was passing by a crucifix, to which processions had sometimes been made, (principally by the Spanish sailors on their arriving safe in harbour,) he aimed an arrow at the idol, and

[<sup>1</sup> This letter is quoted by Burnet, III. 215, &c. "It is writ," he says, (226) "with much good sense and piety, but in very bad Latin;" which indeed in some places renders it very difficult to find out the meaning.]

[<sup>2</sup> Collins became insane through the evil conduct of his wife, who deserted him for another. He was burned in 1538. See Foxe, v. 251.]

striking its foot, called out to it to defend itself, and punish him if it were able. Many persons, however, say that this was not the cause of his imprisonment; but rather, because he was wont to exclaim against the nobility and great men of the kingdom, and rashly to bring forward against them many passages of holy scripture, especially the prophets, wherein there was any mention made of unrighteous judgments, or the cruel treatment of neighbours and dependents. Meanwhile, I know this for a fact, that when Lambert was confined with him in the same prison, (that Lambert<sup>3</sup>, namely, who was condemned by the king himself for his opinions respecting the eucharist, a short time before Burcher fled from England,) four or five days before he was brought to the stake, this Collins was not so crazy or ignorant but that he was able to bring forward and apply very expeditiously and aptly on Lambert's behalf, against the bishops and other ungodly persons who appeared against him before the royal tribunal<sup>4</sup>, various passages from the New Testament, and from the Psalms, such as these, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, &c." "The Lord knoweth the days of the upright, and their inheritance shall be for ever." [Ps. xxxvii. 18.] "The wicked shall not dwell with thee, neither shall the unrighteous stand in thy sight." "Thou hatest all workers of iniquity, thou shalt destroy all that speak leasing." [Ps. v. 5, &c. vulgate.] "The Lord abhorreth the bloody and deceitful man; they shall not live out half their days," &c. [Ps. lv. 23.] Now to other matters.

Before the feast of John the Baptist it began to be whispered about that the king intended to divorce his queen, Anne, the sister of the duke of Gelderland, though he had married her publicly with great pomp, in the face of the church, on the feast of Epiphany, after last Christmas. This was first of all whispered by the courtiers, who observed the king to be much taken with another young lady<sup>5</sup> of very

[<sup>3</sup> For a full account of the proceedings against John Lambert, see Foxe, v. 181, and Soames, ii. 324. He was burned in Smithfield in 1538.]

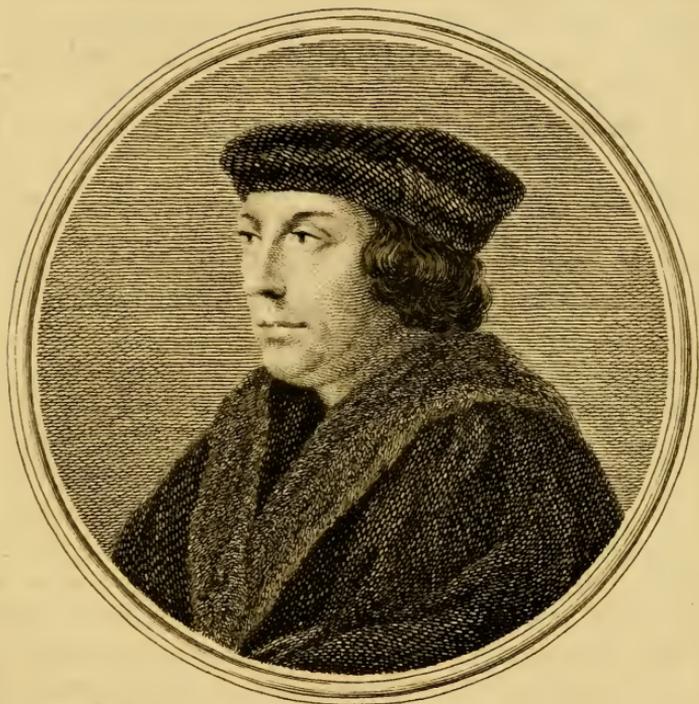
[<sup>4</sup> The king determined to hear the cause in person, and Westminster Hall was prepared for the purpose. Soames, ii. 327.]

[<sup>5</sup> This was Catharine, daughter to Lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk.]

diminutive stature, whom he now has. It is a certain fact, that about the same time many citizens of London saw the king very frequently in the day-time, and sometimes at midnight, pass over to her on the river Thames in a little boat. The bishop of Winchester also very often provided feastings and entertainments for them in his palace; but the citizens regarded all this not as a sign of divorcing the queen, but of adultery. After a few days, Cromwell<sup>1</sup>, the king's vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical (for such was his official designation) fell from the king's favour, and at the beginning of June was sent to the Tower of London, from whence he never went forth till the twenty-eighth of July, when he was beheaded, together with another nobleman, the lord Hungerford<sup>2</sup>, whom they charged with having attempted to calculate the day when the king should die. I know nothing for certain as to the cause of Cromwell's execution, because he was not brought for examination before the tribunal, as had always been the case heretofore with all noblemen, and especially when accused of treason against the king. But it was commonly said by most persons, and with great probability, that the real cause of his execution was, that he did not support the king, as Winchester and the other courtiers did, in his project of a divorce, but rather asserted that it would neither be for the king's honour, nor for the good of the kingdom. Not long before the death of Cromwell, the king advanced him, and granted him large houses and riches, and more public offices, together with very extensive and lucrative domains; (and in the same way he also endowed queen Anne, a short time before he beheaded her.) But some persons now suspect that this was all an artifice, to make people conclude that he must have been a most wicked traitor, and guilty of treason in every possible way; or else the king would never have executed one who was so dear to him, as was made manifest by the presents he had bestowed upon him. It was from a like artifice, as some think, that the king conferred upon Crom-

[1 For an account of Cromwell's fall, see Foxe, v. 398, and Soames, II. 409.]

[2 Walter, lord Hungerford, was accused, among other crimes, of ordering Sir Hugh Wood, one of his chaplains, and one doctor Maudlin, to use conjuring, that they might know how long the king should live. See Burnet, I. 580.]



*THOMAS Lord CROMWELL.*



well's son Gregory<sup>3</sup>, who was almost a fool, his father's title, and many of his domains, while he was yet living in prison; that he might more readily confess his offences against the king, at the time of execution, and that his majesty might not be provoked to take back the presents and estates that he had bestowed. There are, moreover, other parties who assert, with what truth God knows, that Cromwell was threatened to be burned at the stake, and not to die by the axe, unless at the time of execution he would acknowledge his crimes against the king; and that he then said, "I am altogether a miserable sinner. I have sinned against my good and gracious God, and have offended the king." But what he said respecting the king was carelessly and coldly pronounced by him.

Our sins have doubtless deserved this change in our affairs, because, when God sent forth his word amongst us, it was not regarded by us as the word of God, nor were we sufficiently thankful to its author; but we have been dreaming that it was understood by our own strength and ability, and have constantly ascribed its success to the conduct of some, and the learning of others, while we fancied that God was all the while asleep and inactive. Wherefore the Lord, purposing gradually, but not all at once, to manifest his mercy towards us, as well as his power in the general course of his providence, has taken away, together with purity of doctrine, those individuals also upon whose wisdom we so much depended for support; willing that his providence should herein be shewn forth, by frustrating and destroying our expectations from men, and our boasting that interfered with his glory; and manifesting too his mercy, by permitting these things to be gradually taken away, together with those persons in whom we trusted; and this, that, being so often deceived in our expectations from the creature, we might place all our confidence in him alone, and acknowledge him as the continual agent, as well as the original source, of all grace and goodness. This long-suffering of God, so tempered with instruction, ought to have worked repentance in us, unless we had been a stiff-necked people. But such was the wretchedness of our condition, that we did not consider it was the Lord's teaching: but as soon as he had destroyed the hopes

[<sup>3</sup> Gregory Cromwell was summoned to parliament 28th April, 1539, and created, by patent, Baron Cromwell, 18th Dec. 1540. Ob. 1551.]

we had reposed in one individual, we raised up to ourselves another in whom we placed our confidence; until at last God has taken them all away from us, and has inflicted upon us such a want of sincere ministers of the word, that a man may now travel from the east of England to the west, and from the north to the south, without being able to discover a single preacher, who out of a pure heart and faith unfeigned is seeking the glory of our God. He has taken them all away. (And here I mean queen Anne, who was beheaded, together with her brother; also the Lord Cromwell, with Latimer<sup>1</sup> and the other bishops.) Oh the great wrath and indignation of God! yea, rather the far greater mass of our sins, by reason of which the tender severity of God could not but inflict upon us this punishment! But whither am I wandering? It is as though a swine should endeavour to instruct Minerva. I will therefore return to the subject.

At the time when the lord Cromwell was imprisoned, the king held a public assembly of the nobility, bishops, and certain of the citizens, according to the custom of this country, and which our people call a parliament; in which were published more than forty-eight new statutes, (and the king intends them to be of perpetual obligation,) of which I here only mention a few, but not all, of those which concern religion. The following is the title of one statute, thus set forth by the king and parliament: A bill<sup>2</sup> for moderating the penalties inflicted upon priests for incontinence. You have heard, I know, my honoured master, of the statute that was put forth among us in the year 1539, against six articles<sup>3</sup> of the christian religion. One clause of it, if you remember, provided that priests were to put away their wives, upon pain of being condemned as felons, upon the first conviction. But by the same statute it was allowed priests to commit fornication once or twice; but if they were detected a third time, they were to

[<sup>1</sup> Latimer resigned his bishoprick July 1st, 1539, <sup>and was shortly after was</sup> in consequence <sup>of his opposition to the statute of the Six Articles.] <sup>private</sup> <sup>times.</sup></sup>

[<sup>2</sup> This bill was brought in on the 16th July, for moderating the statute of the Six articles in the clauses that related to the marriage of the priests, or their incontinency with other women. By it the pains of death were turned to forfeitures of their goods and chattels, and the rents of their ecclesiastical promotions, to the king. Burnet, i. 453.]

[<sup>3</sup> These articles are given in Burnet, i. 416; Soames, ii. 368; Foxe, v. 262; Strype, Mem. i. i. 542.]

be hung as they do thieves in this country. Felony has from olden time been punished among us with the gallows, if the thing stolen exceeded the value of six batzen. The king has considered the punishment provided by the statute, namely, that aforesaid, the title of which you have heard, of hanging upon a third conviction, to be too severe, or, as we say, extreme. And it is therefore the king's pleasure for parliament to enact, that priests should for the first offence be punished by fine; then, upon a second conviction, by the loss of one benefice, if the priest should have more than one; and for the third time, by the forfeiture of all their temporal goods, together with all their preferment whatever, and perpetual imprisonment during life. And yet meanwhile it does not appear to the king at all "extreme" still to hang those clergymen who marry, or who retain those wives whom they had married previously to the former statute.

Another bill bears the following title, "An Act to dissolve the king's pretended marriage with the lady Anne of Cleves." I will procure this that you may have it translated into Latin, word for word. And yet, what is pretended shortly after the preamble, that the commonalty of the realm have had many doubts and perplexities respecting that marriage, is altogether false. For not a man would have dared to open his mouth to mention such doubts and perplexities, even if they had existed, which was not the case. What a termination will the godly expect to this bill, which is thus founded upon falsehood! It is false too, what the statute declares, that the nobility and members of parliament petitioned the king to refer the whole matter concerning this marriage to the consideration of his clergy: whereas it is certain, that no nobleman or citizen would have dared to utter a single word about that business, either openly or in secret, until they had perceived that the king's affections were alienated from the lady Anne to that young girl Catharine, the cousin of the duke of Norfolk, whom he married immediately upon Anne's divorce. As to the reply of the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops to the king's letter, requiring them to examine and decide upon the case, "that they had found Anne of Cleves was still a maid, and had never been carnally known by the king<sup>4</sup>,"

[<sup>4</sup> The answer which the council wrote to the English ambassador at Paris was, that the queen herself affirmed that her person had not

this is a likely thing forsooth! Who, judging of the king by his fruits, would ever believe him to be so chaste a character? Especially when he was in such a hurry as to send for her before Christmas, and to have her alone with him every day in his chamber, and in public, as a queen, during five or six months. This single pretended fact was, as far as I can conjecture, that which these five courtiers, the bishops<sup>1</sup>, with their episcopal brethren so gravely considered, and weighed, and sifted, as you find in their reply above mentioned. Our preachers, in all their sermons, used to pray for her in these terms, "The most noble queen Anne, the right lawful wife of our sovereign Henry VIII." &c.

This bill, moreover, gives indemnity to all those persons who had spoken, or taken any measures, against the king's marriage with queen Anne. But this was done with a view to deceive, as though there were any such persons to be pardoned. Let all England stand forth and produce even a single individual of this stamp, if it can. And those parties who endeavoured to promote the dissolution of the same marriage, have no need of a pardon from parliament, since it is most certain that they would never have made the attempt without the sanction and approval of the king.

By the authority, too, of the same parliament, the king has imposed many burdens upon his subjects. For there was granted him a fifth of all the yearly revenues of the bishops, and the benefices of the clergy, in addition to the tenths which he annually receives from them. From the laity, as well the nobility, as citizens and peasantry, there was granted him the tenth of all their yearly income, patrimony, and lands; and from those who have not any patrimony or yearly revenue, there was granted the king a twentieth of their monies, goods, cattle, fruit, and all kind of property what-  
been touched by king Henry; that a learned convocation had judged the matter; that the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Bath, were known to be great and learned clerks, who would do nothing but upon just and good grounds; so that all persons ought to be satisfied with these proceedings, as she herself was; and here the matter ended. Burnet, III. 223.]

[<sup>1</sup> The case was referred by convocation to a committee, consisting of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, and Worcester, and six others, doctors of divinity and law. Strype, Mem. I. i. 558.]

ever. The north of England, however, where the rebellion took place immediately after the execution of queen Anne, was now excused these payments by the favour of the king. Moreover, this business was so artfully managed, that the archbishop of Canterbury and the other lords spiritual (as these carnal persons are called) offered the king, of their own accord, the payment of this money, in the name of all the clergy, because the king had delivered them from the yoke and bondage of the Roman pontiff. As though they had ever been, when subject to the pope, under such a yoke as they now are; when all their property, and life itself, are at the king's disposal! In like manner too, the laity made the king a voluntary grant of this money, which they are bound by parliament to pay under a heavy penalty. But every thing is given freely and voluntarily in this country!

In the same parliament, too, the king published a general, or, so to speak, an universal pardon, by which he forgave the nobility and others of his subjects all heresies, treasons, felonies, with many other offences against the laws and statutes of the realm, committed before the first of July, 1540, (with the exception of such crimes as might fairly be interpreted as having been committed by word or deed against the royal person;) and also voluntary homicides, robbing churches, and many crimes of the like nature. It was however provided that this act of indemnity was not to extend to the lord Cromwell; nor to doctor Barnes<sup>2</sup>, Thomas Garrard, William Jerome, three preachers who were then in prison for the sake of the gospel; nor to the two sons of a certain marquis (who had been beheaded,) and of the lord Montague<sup>3</sup>, the brother of Pole, an Englishman, a cardinal of Rome. The name of him [who was beheaded] was marquis of Exeter: he would have been the heir<sup>4</sup> to the throne, had the king

[<sup>2</sup> For a full account of these martyrs, who were burned in Smithfield in July 1540, see Foxe, v. 414—438. Soames, II. 430, &c. See below, p. 209.]

[<sup>3</sup> Dr Lingard observes that our historians are ignorant of the attainder, and even of the existence of the son of lord Montague. He is mentioned however in Cardinal Pole's Epistles, II. 197, as well as in the text. Lingard, IV. 284.]

[<sup>4</sup> Henry Courtenay, 17th earl of Devon, and marquis of Exeter, was son of Catharine, youngest daughter of Edward IV., and consequently first cousin to Henry VIII.]

been without lawful issue. Many other also of the nobility were excepted from this pardon; among whom was the popish bishop of Chichester, and a man of the name of Wilson (who had, on a former occasion, been pardoned by the king, and set at liberty after two years' imprisonment for his support of the pope), together with some other priests, who, as they maintained the supremacy of the pope, would not admit the king's title, wherein he styles himself "supreme head of the church of England." All anabaptists too were excepted, and sacramentaries, as they are called, and all those who do not admit transubstantiation; and those, likewise, who affirm that every kind of death, together with the time and hour of the same, is so certainly appointed, foreordained, and determined, that neither the king can change it by the sword, nor any one prevent it by his own rashness. These are the very words of the statute.

A little before the aforesaid pardon was granted, very many persons, especially the preachers of the gospel, were imprisoned in every part of England; and at London four or five of the principal of them. They made search too after Doctor Crome<sup>1</sup>, a man of great gravity and wisdom, (who, together with Latimer, was the first who in our times sowed the pure doctrine of the gospel;) he, when he heard from a certain *Nicodemean* individual that he was denounced, went privately to the palace, and falling on his knees before the king, (after he had first informed him of the cruel treatment of some preachers and citizens at London,) prayed him for God's sake to put a stop to these severities, and of his wisdom and godliness to apply a remedy. The king forthwith gave order, that no further persecution should take place on account of religion, and that those who were then in prison should be set at liberty, upon their friends giving security for their appearance whenever they should be called for. The king, probably, as you have heard, was partly induced to grant this indulgence, in the hope that when these things were once set at rest, and the old errors (as he considered them) forgiven, the people would be more quiet and obedient in future. I am aware, nevertheless, that it is usual for his clemency to bestow pardon upon his subjects in

[<sup>1</sup> A full account of Dr Crome is given in Strype, Mem. iii. i. 157. Burnet, iii. 223.]

this way (some particular crimes, as in the present case, always excepted), after they had allowed him by their liberality (as they have now done) to scrape together a large sum of money; or when, by authority of parliament, they have entirely released him from the payment of every penny that he had borrowed from them.

Soon after the dissolution of parliament, namely, on the thirtieth of July last year, were executed six of those men who had been excepted from the general pardon. Three of them were popish priests, whose names were Abel, Powell, and Fetherston<sup>2</sup>, and who refused to acknowledge the king's new title, and his authority over the clergy. They were dealt with in the usual manner, first hung, then cut down from the gallows while yet alive, then drawn, beheaded, and quartered, and their limbs fixed over the gates of the city; but the heads, in general, of as many priests or monks as are executed in this city, are fixed on the top of a long pole, and placed upon London bridge, as a terror to others. The remaining three were preachers of the gospel, and of no mean order; their names were Barnes<sup>3</sup>, Gerrard, and Jerome. They were first brought from the Tower of London, and drawn on a sledge through the middle of the city to a place called Smithfield, where they were tied to one stake, and burned at the same place where the others were executed. This place had never been used before, as far as I remember, for the execution of any persons excepting heretics. They remained in the fire without crying out, but were as quiet and patient as though they had felt no pain; and thus they commended their spirits to God the Father by Jesus Christ. I could never ascertain, though I have made diligent inquiry, the true reason why these three gospellers were excepted from the general pardon; so that I can conjecture none more

[<sup>2</sup> For an account of these persons, see Foxe, v. 438. Burnet, i. 477. Soames says that "Powell and Abel were two political pamphleteers, on the queen's side, during the ferment occasioned by Catharine of Aragon's case, who, together with another Romish partizan, named Featherstone, were notorious for their opposition to the royal supremacy." Hist. Ref. ii. 439.]

[<sup>3</sup> Dr Robert Barnes had been prior of the Austin friars at Cambridge; Thomas Gerrard (or Garrett) was curate of All-Hallows, in Honey-lane; and William Jerome was vicar of Stepney. See the authorities quoted above, p. 207, n. 2.]

likely, than that the king, desiring to gratify the clergy and the ignorant and rude mob, together with the obstinate part of his nobility and citizens, appointed these three victims, as he probably considered them, as it were for a holocaust, to appease those parties, or to acquire fresh popularity with them. I think however, that they would not have had more than one, or at most two of them in the same year, only that the clergy and the greater part of the nobility and commonalty might pay more readily the money granted to his majesty by parliament. If any one should assert that these three persons were burned on account of their preaching and doctrine, it then appears strange that they were not brought before the judges, and condemned by due course of law, as had always been the practice in such cases before this instance. Then again, in my opinion, the parliament did not deal justly, if it condemned them for their doctrine. For I know this for a fact, that from the twelfth of July, 1539, (on which day the bill<sup>1</sup> by which the truth was condemned began to take effect,) until the day when they were apprehended, they never once opened their mouths expressly against that statute, either in their public preaching or private conversation, except when they found that they were with honest and godly men, and sufficiently safe from their enemies. They were committed to prison in Easter-week of the following year, 1540, even after they had in many things submitted to the king in their sermons at Easter<sup>2</sup>. Thus we see that neither the king nor his parliament could justly condemn them to death for their doctrine, unless they chose to assert that all those opinions, which in the statute aforesaid they condemned as heresy, were not pardoned before that appointed day, the twelfth of July. And if this were the case, it was then only an artifice and a snare to entangle men, thus to fix and appoint a stated day when the act was to begin to take effect. I am here more brief, by

[1 Namely, the Act of the Six Articles.]

[2 By certain complaints made to the king of them they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following, at the Spital; at which sermons, besides other reporters who were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if they had spoken any thing awry. Foxe, v. 420.]

reason of a little book printed in German, concerning the protest of the said Robert Barnes at the stake, where he acknowledged that he did not know for what reason he was brought thither to be burned. In the week following the burning of these preachers, were executed many others of those who had been excepted from the general pardon. The reason of their execution is unknown to me; but it was reported to have been for treason against the king. However, to confess the truth, people were not so active in inquiry, or in investigating matters, as they were wont to have been, because it is now no novelty among us to see men slain, hung, quartered, or beheaded; some for trifling expressions, which were explained or interpreted as having been spoken against the king; others for the pope's supremacy; some for one thing, and some for another. The bishop of Chichester, however, and doctor Wilson, such a papist as Eckius<sup>3</sup>, were set at large by the king, notwithstanding they had been exempted out of the general pardon. The crime of treason, as I hear, which they had committed against the king, was the sending some alms to the papist Abel<sup>4</sup>, when reduced to the greatest distress from having been long kept in a most filthy prison, and, as the papists here affirm, almost eaten up by vermin.

And now I am about to say somewhat of that learned and godly man, doctor Crome. At this time (as had always been his practice, whenever any storm arose that seemed to do injury to the truth) feeling the necessity of the case, he preached with more zeal than ordinary, until the approach of Christmas. And on that day those who were his enemies on account of the gospel, brought together against him some articles which they alleged to be heretical. Meanwhile the clergy set up their champion Wilson, to oppose the purer doctrine of Crome, and to affirm the falsehood of whatever truths he had preached. This those wise children of this world did with the greater readiness, that they might have a better handle for accusing Crome (as though it was through his preaching that such a controversy had arisen in the city

[<sup>3</sup> John Eckius was professor in the university of Ingoldstadt, where he died in 1543. He is memorable for his opposition to the reformation, and his controversial writings against Luther, Melancthon, &c.]

[<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 209, n. 2.]

of London), and so for bringing him forth to answer for himself either before the king or his council. Whith object they effected after a few days. For after Christmas-day they were both of them forbidden to preach, until either the king or his councillors should hear the case and determine it according to their pleasure. After Christmas-day, 1540, (for our people begin to reckon the new year from the feast of the annunciation of Mary), a day having been appointed for the appearance of both parties, namely, Crome and Wilson, the enemies of Crome produced against him, as impious and heretical, nearly thirty passages from his late sermons; the sum of which, as far as I am able to judge, is as follows:

“No works can justify in the same manner as Christ does, nor do they so satisfy as he satisfied by suffering for us. For he is the only oblation, and price of redemption, &c.

“No truth is necessary to be believed or obeyed by us under the penalty of sin or eternal death, unless it be somewhere expressly revealed to us in the holy scriptures, or can truly, piously, and justly be collected and deduced from them.

“To offer masses for the dead is plainly contrary to holy scripture, and is a superstition. And it was first,” he says, “introduced into the church by means of a vision, yea, rather a delusion of Satan, in the time of pope Gregory.”

“The king himself confesses, with his bishops, in his Institution<sup>1</sup> of a Christian Man, that the masses *scalæ cœli*, ordained by the pope, are altogether unprofitable to the dead. But this is the principal kind of mass for the departed, by reason of the prayers, &c. Wherefore, if these masses profit not, much less do others. Again, if the mass were profitable to the dead, the king and parliament have done wrong in destroying the monasteries, where so many masses were endowed and celebrated for the dead.

[<sup>1</sup> The passage referred to is this: “Wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced; as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome’s pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and all the pains of it; or the masses said at *Scala Cœli*, or other where, in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven; and other like abuses.” The Institution of a Christian Man. Lond. 1537. Ed. Oxford, 1825, p. 211.]

“Those who teach men to pray to the saints, if only that they may pray for us in the same way as here we pray for each other, inculcate a practice neither necessary nor useful.

“The church of Christ is the spouse of Christ. But she must certainly be an imperious and pert wife, who should speak and exercise authority above her husband. You call us seditious preachers, and say that we introduce new doctrine; but you speak falsely. For you are the seditious parties, who defend superstition and human traditions, and refuse to obey with us the word of God, and to listen to the voice of Christ.

“Men wonder that we preachers cannot agree together. But this is not to be wondered at. For they teach the commandments of men; we, on the contrary, those of God alone. And yet, if they would give over preaching their dreams, falsehoods, human traditions, and puerilities, and would preach, as we do, the word of God only, we should forthwith come to an agreement.

“The church of Christ is suffering, and ever will suffer, persecution, as some parties have suffered of late among ourselves. And though the world tried to persuade them, it was by no means able to overcome them. Neither, I hope, shall you conquer us, notwithstanding your persecution of us. For you would be able to say that you had conquered us, if you could prevail with us to speak as you do. But we should then be liars like yourselves, and chaplains of the devil, as you are.”

When the king and his council had received these and other like articles, of which Crome was accused, they allowed him a certain time wherein to answer them. Which when he had done, (as appears from the royal injunction which he was ordered to recite to the people,) his reply was beyond doubt a manifest confirmation of the articles alleged against him; for he persisted in affirming that they were true and orthodox. The king, however, whether from a secret horror, or fear of the people, (or from the working of God, in I know not what other manner,) were he to condemn to death so eminent a man, who was, as it were, a father in religion, would not deliver him to the flames to be sacrificed as a burnt-offering, like Barnes and the others; but sent him a certain paper, with which he was to comply in all respects, as you shall now hear; for the following is a copy of it:

“THE JUDGMENT OF THE KING RESPECTING DR CROME, ON THE 18TH JANUARY, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1540. The king’s majesty, having received the answer of Edward Crome, doctor in divinity, to certain articles about which he was examined by chosen commissioners appointed by his majesty on that behalf; the king’s excellency, too, being advised that the said doctor Crome was so manifestly persuaded in his heart, as he confessed in his answer subscribed with his own hand, and laid before his majesty; the king, out of his most godly benignity, and accustomed goodness and mercy, is content for this time to relax the rigour and severity of the laws which his majesty might justly execute against the said Crome. Moreover, his royal majesty, being desirous of establishing a christian peaceableness and tranquillity among his subjects, by an uniform agreement in the office of preaching, has determined as follows, &c.”

The king then enjoined Dr Crome to preach on a certain day in Lent, at London, in St Paul’s church-yard, (namely, that of our principal church,) and there recant all the preceding articles. Then at the end of this royal document there was added the following, which Crome was to repeat, after he had read his recantation: “Moreover, his majesty makes this known to all his subjects, that if the said Crome shall hereafter be accused of these or the like articles, the severity of the law shall be executed upon him without any favour.” Against Crome’s assertion, that masses did not benefit the dead, it was objected at the trial, that he had preached in that article expressly against the royal statutes, which enacted that private masses had been properly retained in the church of England, by reason of the many advantages that Christians receive from them. But the statute does not specify those advantages; so that Crome answered, that he understood them to be, the commemoration of the death of Christ by the ceremonies of the mass, and also prayers for the living; especially as the king had abolished so many monasteries. This evasion did not avail him, for the king enjoined him in his instructions to read his recantation of that article in these terms: “Public and private masses are a profitable sacrifice as well for the living as for the dead. And although masses and other prayers and helps profit the departed, yet the king’s majesty and the parliament have piously and justly abolished

the monasteries in his realm." For what reason, it was not added.

You have here the sum of the king's judgment respecting Dr Crome in this matter. Now when the Sunday came, on which he was to recant, he preached a godly discourse, and at the end of it told the people, that he had received a written document from the king's majesty which he was ordered to read to them. And after he had read it, he committed the congregation to God in a short prayer, and so went away: whereas the king certainly intended him to receive that writing as a specimen of the doctrine which he was to follow in his sermon; and also to extol to the skies his wisdom, learning, and mercy, as doctor Barnes and the two others had done, when they preached at Easter, and yet were burned notwithstanding. It certainly was not the king's intention that Crome should read his judgment so carelessly, and then go away as he did: wherefore I am afraid that the clergy will not let him off thus. For immediately after he was forbidden by the king to preach any more, as he had before forbidden Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury; who by the providence of God, as I think, (and as also is evident from their having been so long preserved by him in this dangerous world,) were delivered from death by the general pardon. Those 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, as the other Ecebolian bishops did at once. But how favourable to them the king now is, and how much he appreciates their sound and pure doctrine, is evident even from this, that he has not only prohibited them from preaching, but also from coming within two or three German miles of our two universities, the city of London, or their own dioceses! O atrocious deed, thus to drive away faithful shepherds from their flocks, and intrude ravenous wolves in their stead! God will not, I hope, allow this tyranny much longer. Meanwhile, you perceive how much iniquity abounds among us, and therefore that in many respects charity is growing cold. Farewell in the Lord! May our good and gracious God long preserve you in safety to us, and for the edification and comfort of his church! Amen, Amen.

## LETTER CVI.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *Sept.* 18, 1541.

GRACE and perseverance in the truth from the Lord, &c. I received, my revered master, three days since, your pious and consolatory letter, dated on the 31st of August; on account of which I consider myself exceedingly indebted to your kindness, for having so condescended to correspond with me, a worm, and not a man, (as the world accounts me,) and also so frequently and in such comforting terms.

Falekner wrote to me for the black and red cloth, which I send you by Conrad Eblie, that it may be for you to fix and determine whether Falekner shall have it upon credit. For he owes me already about a hundred florins, to be paid here at Frankfort at the next fair, besides forty-five which (as he writes me word) Christopher Froschover ought now to pay me, but which I doubt whether I shall ever receive: for he says in reply, that he is willing to pay these same forty-five florins for Falekner, should he have a good sale at the fair, but not otherwise. The black cloth contains fifty-five Frankfort ells; the red fifty and a half. The black cloth is tolerably good and strong, but I had sold all my best before Falekner's letter was delivered to me. I inquired after it of the above-named Christopher at the beginning of the fair; but he denied that he had any letters for me, because he hardly knew who I was. I met him afterwards, and he found Falekner's letter for me. The price of forty ells of that cloth is twenty-two florins. I have sent you also another piece, of a better sort, which I have left at this fair, and which contains forty-five ells. Should it seem adviseable to you, I wish Falekner to have this, in case he declines the black. But this cloth bears a higher price, namely, twenty-eight florins for forty ells, reckoning sixteen batzen to a florin. Falekner knows that we are accustomed to receive this value for every florin. I pray you to dispose of whatever cloth he may leave to some one else, and lay out the amount this year for the benefit of the poor, (if you have among you any who are exiles for the gospel's sake). If you decline doing this, by reason of not having among you exiles of this description, (and I admit no

other claim,) I then wish you to make over the same sum to master Calvin for the same object. I am thinking moreover of sending you, by the Conrad above-mentioned, a fifth piece of cloth, of another colour, which a great number of my countrymen are accustomed to wear. I have much pleasure in making you a present of this, as being the stoutest. If you decline accepting it (which I hope you will not), you shall pay the money for it when I come. The price is thirty-two florins. Both here and at Strasburgh I am beginning to sell some cloth of the same colour, which has hitherto been very little in use.

I cannot, by reason of my engagements, write this letter over again, either in a better or a larger hand. For I am here alone. At Strasburgh likewise I have no domestics, except one female servant. I have left them all but one in England; for I have still an establishment in that country, such as it is. I only brought one servant with me from England, who at that time appeared to every one to be most zealous; and certainly, as long as he lived with me there, he was truly pious: but after he had seen the simplicity of the religious worship in this country, and especially not having his friends with him, and abundance of provisions and meat in the larder, as with us, he seemed to me very much to wish to return home. When I discovered this, I discharged him, after having given him a letter, by which he might obtain a situation with another master in the same line of business. I previously, however, set before him, as well as I was able, the wickedness of falling away from the truth on any ground of superstition. He left me notwithstanding; but I hope that he still continues to savour of Christ in some measure. He is now living with a certain merchant, who in the time of liberty, three years since, professed the gospel among us after his way. But what indeed am I saying? I scarcely know any one (with the exception of learned teachers,) who had a greater knowledge of religion than our friend Peterson. My late servant requests you to send his letters to Clare: I have inclosed them in my own letter, which in addition to this I have already sent you by Froschover. After he returned home from Strasburgh, from which place he fled with the greatest danger, he could not be compelled by the severest threatenings of his master; but said that things were optional, and indifferent, and I know not what.

By what means or by what persons he has been thus infatuated, I know not; but this I know, that before my departure he voluntarily attended masses for the departed, and now does so on every feast-day through almost the whole autumn, as is the custom here. His wife indeed had a tolerable fortune; he had with her, as I think, above three or four hundred golden angels of our money.

My wife requests you to be kind enough to ask Falekner to send hither to Strasburgh, as soon as possible, a hundred, or at the least eighty pounds of the best butter. If he cannot contrive to send so large a vessel to my house, I wish him to send it to my friend, John Burcher, (who lodges either with master Myconius or master Isengrinus,) that he may send it to Basle for me, and I will pay whatever expense he may have incurred. I gave Christopher Froschover for you an English cheese with this mark +, wrapped in a linen cloth. My wife wished me to send one of the same kind to you and your wife, that you might make trial of our cheese as we do of your butter. But I would not have you return any thanks for this. I would not indeed on any account that you should trouble yourself to write your thanks for things of such little value as the trifling presents of my wife. I will diligently salute brother B. in your name. I do not understand the other matter about which you wrote. I shall therefore say nothing about it, lest I should still more cast down the mind of him who is sufficiently cast down already. Should he happen to be summoned and sent for home, and should refuse to come, he will lose all that he now has. He is now anxious upon this subject, but more especially because, if that event should take place, it is not likely that he will obtain the lady<sup>1</sup> he wishes to marry; one who is truly pious, but, as I hear, from some constant disorder unsuited to the married state. Farewell.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

P.S. I am not a citizen of Strasburgh, for fear of losing the privileges I already enjoy in England and Brabant. The senate of Strasburgh is very well disposed towards me. I pay them ten florins every year. I have not taken any oath.

It has happened, honoured sir, that before this my letter

[<sup>1</sup> See above, Lett. CIV. p. 197.]





*R. Dunkarton Sculp.*

HENRY VIII. KING OF ENGLAND &c,  
From an Original Picture by H. Holbein

*in the possession of the Publisher.*

*London Published by S. Woodburn.*

was sealed, Christopher Froschover has paid me the forty-five florins owing to me by Falckner, and which were to be paid at this fair. He offered also to be answerable for whatever cloth I might choose to send to the aforesaid Falckner: so that there is no occasion for you to keep by you the cloth which I have above stated I would send you by Conrad Eblie; excepting only that black cloth at twenty-eight florins, together with those eight ells of yours, at thirty-two florins, as I above stated. I request you also to be kind enough to tell Falckner, that it has just come into my mind how often he used to speak to me about the yellow cloth; and that I have therefore sent him thirty-one ells by the aforesaid Conrad, together with thirty-one ells and a half of white cloth, and twenty ells of green. The price of these is the same as that of the two entire pieces above-mentioned, namely, twenty-two florins for forty Frankfort ells. I request you, in case he should refuse any of these pieces of cloth, kindly to take them under your care, till I send you word by letter to whom you may deliver them; unless you should happen to know any friend of yours who will take them at the same price, and send me the amount without fail by master Christopher Froschover, at the next Frankfort fair. For he has given me a bill in Falckner's name for one hundred and three florins and six batzen, which is the exact price of the two entire pieces, with these last half pieces that I mentioned above. All these cloths, of which I have made mention in this letter, with the exception of your eight ells (which I have not cut from the same cloth that Conrad Eblie bought of me, lest you should perhaps wish to have another ell), are stamped upon their leaden seal with this my mark in the margin (x).

You will receive, together with this letter, the opinion of our friend Capito on original sin. I have no news from England this fair, except that the king has not yet returned to London from the northern parts of the kingdom; whither he proceeded with one thousand soldiers, after a new fashion, and a great number of tents, after the French fashion, to reduce a rebellious and very superstitious people. About twenty persons (of whom about twelve had formerly been monks) had endeavoured, five<sup>2</sup> months since, secretly to raise

[<sup>2</sup> The northern countries broke out in open rebellion in April, 1541. Sir John Neville was their leader, but, with several of his accomplices, perished by the hand of the executioner. Soames, II. 475.]

a new disturbance in those parts: they were beheaded, hung, and drawn, after our custom, the June following, at London and York, which are the two principal cities in the kingdom. The king, before his setting out, beheaded also the mother<sup>1</sup> of our countryman the cardinal, with two<sup>2</sup> others of our oldest nobility. I do not hear that any of the royal race are left, except the nephew of the cardinal<sup>3</sup>, and another boy<sup>4</sup>, the son of the marquis of Exeter. They are both children, and in prison, and condemned, I know not why, except that it is said that their fathers had sent letters to Rome to the pope, and to their kinsman, the cardinal. The king's son by the third wife is still alive, but I do not speak about him. There is also living a natural son of king Edward, whose daughter Henry VII., the father of our present king, married after the death of Richard the second [third]. But shortly before I left England he was sent from Calais (where he had formerly been the king's lieutenant, and, as you know, too near upon France,) to the Tower of London, the receptacle for such persons, where he was imprisoned by parliament at the same time as lord Cromwell was condemned, and still remains there waiting for the king's pardon. This illegitimate old man, when at Calais, was a most grievous persecutor of the gospel. (Edward left two sons, heirs of his kingdom, under the protection of the aforesaid Richard, their uncle. This Richard privately put to death these two amiable youths, his nephews, and for nearly

[1 Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, had been kept in close confinement in the Tower since 1539, on suspicion of having carried on a secret correspondence with her son, by means of the rector of Warblington, a parish on the Hampshire coast, within a few miles of her seat at Cowdray, in Sussex. She was beheaded on the green within the Tower, on May 27, 1541, on the rising of the new disturbances in Yorkshire. See Soames, II. 359, 475.]

[2 One of these was lord Leonard Gray, deputy of Ireland, who was beheaded for suffering his nephew, proclaimed an enemy to the state, to make his escape. The other was Thomas Fynes, lord Daere of the south, for having murdered a poor man who resisted him in an attempt to steal deer. He was hanged on the 25th of June. Soames, II. 477.]

[3 Cardinal Pole was a younger son of sir Richard Pole, earl Montague, and had several brothers.]

[4 This was Edward Courtenay, who was restored in blood and honours by parliament, Oct. 10, 1553. He died in 1556, s. p., when all his honours became extinct.]

three years held forcible possession of the kingdom.) Another of the chief nobility, a most cruel tyrant, not long after, fell from his horse, who was galloping of his own accord; but he never afterwards spoke a word, for he miserably broke his neck. This was the earl of Essex<sup>5</sup>, whose property and lands, with his great manors and riches, Cromwell immediately obtained, but not for any length of time, as I know you have heard before now, if you have received the former letter sent by Froshover<sup>6</sup>.

Strasburgh, Sept. 25. The king has appointed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor of the kingdom, (both of whom are now considered as our friends,) to be his deputies in the south of England. But immediately on the king's departure they burnt at the stake in London, for fear, (as our English gospellers think,) a young man<sup>7</sup> eighteen years of age, on account of his entertaining the Lutheran opinion touching the eucharist. He did not altogether deny a corporal presence, but asserted, as our Wycliffe<sup>8</sup> did, that the accident of bread did not remain there without the substance. Again farewell. The son of that great light of the world, master Zuinglius, is dead here, or rather has fallen asleep; as have also many others, of whom there were the greatest hopes, in the college of Strasburgh. Once more farewell, and live happily in the fear of the Lord!

[<sup>5</sup> Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex, was killed by a fall from his horse in 1539. Thomas Cromwell was raised to the earldom 17th of April of the same year, and obtained all the property that fell to the crown on the decease of his predecessor, but was beheaded and attainted the year following. See Soames, II. 402. Burnet, III. 216.]

[<sup>6</sup> See the preceding letter, p. 217.]

[<sup>7</sup> This was Richard Mekins, a boy according to all accounts not above fifteen years of age, and both illiterate and very ignorant, who had said somewhat against the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and in commendation of Dr Barnes. See Burnet, I. 481. Foxe, v. 441.]

[<sup>8</sup> "Of all the heresies that have ever grown up in the holy church of God, none is more abominable than that which makes this venerable sacrament an accident without a subject." Wycliffe's Trialogus, B. IV.]

## LETTER CVII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Nov. 23, 1541.

THE consolation of the Holy Ghost in your studies, attended as they sometimes are with so much anxiety!

I received, most learned sir, your very gratifying letter on the twentieth of November. For your loving me as a brother (as I have frequently perceived to be the case from your former letters) I return you my warmest thanks. I now repent of having sent Falckner the cloth, because he is annoyed at my having sent him so much. I should not have sent him the black unclipped cloth, of which he complains, had not his letter been delivered to me so late at Frankfort. Nevertheless, I cannot let him have that cloth for eighteen florins; for it cost me more than twenty florins in England. Still, however, as it is now yonder, and especially as the texture is so thick, and the wool coarse, I will be content with twenty florins, if he chooses to keep it. If he does not like to do so, I pray you to receive back the cloth from him, and keep it by you until I write you word about it after next fair, or sooner. For I may probably think fit, if Falckner should decline it, to devote it to another purpose. I did not reckon the fine cloth at more than twenty-eight florins. I sold Falckner some of the same quality, and at the same price, at the last Strasburgh fair. And yet I hardly know what to say about that cloth, as your merchants think it so dear, except that you advise master Falckner to return it to me next Lent, by some carrier of his acquaintance, who will pass through this place on his way to Frankfort. For I have no doubt but that I can sell it here at the same, or perhaps a greater price. If Falckner sends back the cloth, he will very much oblige me by sending at the same time three reams of the best paper that is manufactured by master Froshover. A ream contains twenty quires, and is called in German *ein Riecks*. I am greatly in want of paper of that sort. I have written this letter on a sheet of such paper as I require; but should he have any of a better quality, I wish he would send one or two

reams more, for Miles Coverdale, and the other English who are here. I will pay Froschover or Falckner for this paper, God willing, at the next fair. I request, moreover, master Froschover to pay you yonder on my account fifteen florins and twelve batzen for half the entire piece of fine black cloth, intended for the use you know of, (if Falckner will forward it to me here,) and I will faithfully repay the amount to Froschover at Frankfort. I am satisfied with your proposal respecting the other half pieces of cloth, namely, that Falckner may retain them, on condition that, if he is able to dispose of them, he shall pay me the money at the next fair; if not, he is to deliver them afterwards to some one at Frankfort, whom I will point out to him.

I have sent some maxims to your excellency, not that you may write back your opinion respecting them, for I cannot desire such an interruption to your studies on my account; but I shall be greatly obliged to you, if, when I come, you will condescend to tell me what you think about them. Salute, I pray you, my dear brother Falckner, and thank him in my name for the butter, which has been of great use to my family this winter. Request him too to remember the paper above-mentioned. He wishes me to let him know whether I have yet received your letter from the Frenchman, Von Homberg. In my last letter, if you remember, I informed your excellency of my having received it. I purpose sending you by the bearer a quart of fenugreek<sup>1</sup>, if he does not refuse to take it with him. My wife salutes yours, and do you also salute her in my name. May the God of all might preserve you from the baneful pestilence, and protect you under his wing, that his kingdom may be more widely extended by you on earth, and your reward be so much greater in heaven! Amen.

Yours in the Lord,

RICHARD HILLES.

P. S. I have sent the fenugreek to Basle, to John Burcher, an Englishman, who lodges at the house of master Myconius or Isengrinus.

[<sup>1</sup> Fenugreek was considered to possess many medicinal qualities: a decoction of it was recommended for diseases of the chest. Johnson's Gerarde's Herbal, Lond. 1636, p. 1197.]

## LETTER CVIII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *May 10, 1542.*

HEALTH and perseverance in the truth of Christ! After I returned home safe from Venice, I received your letter written on the 31st of March, and was affected on the perusal of it with no small delight, that you were engaged about a work so pious and so useful to the church, as to have it in contemplation to publish some books of commentaries upon Matthew. May our great and good God prosper your intention, and give it a happy issue! .

Nothing has yet been done with H. Falckner at Frankfort respecting the fine cloth, and there is no reason why he should expect that I either will or can abate him a single batz. If, however, there should be left any of the same quality, I am content that he should send it me here to our fair; and I shall be as willing to receive the remainder of the cloth as the money itself; for I am well aware what kind of cloth it was. I scarcely charged eleven batzen and a kreutzer for a Frankfort ell. And if I had the same cloth here, I could soon sell it by the piece at twelve batzen for a Strasburgh ell. I entreat you, my master, that we no longer defer the appropriation of that money, which I have destined out of the produce of this same cloth for the use of the poor exiles, namely, half the price of the same, or, if you choose, the whole of it. For I have already given master Calvin some money for the like purpose, although I mentioned not a word to him about you or that cloth, and never intend to do. Distribute therefore, what I have desired of my own free-will to be applied to the poor by your instrumentality; whether you choose to retain either the price of half the cloth, or, if need so require, of the whole. For the more I devote to them through you, so much the less do I leave to be applied to the like object by myself. Whatever I do in this matter, I do it voluntarily and cheerfully, and without a murmur. I therefore pray you, that, whether you determine to retain half the sum, if you prefer it, or the whole

sum, as I prefer myself, you will let me know by letter at our next fair. For I desire that, immediately on the receipt of this letter, you receive from H. Falckner thirty-one florins and a half (reckoning sixteen batzen to a florin) on account of that cloth; so that when Falckner shall come, there may be no occasion for any farther reckoning between him and me respecting it. Should he object, that he does not choose to purchase the cloth at that price, I pray you in that case to receive from him what is left, and sell it there, if you can, to your friends, or (which I would prefer for fear of interrupting your studies) take care that it may be forwarded by some merchant to me here, and I will in return faithfully send you the amount in money to Zurich.

I am glad that you have commended to me by letter Peter Hurtzel, and especially Andrew Rappenstein; and if my wife had known as much at the last fair, she would not have required C. Froschover to be surety for them. I beg however that they will not be offended at what my wife did in this business; for she had never seen them before, nor, as I remember, had ever heard them commended by me as they deserve. Those two honest men dealt honourably with me at Frankfort at the preceding fair; for they owed me at that time about one hundred and thirty-three florins, all of which, save three, they sent me by master Conrad Eblie. But Henry did not act by me with so much good faith: for he owed me at the last fair (besides the fine cloth above-mentioned) near two hundred florins; out of which<sup>1</sup>..... he has only paid forty-six florins and fourteen batzen for a friend of mine at Basle; and these he paid so long after they were due, that my friend was obliged to send his servant from Strasburgh to Basle, during Lent, with twenty out of those forty-six florins, because Falckner, even in so small a matter, had not performed what he had promised.

My brother Butler, as I hear by letter, sold his whole patrimony in England last Lent; but he had not then received the whole amount. And I am in fear for him, lest, when what he has done shall have come to the king's ears by means of his sister's husband, who belongs to the court, he may be forbidden again to leave the kingdom. Elliot is studying the civil law, or, to speak more properly, the laws

[<sup>1</sup> A word is here unintelligible in the MS.]

of our realm, in which he has made such proficiency, that he is now holding an office, from whence he derives an annual income of nearly two hundred florins. But Bartholomew Traheron has, with much difficulty, retired from court into the country, where he is about to marry the daughter of a gentleman who favours godly doctrine; and with this young lady he will have a yearly income, as I hear, of one hundred and twenty florins, for sixty years, out of some estate which is leased to him for that time by his father-in-law for a certain sum. He intends, moreover, to teach grammar, and to keep a school for little boys, in some small town in that district.

Respecting the state of the kingdom at large I have nothing certain to communicate, except what I imagine you must have heard these three months, namely, that the king has beheaded his wife, Catherine Howard, whom he married immediately after his divorce from Anne of Cleves. This Catherine was condemned upon a great suspicion of adultery (as is universally reported by the English) with two gentlemen, who had also intercourse with her before the king married her. The lady Rochford too, the widow of that nobleman who was capitally punished, as you know, for incest with his sister, queen Anne, was beheaded at the same time. This widow, as they say, was privy to the licentiousness of that Catherine who was lately beheaded: for she used often to sleep with the queen; and when she knew her once to have been a long time absent from her bed-chamber in a private place, at the same time, as they say, that one of those gentlemen who were beheaded was there, she nevertheless refrained from mentioning the circumstance to the king.

The old duchess dowager of Norfolk is also condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower of London, and likewise lord William Howard, a brother of the duke of Norfolk, because they were cognizant of the vicious life of queen Catherine, when the king first fell in love with her, and did not acquaint him with it before that hasty marriage had taken place. One of the parties<sup>1</sup>, who was first hanged, and afterwards beheaded and quartered, for adultery with the queen, was one of the king's chamberlains; and two years

[<sup>1</sup> This, probably, was Culpepper, who was a gentleman of the privy chamber. See Holinshed, III. 823. Ed. 1808.]

before, or less, had violated the wife of a certain park-keeper in a woody thicket, while, horrid to relate! three or four of his most profligate attendants were holding her at his bidding. For this act of wickedness he was, notwithstanding, pardoned by the king, after he had been delivered into custody by the villagers on account of this crime, and likewise a murder which he had committed in his resistance to them, when they first endeavoured to apprehend him. God, who is just, will not always suffer wickedness, either here or elsewhere, to go unpunished.

You cannot, without danger to my affairs, write me anything concerning the christian religion: besides, if you could, I am not worthy of such honour. I have therefore to return many thanks to your benevolence for your favourable inclination towards me; and I pray you to confer this honour upon some one else, who may be worthy of it. I received your cheese before sealing this letter, and I am very sorry that you have spent so much money on my account; and most of all, that you are ill of a fever. But all the works of the Lord are just judgments, who chastiseth those whom he loveth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. I pray you to accept, as a present from me, those eight ells of cloth, and not to send the money; for I heartily wish you to keep it, and to make use of the cloth, if you please, as a token, such as it is, that I love you in the Lord, and have a real affection for you. After having read over again this barbarous letter of mine, I was so ashamed of it, that I was almost determined to tear it, and not to write to you at all; and I certainly should have done so, had you not invited me to write to you upon the state of all our affairs.

And now, my most esteemed master, farewell in Christ: for in future I have no intention of writing to you again, except, perhaps, by some amanuensis when necessity obliges me. My wife salutes you, and your most amiable lady. Deign also to salute your wife in my name. Once more, farewell in God, who is our portion in the land of the living, and our hope in eternity! Amen.

Yours, you know who,

RICHARD HILLES.

## LETTER CIX.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Dec. 18, 1542.

I RECEIVED your books, most esteemed master, together with the letter; and I feel more gratitude for them in my heart than I can express with my pen. And yet, had I known that you were about to present me with those books, I should certainly have bought a copy for myself at Frankfurt, and not have said a word to you about them. For why should I lay an additional burden upon your kindness, after the great expense you have already incurred there on my account? I wish, sir, I had consulted you sooner about reading authors and studying histories. For first I read Bernard Justiniani<sup>1</sup> on the affairs of the Venetians, the Tripartite History<sup>2</sup>, and the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, together with his Evangelical Preparation, and Demonstration. I do not so much regret having read them, only that I now perceive from your letter, that I could have employed the time I spent in perusing them to better purpose.

The Demonstration of Eusebius was rather wearisome to me, because the holy scriptures are every where explained so absurdly, if I may use such an expression, especially with respect to the word<sup>3</sup>, and against the Jews<sup>4</sup>. He seems,

[<sup>1</sup> Bernard Justiniani or Giustiani was nephew of the patriarch of Venice of that name. He went many times to Rome as ambassador from the republic, and died in 1489, leaving several works, the principal of which is, a History of Venice, printed in 1492.]

[<sup>2</sup> The Tripartite History is a compilation by Cassiodorus from the Latin translations of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.]

[<sup>3</sup> Hilles probably refers to the third chapter of the fourth book of the Evangelical Demonstration of Eusebius, in which he discusses the nature of Christ, the *Logos*; which, he says, God produced from himself, as the sun produces his light, or the flower its scent, &c. The passage is too long to quote.]

[<sup>4</sup> The object of the second book of the Evangelical Demonstration is to prove the vocation of the gentiles, and the rejection of the unbelieving Jews.]

moreover, to entertain wrong notions about free-will<sup>5</sup>, the marriage of the clergy<sup>6</sup>, and the fifth chapter of Matthew. I found some things, however, in that work which pleased me exceedingly; for instance, his opinion respecting the new testament, and about Daniel's seventy weeks<sup>7</sup>. I ran through these books before I came to Zurich; and also Tertullian, whom I found to be such as you had commended him to me. I was not so much displeased with the difficulty of his style, as I was delighted and profited by his remarkable piety, simplicity, and right judgment respecting the eucharist, as well as on many other points. I collected many things from him, (as also from the ecclesiastical histories,) by which I shall be able to stop the mouths of many of my countrymen, who are always telling us, that to the pure all things are pure; that God is a spirit; that he only requires of us our heart, and a mind well imbued with knowledge,—and the like epicurean sentiments.

I happened to light upon that author on sale here in the market, on which occasion (not, as I think, without the providence of God) I bought and read him over. But as he was scarcely known to me by name before, he procured me this advantage, namely, of affording the first handle for my pouring forth my questions to you when I was with you. Not however, thank God, that I am ignorant of what has been observed by many, and as you well know, that the opinions of this writer are frequently to be rejected; and that in other places he must be read with judgment, even in the treatise *De præscriptione Hæreticorum*: as when he says, that one must not dispute with heretics<sup>8</sup>, nor must they be

[<sup>5</sup> The following passage may perhaps be referred to. Τοῦτον γὰρ ἀπάσῃ ψυχῇ φυσικὸν νόμον βοηθὸν αὐτῇ καὶ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τῶν πρακτέων ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς ὑπεστήσατο, κ. τ. λ. Πρæp. Evang. vi. p. 250. Ed. Viger. 1688.]

[<sup>6</sup> Μάλιστα δ' οὖν τοῦτοις (sc. διδασκάλοις καὶ κήρυξι τοῦ τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγου) ἀναγκαίως τὰ νῦν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ κρείττω σχολὴν ἢ τῶν γάμων ἀναχώρησις σπουδάζεται, ἅτε περὶ τὴν ἔνθεον καὶ ἄσαρκον παιδοποιῖαν ἀσχολούμενοις, οὐχ ἑνὸς οὐδὲ δυεῖν παίδων, ἀλλ' ἀθρώως μυρίου πλήθους τὴν παιδοτροφίαν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν παιδείωσιν, τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀγωγῆς τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναδευόμενοις. Dem. Ev. i. p. 32.]

[<sup>7</sup> The passages here referred to are in the Dem. Ev. Book i. ch. 5, 6, and Book viii. ch. 2, but are too long to quote.]

[<sup>8</sup> Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus, non admittendos eos ad ullam de scripturis disputationem. De Præscr. Hær. Cap. xv. p. 207. Ed. Rigalt. 1695 See also cap. xxxvii.]

permitted to have or compare holy scripture with catholics: likewise, that what the apostles preached ought not otherwise to be proved than by means of the very same churches which they themselves founded<sup>1</sup>, &c. Although indeed he is speaking of real heretics, and of the church in his age; whose doctrine was the same as that of holy scripture, and which invented nothing of its own to remedy by omission, addition, or change any contrariety supposed to be discovered in the scriptures<sup>2</sup>.

After I returned from you, I read, first, Cyprian, and then Lactantius, the reading of which authors I do not altogether regret. I regard the one as the defender of my cause, yea, as I think, the cause of God, against the adversaries; and the other I have become acquainted with (as you told me I should do) not without abundant fruits of godliness.

From the death of queen Anne, who was beheaded, until my departure, some of my neighbours in London grievously detracted from my character, because I refused to give a small piece of money (for the honour of God, as it is commonly said), according to the annual custom of the parish, for placing large wax candles in the church before the crucifix and the sepulchre. They first of all acted kindly with me, through my parents and friends, (whose opinions they knew would have great weight with me in this matter,) and brought forward a custom of I know not how many five hundred years, when a custom of only one hundred years' continuance had with them the force of law. I replied, that I knew of no custom that could prevail in opposition to Christ, who saith, that "God is a Spirit, &c." Joh. iv. They immediately objected, having been taught by the minister of the parish, "Do you then deny that God is worshipped by external observances?" No. For Christ, who is not "custom," but the truth, saith: "Let your light so shine, &c." And for this reason I think he added in John iv. [24], "and in truth." Which clause I thus explained to them: "In truth, that is, truly, and according to the word of God; that is to say, in innocence, piety, mercy, and holiness of life, without

[1 Quid autem prædicaverint, id est, quid illis Christus revelaverit, et hic præscribam non aliter probari debere, nisi per easdem ecclesias quas ipsi apostoli condiderunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva (quod aiunt) voce, quam per epistolas postea. Ibid. p. 209. cap. xxi.]

[2 The concluding part of this sentence is confused in the original.]

which no one shall see God. But the divine Majesty is by no means worshipped by external observances, which are merely invented or devised by men for worship; for he needeth not any thing, neither is he pleased with these vain and corruptible things." Then, after some months' time, when they began to have some hope of a change of affairs, they often returned to me with menaces; and threatened that, in case of my not coming to my senses, they would lay an information against me before the bishop<sup>3</sup> of our diocese. This they did, as I continued firm in my non-compliance. But the bishop ordered them to be quiet for a short time, (at least so it was told me,) and that all things would at last turn out as they could wish. For he was in expectation that the happy day would shortly arrive, but he did not live to see it; for being much harassed by Cromwell and others on a frivolous suspicion of not having aided the king's attempts in abolishing the pope's supremacy, and the destruction of the monasteries, he died miserably, being, as it appeared, almost worn out with grief. But to return to my subject. The year but one before I left England, the public orders<sup>4</sup> of the king were sent to the bishops and to the principal laity in every parish, that by reason of the superstition of the common people they were not to permit any wax candles to be burned or placed before images in the churches, except only before the crucifix, and at the festival of Easter before the sepulchre of Christ. The churchwardens immediately sent for me, and inquired of me in the church, whether I still continued obstinate in my purpose against the king's majesty's injunctions. I replied that those orders did not concern me, respecting which they appeared to me to triumph before they had gained the victory. For I am neither, I told them, a bishop nor a churchwarden; nor, supposing I held any office of the kind, do these orders enjoin me to maintain your lights, but only not to remove them from the church, which I do not attempt to do. Moreover, I said, from this letter, coming from the king, I have great hopes that after no long interval you will

[<sup>3</sup> This was probably John Stokesley, who preceded Bonner in the see of London. He died in 1539.]

[<sup>4</sup> These injunctions were issued by Cromwell in 1538, for the direction of the parochial clergy. They are printed in Burnet, iv. 101. See also Strype, Mem. i. i. 496, and Soames, Hist. Ref. ii. 306.]

not be at liberty to burn those candles of yours any longer, either before the crucifix or at the sepulchre. For the same result is to be expected from this tradition as from other superstitions, when it is manifest to every one, that the same planting is the work of an earthly high-priest, and will be plucked up by our heavenly Father, just as that is, which is now extirpated by the king's commandment. They then dismissed me, saying, "You tell us that you do not attempt to remove the holy lights from our churches, when yet you endeavour by your example to draw, if they dared, all men after you, (especially foolish boys, and young men like yourself;) refusing to do what your own and your wife's parents, grave and prudent persons, and what all your honest neighbours, do not disdain to do." Which is certainly true; for my mother, as I have just heard, has paid the sum for me for one or two years, that she might appease the fury of the dogs, and that I might not fall into worse peril, as she much feared would be the case.

After this I heard no more about this affair, except that the day after I left London for this place, or at least for Antwerp, [the bishop of] Winchester, who had just been appointed the king's lieutenant in ecclesiastical matters, to whom I had probably been known by name, (for his diocese extends to the middle of London bridge,) being openly about to examine some of my neighbours who were apprehended before my departure, endeavoured to fish out of them something about me. And he said to one of them, in the presence of them all as they were standing in his palace, "And you, you foolish man, for what purpose did you daily receive so many persons into your house, seeing you are a poor and needy mechanic?" The man replied "There was no such assembly of persons at my house, especially of suspected ones." "What," said the bishop, "you are lame with those who halt," (or he used some proverbial expression of the kind:) "was not Richard Hilles every day at your house, teaching you, and others like you?" The accused denied this altogether; and my most bitter enemies, who were men of wealth, were unwilling openly to inform against me of their own accord, in compliance with the last injunction of the king, and to be regarded in the sight of all as guilty of treachery against their neighbours. The bishop too, not perhaps being aware

of my absence, made open inquiry respecting me, and said that I should take myself off, and no longer continue to poison his flock.

You now see, my most reverend master, what I meant by saying that Lactantius was the advocate of my cause, and that I was glad, or at least did not regret, that I had read him through. I wondered, however, what he meant by his discourse about the pollution of dæmons, and of their intercourse with women<sup>1</sup>; about the virtue of almsgiving<sup>2</sup>; on the passion of anger, which he ascribes even to God himself<sup>3</sup>; on the abstaining from the use of flowers and perfumes, which he calls the allurements of pleasure, and the weapons of the enemy of mankind<sup>4</sup>: also, about the comparing and weighing good works with evil ones<sup>5</sup>; about the life of the just upon earth after the day of judgment, with Christ reigning a thousand years<sup>6</sup>; who, during those years, shall give all nations in

[1 The passage is as follows: *Illos (scilicet angelos) cum hominibus commorantes dominator ille terre fallacissimus consuetudine ipsa paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit.*—*Instit. Div. II. 15.*]

[2 *Quod si mortalis conditio non patitur esse hominem ab omni macula purum, debent ergo largitione perpetua peccata carnis aboleri.*—*Ibid. VI. 13.*]

[3 *Quidam putant ne irasci quidem Deum omnino . . . quæ persuasio veritatem atque religionem funditus tollit.*—*Ibid. II. 18.*

*Et gratia et ira et miseratio habent in Deo materiam, recteque illis utitur summa illa et singularis potestas ad rerum conservationem.*—*De Ira Dei. xv.*

In some cases, he says, non cohibenda ira, sed etiam, si jacet, excitanda est. Quod autem de homine dicimus, id etiam de Deo, qui hominem similem sui fecit.—*Ibid. xviii.*

Ubi ira non fuerit, imperium quoque non erit. Deus autem habet imperium; ergo et iram, qua constat imperium, habeat necesse est.—*Ibid. xxiii.*]

[4 *Illecebræ istæ voluptatum arma sunt illius cujus opus unum est expugnare virtutem.*—*Div. Instit. VI. 32.*]

[5 *Judicabuntur ergo qui Deum scierunt, et facinora eorum, id est, mala opera cum bonis collata ponderabuntur; ut si plura et gravia fuerint bona justaque, dentur ad vitam beatam; si autem mala superaverint, condemnentur ad pœnam.*—*Ibid. VII. 20.*]

[6 *Ille (scil. Christus) cum deleverit injustitiam judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac justos qui a principio fuerunt ad vitam restauraverit, mille annis inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget.*—*Ibid. VII. 24.*]

bondage to the elect, who nevertheless shall again lie concealed a short time under the earth, through fear of the prince of the dæmons<sup>1</sup> then unbound, who shall attack them, and of the multitude of the nations who shall rebel against them; with other things of the same kind, in his epitome.

Cyprian likewise in many places seems to be too severe; especially in the 2nd Epistle of the 4th Book, where he treats of those who come to a late repentance. He also prates most wonderfully about the purging of sins by alms-giving<sup>2</sup>, and about the trial of the good by fire<sup>3</sup>. Besides, it may be doubted, in my judgment at least, whether the various passages about satisfaction can be so reconciled, as that he may appear to have a godly and correct notion of the righteousness of Christ, especially in Book I. Ep. 7, and Book III. Ep. 14, and on the merits of the martyrs and righteous, Discourse v. Moreover, what he writes about free-will, in the Epistle to Quirinus; about the same subject, and the primacy of Peter<sup>4</sup>; and on the meaning of the word water, which every where, with him, signifies in holy scripture baptism<sup>5</sup>; also respecting the admixture of the holy cup with water, which he affirms Christ to have appointed at the supper<sup>6</sup>.

[<sup>1</sup> Idem (scil. princeps Dæmonum) cum mille anni regni, hoc est septem millia cœperint terminari, solvetur denuo, et custodia emissus exhibit; atque omnes gentes quæ tunc erunt sub ditione justorum concitabit, ut inferant bellum sanctæ civitati; et colligetur ex omni orbe terræ innumerabilis populus nationum, et obsidebit, et circumdabit civitatem. . . Populus autem Dei tribus illis diebus sub concavis terræ occultabitur.—Ibid. VII. 27.]

[<sup>2</sup> The following passage may perhaps be referred to among others. Nec haberet, quid fragilitatis humanæ infirmitas atque imbecillitas faceret, nisi iterum pietas divina subveniens, justitiæ et misericordiæ operibus ostensis, viam quandam tuendæ salutis aperiret; ut sordes postmodum quascunque contrahimus, eleemosynis abluamus.—De Oper. et Eleemos. See the second part of the Homily of Alms-deeds, where Cyprian's doctrine is explained.]

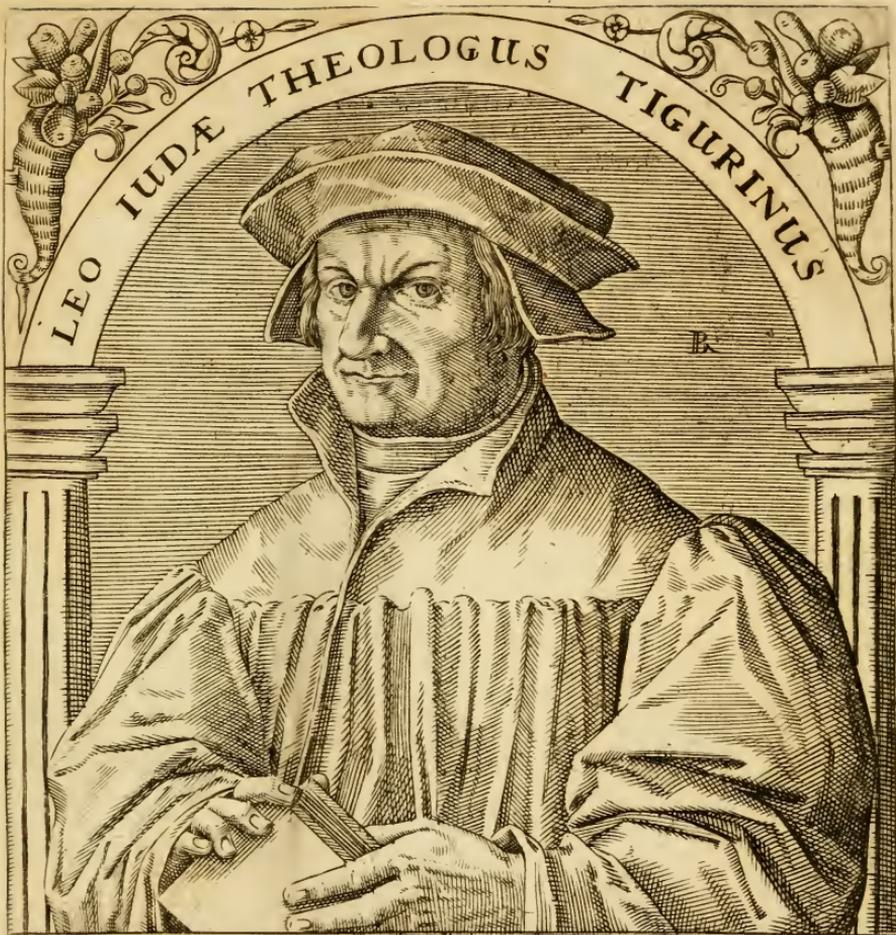
[<sup>3</sup> Aliud pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emundari, et purgari diu igne, aliud peccata omnia passione purgasse. Lib. IV. Ep. 2. Erasm.]

[<sup>4</sup> See the treatise De Unit. Eccles. pp. 106, &c. Oxon. 1682. with Fell's notes upon the passage.]

[<sup>5</sup> Quotienscunque autem aqua sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur, baptisma prædicatur. Lib. II. Ep. 3.]

[<sup>6</sup> Calix Domini non est aqua sola, aut vinum solum, nisi utrumque sibi misceatur.—Ibid. The remaining references in this paragraph are too long for quotation.]





Nasc.  
A:  
obijt Tiguri.  
Ao. 1543.

Quandoquidem Iudæ profiteris sacra Leonis  
E re tam vera quin age nomen habes E. 4.

I determined with myself, as soon as I should have leisure, to read Origen for the sake of his antiquity; but I have now changed my mind, because you have made no mention of him in your letter to me. Wherefore I shall substitute in his place some work of Augustine, or perhaps Jerome upon the prophets, only that this is contrary to your judgment. I once heard master Capito, in a lecture on Isaiah, severely censure him, and say that Jerome was good for nothing except as a rhetorician. I had not believed this before, but he seemed to have his reasons for thus finding fault with him.

If at any time you deign to write to me again, advise me, I pray, as to the best means of retaining in memory what I have once read. Hitherto I have been accustomed to collect into one book the heads of many common-places and sentences; but this is troublesome to me, as I am a very slow writer. Moreover, sir, I want your books on the authority of scripture, on the office of bishops, and on the origin of error; and all of them, if it shall seem good to you, bound together. I pray you also to send at the same time with these books the bible of Leo Judæ<sup>7</sup>, if it is yet completed, or as soon after as you may meet with a fit opportunity. But first of all fix the price, and receive it from Henry Falckner, or else I will not on any account receive the books from any one. Lastly, I earnestly entreat you to salute the same H. Falckner and Peter Hurtzel in my name, and tell them, that such is the state of lower Germany, that I scarcely think any English cloth will arrive at Frankfort at the next fair, by reason of the war between the emperor and the duke of Guelderland. Wherefore, I pray both of them to pay the money that they owe me (although it is but a small sum) either to myself, or my wife (in case of my absence), here at Strasburgh; or else to provide for the payment of it through some citizen of Zurich. For I am now in great want of it, especially during Lent, because I have neither cloth nor

[<sup>7</sup> Leo Judæ was minister of Zurich, where he undertook the translation of the old Testament, but died June 9th, 1542, before the completion of the work, leaving unfinished Job, the last forty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the last eight chapters of Ezekiel, which were translated by Theodore Bibliander. The entire work was edited by Conrad Pellican.]

money with me. For all the money which I could scrape together from my friends in every quarter, I have sent to my friends in England to lay out in cloth, and send it to Antwerp, where it now is; and they dare not transmit it into upper Germany on account of the cruel war, which may God soon deign to put an end to, for the sake of Christ our Lord and our hope! Amen.

My wife salutes you most respectfully, and also your most amiable wife, to whom I desire my best thanks for her great favours conferred upon us, when we lived with you in those parts. Either your wife, or the wife of Megander, wrote to my wife about something or other; but really we cannot make out what it is. I therefore request that they will let us know what they wish for, and it shall be diligently attended to at the next fair. I was aware that the black cloth they wanted may be bought here, only that it may be had, every one says, with you at a much cheaper rate.

I commend myself most dutifully to masters Megander, Theodore Bibliander, and Pellican, and pray you to salute their wives in my name. I desire also my most respectful salutations to master Erasmus and his wife. And if, my very dear master, I can serve you in any way whatever, only command me, and you shall find me most ready to do your bidding. But I had not intended, as your reverence knows, to write to you any more, and you know the reason; but on account of your excellent presents I am now compelled to write, and I must entreat you to take in good part my barbarous and vain prattling. But I implore you for the Lord's sake, to promote in your senate, as far as you may be able, the cause of my brother and fellow-countryman, John Burcher<sup>1</sup>; respecting which my brother Butler, who is, as I well know, beloved by and dear to you, has lately written to you from Basle.

I have received no news from England since the Frankfort fair: but then (as I requested Peter Hurtzel to inform you) my friends wrote me word that a war had suddenly arisen between the Scots and our countrymen, and that it was reported to have begun in the northern borders of England and the south of Scotland; whether by the Scots or ourselves,

[<sup>1</sup> John Burcher wished to obtain permission from the magistrates of Zurich to export wood for making bows.]

is not certainly known; they so accuse each other and excuse themselves on both sides. This however is certain, that on account of an inroad made by the Scots, in which some of our men were slain<sup>2</sup>, our king threatened that he would shortly declare war with Scotland. The Scot was not much pleased at hearing this, but sent ambassadors into England for the maintenance of peace. The king, as our people tell the story, promised peace upon these conditions; namely, that the king of Scotland should, at every parliament, do homage to our king and his successors, as to his superior and a potentate of more exalted rank, (as was formerly done by some of his predecessors;) that he should promise to depose the Roman pontiff with his monks, as soon as might possibly lie in his power; and admit our religion in other respects (which you are well acquainted with) into his country; that he should engage in the next place to make satisfaction to our king for damages sustained in the north, and for the great expenses which he has incurred in fitting out an army by land and a fleet by sea. For while these matters were in treaty between these sovereigns in August and September, all necessary preparations for war were making on both sides. The Scotsman briefly refuses almost all these conditions, except the payment of a certain sum of money which he granted to the king of England for renewing the peace, and for the expenses he had incurred. Then the king, trusting, as I fear, in chariots and horses, and in the multitude of men, rather than in the name of God, sent into Scotland<sup>3</sup> more than a hundred and twenty thousand men, who, as I have just learned from England by a letter of the 30th of November, have again

[<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Lindsay led the van of the Scottish army, commanded in chief by the earl of Huntley, at a place called Haldanrig; where two hundred of the English were killed, and six hundred taken prisoners.]

[<sup>3</sup> Lord Erskine and others proceeded to York, where the duke of Norfolk, the lord privy seal, and the bishop of Durham were ordered to treat with them. The conference was unsuccessful; wherefore the duke advanced to Scotland, which he entered on Oct. 21, with forty thousand men, according to the Scottish historians; but only twenty thousand, according to the English. As soon as he had passed the Tweed, he was so harassed by the foraging parties of the earl of Huntley, that he thought it adviseable to retreat, and recross the river at Kelso. See Holinshed, III. 828.]

returned from Scotland. But the reason of their return was so closely confined to the leaders, that it was not generally known among us. Meanwhile, it is here stated by those who exercise their traffic in France, that our people have suffered a loss of fourteen thousand men in Scotland. How true this statement may be, I am at present unable to say, although I suspect something of the kind has taken place. I know that you have already heard almost all these things from our friend John Burcher, for I acquainted him with them as they occurred. But that you may not think that I have consigned your wish to forgetfulness or neglect, I thought it worth while to repeat the same account to you, who deserve so well of me in many respects.

God has lately taken away from me, by two or three debtors who (as I hear from England) have become bankrupts, and by other casualties, about two hundred florins, perhaps so much the sooner because I am not there myself to manage my affairs. But let this be told to a stone wall. Besides, I have promised, within this month, to afford yearly (if God do not take every thing away from me) a certain sum of money to some strangers, who, having been lately banished from their country for Christ's sake, have come hither; so that I cannot now afford you so much for the poor exiles as I would have done most cordially, had you desired me. Nevertheless, cease not, I pray you, to remind me of my duty, and you shall find me ready according to my power. For I know that you will not ask me to aid the poor out of my necessity, but of my abundance. And I know what Paul requires of the rich in 1 Tim. vi. and what Christ requires every where. But the flesh, forgetful of divine and heavenly things, and covetous and tenacious of earthly things, cannot be too often reminded of its duty. Write to me therefore freely, whatever you will, because it may be profitable also to others. And I hope that I shall bear your exhortation and warning as it becomes me to do. Farewell in Christ Jesus, and live happily in God; and love your Richard as you are wont to do.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES, *Anglus.*





DAVID BEATON, CARDINAL,

Archbishop of St. Andrews and Lord-Chancellor of Scotland.

*From an Original Picture in the Duke of Hamilton's  
Apartments, in Holyrood House.*

## LETTER CX.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at FRANKFORT, *March 24, 1543.*

PRAISE to God! I most humbly commend myself to your piety, my revered master. I have lately received your letter by Falkner, in which you apologize for not having been able to answer me at that time as fully, as you say, as I might probably expect. But I must reply in my turn, that I did not require an answer of such length, though really useful and most gratifying to me, lest I should be, as I no doubt was, too troublesome to you. I am exceedingly obliged to you on account of John Burcher, for having served him the more readily, as you say, upon my recommendation of him.

I wrote to John Butler a little after Christmas, respecting the king of Scotland, that he was certainly dead, and that it was reported by some persons at Antwerp that he had died of his wounds. This was not indeed mentioned for certain in my letter, but it is allowed by the Scots themselves, that their king died immediately after some of his nobles<sup>1</sup> had been taken prisoners by the English. From that time I have received no positive intelligence from England, except that our king, without delay, sent those nobles back to Scotland, to intercede with the Scots on his behalf, and to exert themselves to the utmost of their power that the kingdom should be given or offered to him by the Scots. But, as I have just learned from an English nobleman at this place, they obtained hardly any thing from the Scots, but returned back to the king, who was completely disappointed in the result of their endeavour. Others however of our countrymen at Antwerp boasted that the estates of Scotland, upon the entreaties or by the contrivance of these noblemen, had sent into England the Scottish

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with above two hundred gentlemen. James V. is generally supposed to have died of grief at the event of this expedition, which is to this day called the *Raid of Solway Moss*. His death took place Dec. 14, 1542.]

cardinal [Beaton]. But my English informant above-mentioned told me just the contrary, namely, that the Scots had chosen a new king from among themselves, had implored the aid of the French king, and determined with all their power to drive back our king. I do not hear that the king of England is in alliance with the emperor, or that he has renounced the French alliance; although it is very probable that, should the latter assist the Scots, he will shortly do so. Nevertheless, news is brought me at this fair, that the Scots, who have taken some ships from us, are forbidden by the estates of Scotland to sell their cargo, till they have ascertained the pleasure of our king respecting it. Some artifice may however lie concealed in this matter, for fear that the king of England may adopt stronger means of defence, and sooner prepare for war.

Farewell, and commend me most diligently to your very dear wife, and to all those godly and learned persons with whom I have there, by your means, been made acquainted. May God preserve you, and those like you, and do you pray for me! Amen.—I am now setting off to Nuremberg (whence I shall return, God willing, in about a month) to sell my cloth, which those friends of mine, who manage my concerns at Antwerp, did not dare to send hither this fair, on account of the duke of Juliers<sup>1</sup>. They have therefore sent them to Nuremberg, for the fair now approaching. Again farewell, and live happy! Amen.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

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## LETTER CXI.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Sept.* 26, 1543.

PRAISE to God! Health in the Lord, my most esteemed master and brother in Christ, our hope. I send herewith to

[<sup>1</sup> William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, had at this time some differences with the emperor Charles the fifth, on account of the succession to Guelderland. See above, page 235.]



*Iuliaci et Cliviae Dux hoc fuit ore GVILELMVS,  
Pace, et Marte bonus, Caesaris ille gener.*



your piety ten Italian crowns, which I desire to be laid out according to your pleasure, as occasion may offer, upon the poor exiles, (rich however in Christ,) and those especially, if such there be, who are in distress among you.

My wife is expecting shortly, that is, in three weeks, her time of confinement, and earnestly entreats both you and your wife to commend her in your prayers to the Lord, whose strength is made perfect in weakness.

At our last fair I gave the four florins for your books to Henry Falekner, to whom I pray you to commend me, and to tell him, that although he most solemnly promised me that he would take care that I should be paid all the money that he owed me at this Frankfort fair, (amounting to about one hundred and twenty-four crowns,) in golden ducats, yet that I have not received above four from master Christopher, but in other money as usual, which he most honestly paid me. But the case was this. Henry Falekner at first agreed to give me one hundred and seventy-five florins at our Strasburgh fair. He then requested me to extend the time of payment till the Frankfort fair, when he would pay the whole in golden ducats, as appears from his note, written with his own hand. I agreed to this, on condition that he would keep his promise, as a merchant ought to do. He told me that he could get a large profit with those one hundred and seventy-five florins by the purchase of arraas<sup>2</sup> and merchandise of that kind. But I am sustaining this inconvenience from this business, that had I sent those ducats from the Strasburgh fair, together with the rest of the money I then had, fresh cloth would have been bought in England with that money before this time; whereas, too, in this city of Strasburgh I could soon have bought among my friends, with those one hundred and seventy-five florins which Falekner ought to have paid me in ready cash, golden crowns for twenty-three batzen, I was obliged at Frankfort to give a Jew twenty-three batzen and a quarter: so that I lost two florins, besides the interest of the money. But I hope that another time he will perform what he has promised.

I have no leisure to write more, except that our king has within these two months, as I wrote to John Burcher, burnt

[<sup>2</sup> It is thus in the MS. Arras is probably intended.]

three<sup>1</sup> godly men in one day. For in the month of July he married the widow<sup>2</sup> of a certain nobleman, of the name of Latimer; and he is always wont to celebrate his nuptials by some wickedness of this kind. Farewell in Christ!

Yours, Rych. H.

[RICHARD HILLES.]

P.S. I pray you to give, together with these letters addressed to Germans, ten other French crowns and my other letter, to John Burcher.

## LETTER CXII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Nov. 15, 1543.*

HEALTH and peace from Christ our hope! You must know, reverend sir, that, according to what you told me in your letter of the 13th of October, Henry Falekner wrote to me shortly after, to inquire about the price of my cloth. I send you my answer to him inclosed in this letter, and request you will kindly explain it to him at your leisure. You will thereby do me an acceptable service: for, as you are aware, I cannot write Latin sufficiently; and as to German, I am still more ignorant, for I cannot yet master the idiom of your language. But to return to my subject. If master Falekner (after you have explained my mind to him from my letter, or procured some one else to do so) should return my cloth to you, I pray you, my master, to take charge of it, and keep it in your house till the arrival of John Burcher, to whom I will write my mind respecting it, as to what he should do

[1 These were Antony Person, Robert Testwood, and Henry Filmer, who were burnt at Windsor, July 27, 1542. For an account of their trial and martyrdom, see Burnet, i. 523; Soames, i. 538, and Foxe, v. 486.]

[2 Katherine Parr had been formerly married to Neville, Lord Latimer, and was married to Henry VIII., at Hampton Court, July 12, 1542.]



CATHERINE PARR.

*From a Miniature by Holbein,  
in the Collection at Strawberry Hill.*



with it. For in good truth I cannot part with it for a less sum, as times now are, than what I stated to Falckner. If I were solely intent upon gain, I could make more money by a thousand florins employed upon other wares, especially in this time of war, than I can by two thousand florins laid out upon cloth. But I always have in mind what the apostle says, 1 Tim. vi. 17, respecting those who desire to be rich in this world. I was never very anxious about those four florins which I sent you by Falckner from the fair; but I wrote about them, merely to know whether the letter of the young man who is in my house, and which I sent by Falckner at the same time with the money, had been delivered. That letter treated of some ungodly laws enacted about that time by our parliament: if you have received that letter, it is well. For this young man, whose name is Francis Warner, has often inquired of me whether it had arrived safe: I replied that I had no doubt of it, because we gave it in charge to Falckner. My wife heartily wishes for you and your wife every happiness; and says she has no doubt but that God helped her the sooner in her confinement by reason of your good prayers. On the second of this month she brought forth to the church of Christ a son, who, as the women say, is quite large enough for a mother of tall stature, and whom I immediately named Gershom. I am in daily expectation of a letter from England, but not of any news. My wife very affectionately salutes above all others your most godly wife, and says that she wishes, I know not what, but that as she has already so many fine children herself, she would pray for the wife of master Megander, that she also may have a family. Salute, I pray you, in my name all those learned men among you, to whom the church of Christ is so much indebted; and may our Lord Jesus, the chief Shepherd, recompense them all in that day, and especially yourself! Amen.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

## LETTER CXIII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Sept.* 26, 1544.

PRAISE to God! Health and peace from the Lord! Your letter, my reverend and very dear friend in Christ, dated in the month of June, I received by Falckner at this our fair; and I offer my warmest thanks for your answer to Cochläus's<sup>1</sup> book, of which you have made me a present: for I read it in the month of August, and it has confirmed me not a little in the true religion of our Lord and Saviour. I think myself too exceedingly obliged to your piety for having condescended to exhort me a second time in your last letter by Froschover, that I should so use the world, as not to lose heaven; that I should love the Lord God before and above all things, and not be too much immersed in perishable concerns, business, and money. I now know that the love of Christ abideth in you, because you keep his commandment, as it becomes a good shepherd. "If thy brother," saith the Lord, "sin against thee," &c. Doubt not, beloved master, but that the more you admonish me of my duty, or reprove me for neglect, the more I shall value and love you from my heart. I confess that I am engaged in various, and perhaps too many, occupations; but, except at the Frankfort fairs, I am seldom absent from home. And hence it is, that I apply myself to the reading of scripture less frequently than I could wish; because, having no servant, I transact almost all my business myself, especially here in Strasburgh, and I am almost always engaged in correspondence, settling my accounts, and things of the like nature. Yet last winter, by God's blessing, I read the whole of the holy Bible which you gave me, besides the new Testament, with as much attention as I was able. From this sacred reading, if I have derived no other advantage, I have at least learned this, that when the prophets,

[1 John Cochläus, the well known antagonist of Luther, was a canon of Breslau, where he died in 1552, aged 72 years.]

according to this your translation, intended to describe a knave or impostor, they called him a merchant<sup>2</sup>. I learn from hence, as you also say, what a dangerous and slippery thing is trade, in which occupation I may fall very soon, and I wish I may not have fallen very frequently. Moreover, from that reading I learned repentance. Do you, my master, aid me by your prayers as well as by your very godly and frequent and seasonable advice, by which you are truly, as you write, performing the part of a friend and brother, and are watching over my welfare : may God reward you for this in that day! Amen.

Furthermore, I received here from my wife, after my return, that book of yours which you lately sent me by Froschover; and as soon as I have any leisure, God willing, I will read it. For it is much commended by those of our countrymen who favour the gospel, as our *Michael*<sup>3</sup> (I mean Miles Coverdale) immediately after my arrival from England in these parts clothed it in an English dress; but I am more pleased with reading it in Latin. For the same book I also return you many thanks; but am sorry that you should be always sending me presents, when I have here nothing worth sending to your kindness in return. My wife also desires her thanks (as I doubt not but that you heard from Falckner) for that old medal representing concord. If there is any news from England, our friend John, the bearer of this letter, will tell it you much better than I can describe it in this most barbarous and, as I fear, incongruous style. The same person will bring you with him, inclosed in this my letter, twelve Italian crowns for the poor exiles. I request you will distribute them, as you may have opportunity, at the beginning of the year; and pray the Lord for me, that he may mercifully regard this little offering, and have mercy on us all. Amen! Deign to salute in my name Theodore, Pellican, Megander, and your other pious and learned men. My wife salutes you and your most amiable wife, whom I also beg you to salute in my name. And may the Lord Jesus, our hope, grant you to make full proof of your ministry even to the end; that when the chief Shepherd shall ap-

[<sup>2</sup> See Hosea xii. 7.]

[<sup>3</sup> Coverdale was known during his exile by the name of Michael Anglus.]

pear, you may receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away! Amen.

Yours in the Lord,

RICHARD HILLES.

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## LETTER CXIV.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *April 15, 1545.*

PRAISE to God! Health in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! Although I never doubted of your love to every member of Christ, and have often experienced your especial kindness to myself, you nevertheless do not cease to make it every day more apparent by your presents; which indeed are so far most gratifying to me, inasmuch as they are the manifestations of that regard towards me, which it has ever been my earnest desire that you should entertain: they have however been less acceptable, because I would wish rather to spare you any expense in this respect, and especially since I know of no way of returning the obligation; and if I did, your kindness would not allow me to do so. But of these things at another time; it seems best now to come to the chief subject of this letter.

My countryman, John Burcher, has lately informed me by letter, that he is exceedingly desirous of obtaining the freedom of your canton; which however, according to the laudable custom and law of your city, he is prevented from obtaining, until he can produce a testimonial signed by some persons worthy of credit, to shew that he was born in lawful wedlock, and that he has not fled from his country by reason of any crime against the state; but rather for having embraced the pure and christian doctrine, and freely made a profession of it. But now, since it would be too great an expense to send to England for a testimonial of this kind, and since also John Burcher feels quite confident that the

testimonials of any persons of approved credit and probity, resident in these quarters, respecting him will be favourably received by the magistracy of Zurich, (according to the kindness by which they are distinguished;) he has requested me to obtain for him the testimonials of at least two Englishmen of sufficiently known reputation and piety. One of them is named William Swerder<sup>1</sup>, a gentleman, in whom with zeal for learning are united piety and sobriety of life. The other I think is somewhat known to you, both by my commendation, and also by his own letters sent to you some time since. He is called Miles Coverdale, and is truly one who is very dear to and honourably esteemed by all the ministers of the word, and other learned men in these parts. He is the master of a grammar school at Bergzabern, a town not far from Weissemburg, where, by translating in his leisure hours, for the sake of the more extensive advancement of the kingdom of Christ, various religious works into our language, partly yours, and partly those of other learned men, he is of very great service in promoting the scriptural benefit of those persons in the lower ranks of life, who are anxious for the truth, and inflamed with zeal and desire of obeying the will of God. He is one of those who, after the example of Moses, rather choose to be banished, and suffer affliction with the people of God, than with a wounded conscience to enjoy the pleasures of sin in their native Egypt. But that I may dismiss this subject in few words, and reduce it into a narrow compass; since, I say, this John Burcher has not very long since written to me, and not only that, but another Englishman also, of approved character, has borne testimony to the above named William and Miles, that they can, if they choose, bring sufficient evidence that it was only for the sake of true religion, and for no other reason, that John was compelled to abandon the excellent prospects which he had in England before he came into Switzerland, where, as is not altogether unknown to you, he has been seeking to maintain himself by manual labour; I called upon William Swerder, who is now on business at Strasburgh, to ask him that, as it is well known to him that John Burcher is a man of spotless character, and suffering, as

[1 William Swerder was at one time master of the ancient hospital of St Thomas, of Eastbridge, in Canterbury, from which he afterwards had an annuity of ten pounds out of the rents. Strype, Parker, i. 566.]

I before stated, for the sake of the gospel, he would not refuse to confirm that testimony respecting John with his signature, which you perceive he has done.

But since the same Burcher has likewise entreated me, that in my journey either to or from Frankfort I would procure a similar testimony from Miles Coverdale at Bergzabern, (and indeed a more ample one, as I am told by the bearer of this letter, that he is the best acquainted with him of all the English who are sojourning in Germany,) I could not in any way do this without great inconvenience. For although I will not deny that Bergzabern is not much out of the high road from Strasburgh to Frankfort; yet, because on that side of the Rhine the journey is not so safe, to those especially who are supposed to have money about them, as through the territory of the Margrave of Baden, I have neglected to procure the testimonial of my brother Miles; and the less reluctantly, because I hope that you, by reason of your piety and benevolence to the afflicted people of Christ, will so commend to the mayor and most worshipful senate of your city the testimonial which I send with this letter, that they may consider it as sufficient, and receive Burcher into the number of their citizens.

But now, as far as regards my testimony, I must confess that this person was entirely unknown to me before his departure from England; for the place where he was born is very far distant from my native place, that is to say, by an interval of seven or eight German miles. This report however prevailed there concerning him, among those who are counted gospellers, and it also came to my ears when I was still residing in England, that he had not left the country for any other reason than because he was discovered to maintain the orthodox opinion concerning the eucharist; but that in other respects he always conducted himself with piety and sobriety, wherever he resided. And indeed as he has never, since he has been personally known to me, given me any reason to think otherwise of him, so, in truth, it has never been my lot to hear from any person any thing in opposition to this character; although both in England, and also after I came to reside here, I have frequently heard him spoken of, and at times too, when, if there had been any thing to find fault with in him, a fit opportunity offered of doing so. Moreover, I may be

allowed to bear this additional testimony respecting him, that I have seen a long letter of his to the lord Cromwell, the king's chief councillor, and one who at that time possessed the greatest authority with the king in England; in which letter he explained the whole cause of his banishment, and how unjustly he was treated by the sanguinary bishops and the ecclesiastical order: from which writing no other suspicion could possibly arise either to myself or any one else, than that he had suffered persecution only for the sake of the gospel, and not for any thing else, either a criminal offence, or the maintenance of any erroneous doctrine. In fact, as I perfectly remember to be the case, the principal, and indeed the only scope of his appeal was to this effect, that since he had been in many ways so unjustly dealt with, as that the impious bishops were within a very little of passing sentence of death upon him, he [Cromwell] would deign to obtain for him, through his influence with the king, that without denying the truth (for that he constantly declared he would not do) permission might be granted to him to return to England in safety from the fury of his enemies. Hence therefore it is easy to conclude (and when I read it, it removed all doubt whatever from my mind), that he would never have employed so much diligence and pains, as it is evident he did, in the composition of that letter, in endeavouring to explain therein to a man placed in such a post of dignity and authority, as Cromwell was at that time, the entire cause of his banishment, if that persecution which he then endured for the profession of the truth, had not been the chief, nay, the only reason of his seeking refuge in your canton.

Wherefore, my very dear master Bullinger, I entreat you by Christ, for whose sake doubtless he is now an exile, not only to aid him in this object of obtaining the freedom of your city, but to shew yourself easy of access and kind to him in whatever other matters he may chance to need your assistance and faithful counsel. And God, who, as you well know, and most truly teach, leaves no act of piety without recompence, will bestow upon you abundant mercy in the world to come. And if in my turn I shall be able to oblige you by a service of this kind towards any of your friends, I hope that you will not find me less willing and ready on my part, as our Lord Jesus Christ knows, who is

our life and hope, and in whom I wish you all safety and every happiness, to the glory of his name and the welfare of your neighbours! Amen.

I know of no news from our country, except what the bearer of this letter can inform you of. My wife most dutifully commends herself to you and to your most faithful wife; and she also thanks you for that godly prayer which in your late letter to me you poured forth to God on behalf of our little son Barnabas, and also for the Swiss shoes given to my Gershom.

Salute, I pray you, in my name Theodore Bibliander, Pellican, Gaspar Megander, Erasmus Schmidt, and especially your friend Gualter, and the other learned men who have deserved so well of the church of God. May almighty God very long preserve you all in safety to the glory of his name! Amen.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

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## LETTER CXV.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Jan. 23, 1546.*

PRAISE to God! Health and peace in the Lord! As it is a long time since I have written to your piety, it is not right for me longer to abstain from writing. And first of all, I am exceedingly obliged to you, sir, for having deigned to send for my perusal, although not as a present, the books you last forwarded to me. But since this is your pleasure, I receive them gratefully, and, the Lord willing, will soon finish reading what yet remains in them to be perused. May God grant that I may be able to read them with great advantage, as you have published them with great labour, to the glory of God's name, and the edification of his church!

Lewis Lavater (I know not through what circumstance) did not remain with master Matthew Zolle, but, as he told

me, is now with one master Marbach, whom I understand from your letter, dated in October, not to be one with whom the father of Lewis would like his son to have any intercourse. You mention, as a reason, that Marbach is altogether a Lutheran: but this is no new thing among us, that any preacher should savour of Lutheranism, because almost all the preachers and lecturers here are chiefly imbibing and inculcating Lutheranism: so that either Luther has drawn them over into his error, or else, fascinated by the world, they pretend themselves to be Lutherans. So that if we consider this, there is no occasion for your friend Lewis again to change his lodging; since he will have just such another, if he should lodge with any learned man in this place. And as for myself, sir, there is indeed scarcely any one here, with whom I am acquainted, who takes boarders, with whom I should think him better placed than with master Matthew Zolle. For I have not only heard him well spoken of by Gerard Frisius and others, but also by the scholars who board with him; among whom, however, I have known very few since I came to reside here. I am prepared, and I made him the offer, that if Lewis should desire it of me, I would lay out money on your account for the youth's tabling, either for a quarter or half a year. Yet, as his father is a man of property, I think it will be no loss to him to pay down the sum beforehand to John Burcher, that I may be able to pay for him the same amount here afterwards. For in truth I scarcely ever keep any money by me for a week together, but lay it out forthwith in merchandise. Do not, I pray, be offended at my writing to you with such freedom; for I am only pointing out to your reverence the state of my affairs, as to the employment of money. Meanwhile, however, I will by no means refuse to lay down the sum here, before I receive it from you by John Burcher, although the amount should be three times as much as I think it will be.

If there is any news here, or from England, you will learn it by the letter of a certain countryman of mine who is studying here, whose name is John Hoper, formerly in the court<sup>1</sup> of our king, but now a disciple of Christ, the King of kings, and glowing with zeal and piety, and most attached to your name among those of all other divines. He was

[<sup>1</sup> See above, Lett. XXI. p. 33.]

sick at my house, almost unto death; and when, to all appearance he was on the point of departure, he uttered the language and profession of a most godly christian breast respecting the matter of the eucharist, and all the articles of the christian faith, before many by-standers. May the great and good God give him grace to persevere unto the end, that he may be saved! Amen.

When I first read your letter, I was grieved at the death of Megander; but now, when I look upon the condition of this world, and the happiness of those who die in Christ, I begin to praise God for him. Meanwhile, however, may God repair the loss, which, as you write, the church of Zurich suffers by his departure. John Burcher lately wrote me word, that either you or your pious wife had intended to send us a cheese against Christmas. But I am glad you did not, for we have received more gifts and favours from you than we shall ever be able to return. Wherefore be sparing, I pray you, sir, of your presents, and notwithstanding entertain no doubt of our regard towards you. For we love you, as we have been wont to do, in the Lord. My wife salutes you and your wife, as I also do, and likewise the widow, if she is still a widow, of Megander, and especially Pellican, Theodore Bibliander, and your beloved Gualter, as he deserves. Farewell in Christ Jesus our Lord and hope, in whom live happily! Amen.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

P. S. Lewis tells me that he has agreed with master Marbach for board at thirty florins a year. But he has doubtless himself informed you of this by letter long since.

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## LETTER CXVI.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *April 30, 1546.*

PRAISE to God! Health, and the peace of God which passeth all understanding! Your letter, my master, beloved

in the Lord, dated on the first of this month, I have to-day received from your friend Lewis, who kept it for me until my return from Frankfort. I cannot altogether acquit myself either of ingratitude or indolence, for not having as yet replied to your letter of February the sixth. For that letter of yours was not, as you write with your accustomed kindness to plead my excuse, of such a nature as to require no answer; for I must confess that it was so full of godly and pious admonitions, and so necessary to me who am employed in so dangerous a calling (if indeed trade can be so called, as the world now conducts it), that if there were nothing else that might seem to require an answer, I ought at least to have returned you long since, on account of that letter, the thanks due to your kindness and christian love. But O unhappy me! who am so overwhelmed with worldly business, as thus to neglect my duty to my father, and spiritual and godly physician. I therefore entreat you, my master, honoured in the Lord, that you will deign to persevere in praying for me (as I collect from all your later letters that you do) to the Lord Jesus Christ, that the thorns of riches may not so pierce me, as to call away my attention from the study of godliness, and meditation upon heavenly things: our life is indeed, as you say, short upon earth, and we die daily. These things I have always before my eyes, whether at leisure or engaged in business, eating and drinking, yea, even in my dreams when I am asleep. May the great and good God grant (and I hope he will grant it the sooner for your prayers), that I may not bear these things in mind, or in a manner desire death, because it is said to put an end to the cares and anxieties of this life, (by which we are continually harassed in heaping up and preserving riches,) rather than because I desire with the apostle to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Thus in me the flesh oftentimes seeketh its own, and not only the glory and life of Christ. But I have not now leisure to write to you upon this subject as fully as I could wish.

You will obtain information, as to the state of England, from the bearer of this letter, more fully and conveniently than I can write it. Meanwhile, however, I would have you to know, that while those are alive who now hold the reins of government and authority, it is not probable that the

gospel will be purely and seriously received there. For the king, the leading men, and almost all the bishops of that nation, are altogether intent upon war. They desire to retain the good-will of the emperor by every means in their power, and regard the simplicity of the protestants for the most part as idle folly, and court their friendship (provided only they may not be compelled to admit religion in the first place,) not, as I think, because they love them, but that they may have them partakers in the wars, and in the hatred with which they are regarded by the French. As for an alliance with them, I believe they revolt from it on account of the free confession that they make of the truth. But God, who knows all things, knows whether I am deceived in this opinion, or not. I wish I may be. Moreover, the bishop of Winchester<sup>1</sup> has very lately republished a book against Bucer, altogether full of bitterness and invective, in which he professes his contempt of him on every account, attacks his learning, and considers yours as the most impious of all. What kind of a book this is, the bearer of this letter can inform you at length; for he has read it through at my house.

Nothing else, but what you write, is to be expected from those unclean birds now assembled at Trent. May God therefore grant, according to your prayer thereupon, that the antichrist, who is now wounded by the sword of the Spirit of the wrath of God, may be entirely destroyed by the coming of our Lord! Amen.

Meanwhile, I pray you, do not cease to admonish me as you are wont, as frequently as your necessary engagements will admit, and (as you think me to deserve it) to reprove and rebuke me, that by the grace of God I may continue sound in the faith even to the end, and have my confidence stedfast in that glorious and awful advent.

I have not as yet advanced any money for our brother Lewis, but am at all times ready to obey your wishes or those of his father in this matter. Your attached friend, master Hoper, is now in England, but will shortly return to us, God willing, and afterwards to you. Let us pray our

[<sup>1</sup> Bishop Gardiner wrote two letters in condemnation of a work of Bucer against the celibacy of the clergy. See Strype, Mem. ii. i. 103.]

God to bring him back with success; for he desires, and indeed it is the only object<sup>2</sup> of his present absence from us, to procure, if he can, some money, with which he may be able always to reside either here, or with you, in holiness and with a good conscience, far from the impurity of Babylon. My wife prays for all happiness to your wife, and tells me that she has sent, by master Froschover, I know not what trifle for her acceptance. We both of us thank you as much for the cheese about which you wrote, as if you had really sent it us. Salute, I pray you, masters Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, and all the rest of you who are very dear to me in the Lord. And I regret, had not God so willed it, that I can no longer send any introductions or recommendations to master Erasmus; for Froschover tells me that he is dead. Farewell in Christ, our only hope, and live always most happy in him! Amen.

Yours,

R. HILLES.

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## LETTER CXVII.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Jan. 26, 1547.*

PRAISE to God! Health and perseverance in the Lord Jesus Christ, our hope! I now at last reply to your letters dated Oct. 28th and Dec. 4th. And first of all, I owe you infinite thanks, my most esteemed master, for your condescension in presenting me with your Commentaries upon Luke, as you had before presented me with those upon the other evangelists and apostles. I pray almighty God that I may be able continually to meditate upon them, and, as you exhort me, to devote the best part of my life uninterruptedly to the study of godliness and to good works. And I entreat you to pray the Lord for me, that I may do this, and cleave to the Lord, even to the end.

[<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 34.]

I told our brother Lavater what you commanded, or at least wished; and I doubt not but that he will always well employ his time here, and be diligent in learning; and my constant exhortation shall not be wanting to that effect. I fear, lest, as you write, the time be at hand, when the Lord will visit our iniquities by a cruel war, and will give us over into the hands of our enemies for correction and punishment. For I hear (though I hope it is not the case) that master de Buiren is now attempting to set up the mass at Frankfort in some of the churches, though in the mean time he permits those who wish to hear the gospel and follow the truth, to do so without hinderance.

There has lately been, as I think John Burcher wrote you word, some change in England, and there will doubtless be one yet greater. For England has now had for some years only one<sup>1</sup> duke, namely, of Norfolk, whom, together with his son, the king committed to prison, for having, as they say, when he was in a declining state, endeavoured to restore the pope's supremacy; and I have lately heard (but I have not yet received a letter from that quarter), that both father and son have been beheaded, and that that spirit of godliness or rather of popery, the bishop of Winchester, has succeeded into their place, I mean the Tower of London. God grant that all these things may be subservient to the glory of his name and the propagation of evangelical doctrine, as many of our friends think it will be! And this may be the case, after God shall have visited the sins of this kingdom. For the new queen and the earl of Hertford, who is the uncle of the prince, the king's son, are well disposed to pious doctrine, and abominate the fond inventions of the papists.

Salute Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, and the rest who are known to me there, and especially your most pious wife, to whom also my wife desires to be commended.

Farewell, and live always happy!

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

[<sup>1</sup> This letter was written Jan. 26, 1547. Shortly after the accession of king Edward VI. the earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerset.]





Drawn by J. Thurston.

Engraved by C. Warren.

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

*From a Picture by Holbein in His  
Majesty's Collection at Windsor.*

## LETTER CXVIII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated [at STRASBURGH], *Feb.* 25, 1547.

I HAVE no later news to tell you of, than that it is certain that our king in England died on the twenty-eighth of January<sup>2</sup>; and that on the following Monday his only son was publicly proclaimed<sup>3</sup> king, according to custom, throughout the country; and on last Sunday he was publicly crowned<sup>4</sup>; which they write me word from England is all true. The young king aforesaid is called Edward, the sixth of this name.

About one or two weeks before the death of the aforementioned king Henry, he commanded, as some say, by his will, that the duke, who in this country is called the duke of Norfolk, together with his only son, who in England is called the earl of Surrey, should both of them be beheaded<sup>5</sup>. The government of England, according to the king's will, which is also confirmed by the parliament or diet, is placed in the hands of sixteen persons, eight of whom, it is said, are bishops<sup>6</sup>, until the young king be grown up<sup>7</sup>. The most

[<sup>2</sup> Henry VIII., departed at Westminster on Friday, Jan. 28, about two of the clock in the morning. Strype, Mem. ii. i. 18.]

[<sup>3</sup> For the ceremonies and circumstances that attended the proclaiming of the king, see Strype, Mem. ii. i. 19.]

[<sup>4</sup> King Edward was crowned by archbishop Cranmer on Feb. 20th, being Shrove Sunday. For an account of the form and solemnity attending it, see Strype, Cranmer, 202.]

[<sup>5</sup> The earl of Surrey was arraigned at Guildhall on Jan. 13, on a charge of having quartered on his shield the arms of Edward the confessor; and perished on the scaffold six days after. The duke of Norfolk was attainted and condemned; but his execution was prevented by the death of the king. He remained, however, a prisoner in the Tower till the accession of queen Mary. See Burnet, i. 554, &c.]

[<sup>6</sup> Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Toustal, bishop of Durham, were the only prelates nominated in the king's will. A list of his executors is given in Burnet, ii. 5; and Strype, Mem. ii. i. 19.]

[<sup>7</sup> Namely, till he should arrive at eighteen years of age.]

distinguished of them, however, is not a bishop, but the king's uncle, or his mother's brother. He is also appointed lord protector or governor of the king his nephew, and of the whole realm. This said guardian of the king is called the earl of Hertford: he is not very favourable to the priests<sup>1</sup>, and a great enemy to the pope of Rome.

Now if I thought that you did not know it already, I would also tell you the news that was sent me on the fifteenth of this month from Erfurt; namely, that the elector of Saxony, after having laid siege to Leipsic<sup>2</sup> for three weeks, with an army of thirty thousand men, composed both of cavalry and infantry, was unable to take the town, although he had bombarded it very severely, and had done much damage to the houses. He was forced to retreat with his army, and is now five miles from Leipsic; at about four miles from which duke Maurice is encamped with his troops, with king Ferdinand and the Margrave of Colbach. But on the duke of Saxony's side are the king of Denmark, and the Saxon towns, Bremen, Hamburg, Brunswick, with some others, so that both parties are considered equally strong; and if they do not shortly make peace, (as some hope they will,) a battle must ensue. I have likewise received intelligence from Erfurt, that the kings of England and France sent ambassadors to Hamburg, who have been there together ever since Christmas, with the elector of Saxony, and the diet of the Saxon towns above-mentioned. The king of Denmark has also been with them; but what they have done or determined amongst themselves, time will shew. May Almighty God sometime bless us with a long and lasting peace!

Your servant to command,

RICHARD HILLES.

[<sup>1</sup> The nation being then divided between those who loved the old superstition, and those who desired a more complete reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the one, and the lord chancellor at the head of the other party. Burnet, II. 7.]

[<sup>2</sup> This siege began on January 13th, and was raised about the end of the month. Nevertheless the town was miserably shattered and defaced by the batteries of great guns that continually played upon it. Sleidan, B. xviii.]

P.S. Health in the Lord Jesus, our Saviour and hope! I would have informed you, my revered master, of the most certain intelligence which I have lately received from England, by an express letter from myself, unless, as is frequently the case, I had been so much engaged upon other business. Meanwhile, however, that you may not be without any information from me, though upon matters which I think you must have heard from others some days since, I forward to your reverence this copy of a letter which I lately sent from Strasburgh<sup>3</sup> to a fellow-countryman of mine now resident at Basle. Commend me most affectionately to all your brother colleagues in the Lord, and to your godly wife, and also to the wife of John Burcher<sup>4</sup>; and tell her that I have lately received a letter from Cologne, by which I learn that he arrived there safe with all his wares, with which he happily set sail for Dort in Holland about ten days since. Farewell in the Lord. Dated February 25, 1547, by yours,

R. H.

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## LETTER CXIX.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *May* 19, 1547.

PRAISE to God! Health and peace in the Lord Jesus our Saviour! I would have you know, my most honoured master, that I have received your most acceptable letter, dated two months since; and I owe infinite obligations to your piety for thus keeping me in your remembrance, and so constantly exhorting me to an innocent and upright conduct, and the continual study of the holy scriptures. But as I

[<sup>3</sup> The original of the preceding letter is written in German, the postscript alone is in Latin.]

[<sup>4</sup> John Burcher was at this time a partner with Hilles as a cloth merchant.]

do not perceive any thing in this your letter which of necessity requires an answer, except that I ought to return you my thanks for that German book which I received together with it, and also for your having condescended to write to me concerning what the French king's ambassador required of your townsmen, I have till now deferred my reply. And I pray you not to be displeased at this; for I have scarce leisure to reply forthwith to the letters of all my correspondents without great inconvenience to myself.

They state here as a certain fact, that the duke elector of Saxony has been taken prisoner<sup>1</sup> by the emperor's troops; and the various statements of those who bring this news, are so consistent, that it seems highly probable, and is universally believed to be the case. I have lately, however, received intelligence from Cologne, (but I do not altogether believe it,) that this news was circulated in all quarters by a courier from Hesse, and in Hesse itself; but that the landgrave had discovered that the report was false respecting the capture of the duke, and had in consequence severely punished at Marpurg, as he deserved, the messenger who first spread the report, and who declared himself to have been present at the battle, when the elector was taken prisoner. But in the same letter it was stated that a letter had been written from Erfurt, on the first of May, to an inhabitant of Cologne, by name John Pelmké zum Rynberch, to the following effect:

“As to our own affairs, very dear friend, I have to inform you that the emperor's troops made an unexpected attack, as it were by forced marches, upon the army of the duke of Saxony, on the 24th of April; and that there fell on the duke's side two thousand infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry; and that the son of the elector was severely wounded, but escaped with his life. It was also generally reported at that time that the duke himself was slain; but he was found upon the ground unhurt<sup>2</sup>, to the great joy of the whole army.

[1 This took place April 24, 1547, at the battle of Muhlberg, for an account of which see Sleidan, B. xviii, and Robertson, Charles V., B. ix.]

[2 This was not the case. Having received a wound in his left cheek, he was taken, and brought to the duke of Alva first, and then to the emperor. Sleidan.]

Moreover, it is stated that on the 25th of April a certain gentleman, named William Thunsern, fell upon the forces of the emperor with some thousand men from Bohemia, and took from them fifteen pieces of artillery, together with some wagons laden with silver, which had before been taken from the troops of the duke of Saxony; and that on the emperor's side there fell five thousand men; so that he himself was forced to retire towards Egra," &c.

But I look upon all these things as fabulous. I have no news from England, except what I wrote to John Burcher about a month since. Farewell, and commend us to all your godly colleagues, and also to your faithful wife.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

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## LETTER CXX.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *June 18, 1548.*

PRAISE to God! Much health. You must know, my very dear friend and master, that I have at last received a third letter from you since my return from my native land; one too, which, besides many other things contained in it, abounds in holy exhortations to patience and perseverance, and every kind of virtue. I return you for it my warmest thanks, and pray our good and gracious God to enable me to practise what you have so properly recommended.

In the first of the letters above-mentioned, you speak much of Josiah Simler, for whom at his baptism you undertook the office of sponsor. I will most readily do for him, for your sake, what you request. But I do not think it will answer to me to advance him in future any money, which is to be repaid yonder, after our friend John Burcher has left

you; nor will there then remain any hope of procuring the bows. If, however, you will receive from his father those fifteen florins which I was to send you for this year, for the purposes you know of, I will hand them over to his son here, and am ready to pay them whenever he thinks fit. Should, however, the young man be in want of money, I will supply him, upon the condition that it shall be remitted hither from you by a trustworthy person.

In your second letter you desire to know the circumstances of the most learned John a Lasco. All that I know about his condition I have learned from a citizen of this place, to whom he wrote last autumn. For he was then at Embden in Friesland, and in good health; but very much grieved and dejected on account of the present state of Germany.

And now to come to your third and last letter. The book which you have sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, I will undertake, shall ere long be safely delivered; but this can hardly be done before our fair in July, except by means of a courier on purpose, which would be very expensive: for I must give five kreutzers for every half-ounce, as far as Antwerp, in addition to the carriage from thence to the archbishop. If it had been brought but an hour sooner, I could have sent it by a native of Antwerp, who was then at my house.

It is most certain, God willing, that I intend to return to England with my wife and children at the next Frankfort autumn fair. I thank you for your friendly prayers, that God may prosper our journey. You desire, moreover, to know by what means, and through what persons you may be able to write to my countrymen during my absence. Our common friend, John Burcher, will most readily forward my letters. For we have agreed to carry on our business in partnership for two or three years, or even longer, should it seem expedient; and on this account he has purchased a convenient residence in this town, which he will begin to occupy as soon as he shall have returned from the next Frankfort fair.

You may also most readily obtain information respecting the affairs of England through master John Hoper<sup>1</sup>, as long

[<sup>1</sup> It appears by Letter XXV, that Hoper was now resident at Zurich.]

as he shall remain with you. To whom, and to his pious wife, I pray you commend me; as also to that most learned man, master Theodore, master Pellican, doctor Gesner, and the pious widow of Megander, together with your wife. My wife heartily salutes all the above-named, but especially yourself and your wife.

The last news I have received from England is to this effect; namely, that some persons had presumed to marry a second wife while the first was living, but divorced, and even to have two wives at once. This liberty has been prohibited, as it ought to be, by a public proclamation<sup>2</sup> of the king and council. The chancellor too, as they call him, of the kingdom, in a speech delivered in the king's name before the judges<sup>3</sup> of the whole realm, warned them to take serious cognizance of the like offenders. There are also papists who, by their false rumours, endeavour to excite the people against the king and nobles of the realm. Their lies are to the effect that the king is intending to oppress the people by a new and unheard of kind of tax; namely, that when any person marries, he must pay half a crown to the king; and so in like manner for baptizing an infant, or burying the dead; with various lying surmises of the same kind<sup>4</sup>. Against these also he [the chancellor] inveighed most severely, warning the judges to put a stop to these falsehoods as soon as possible, and to punish the authors of these wicked errors.

I received this speech, together with the proclamation, about the end of May, and sent it long since to my friend

[<sup>2</sup> This proclamation was dated April 24. The king charged all archbishops and bishops, and others that had spiritual jurisdiction, to proceed against such as had or should hereafter have two wives, or any that should put away his wife and marry another; and to punish such offenders according to the ecclesiastical laws, that others might be afraid to fall into such insolent and unlawful acts. Strype, Memor. II. i. 142.]

[<sup>3</sup> The judges and justices of the peace were required by proclamation, dated at Westminster, April 30, to appear before the king's council in the star-chamber, where the lord chancellor Rich gave them a charge. See Strype, Memor. II. i. 143.]

[<sup>4</sup> See Strype, Mem. II. i. 141, who says that "hereby many were seduced and brought into such disorder of late, and in some parts in a manner to insurrection and rebellion."]

John Butler, that when he had read them both he might send them to master John Hoper, who might interpret them to you in Latin, as they are printed in English.

Before sealing this letter, I have heard from England that the bishop of Winchester, doctor Edmund Redman<sup>1</sup>, and another, named Robinson, have been summoned to London by the king's council, I know not for what reason. All the women and children are sent away from Boulogne; for there is some apprehension that the French are about to attack it. The lord Cobham<sup>2</sup>, however, the king of England's deputy at Calais, has written to me within this month, that he does not think it at all probable that the French will feel disposed to contend with us this present year. Besides, our people have a great deal of work upon their hands in Scotland. They have lately taken there a certain town named Haddington<sup>3</sup>, distant only about twelve English miles from Edinburgh, and the English are daily fortifying it, as also very many other fortresses in Scotland. I commend you, your wife and children, to our only Saviour and Redeemer. Farewell, and long live happily in the Lord! Amen.

Yours from my heart,

RICHARD HILLES.

[<sup>1</sup> Dr John Redman is probably intended; for an account of whom see above, note 1, p. 150. He was concerned in drawing up the first Liturgy of king Edward, as was Thomas Robertson or Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester, also mentioned in the text, and who, as well as Dr Redman, was supposed to be favourably inclined to popery.]

[<sup>2</sup> George Brook, lord Cobham, was summoned to parliament in 1529, and died in 1558.]

[<sup>3</sup> Haddington was surprised by the English under William lord Grey of Wilton, in April 1548.]

## LETTER CXXI.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 4, 1549.*

PRAISE to God! Much health in the Lord! You are surprised, as you write me word in your last letter, dated March 24th, that I have been able to refrain from writing to you since the day I left Germany, and especially since you have now written me a second letter. But you will receive, you tell me, whatever excuse I may patch up for the discontinuance of our correspondence; if I do not write, that no excuse, however ingenious, will avail with you, &c. I reply, my master and most honoured friend, that I have not written to you all this time, because I have scarcely had leisure, since my return, to arrange and write about such affairs as I was necessarily obliged to complete. For Germany did not very well agree with me, as the air was unfavourable, nay, even most inimical to my constitution, and the mode of living and wine of that country, and especially the stoves in winter, suited me but little better; so that now, since my return to England, especially from the month of February, my strength seems to be so exhausted, as that I have hardly any energy left me. Wherefore, unless God should restore my health, of which there is no sign, I shall from henceforth write to you much less frequently than I have done these two years, and principally, because I am not in the habit of writing Latin (which is a most troublesome business to me) to any but yourself. And I hope you will not take it ill, because you may as readily be informed respecting the state of the realm of England, the war in Scotland, and my own affairs, through masters John Butler and John Burcher, as by letters from myself. In the mean time I admire your truly pious admonitions, and will diligently attend to what you so abundantly bring forward in your letter from holy scripture, as well the examples of the godly, as the threatenings of the Lord against the impious despisers of the divine word; and I will daily implore the great and good God in my prayers, not to lead me into temptation on account of my grievous past sins, but to deliver me from all evil.

I return you many thanks for the two decades of your sermons, which I believe master John Hoper will here present me with in your name. I much wish to send you some good thing from hence in return; but theological books are rarely printed in this country except in our vulgar tongue. When I find any book of this kind worthy of perusal, I will send it to one of my countrymen in Germany for master John Butler, that he may interpret to you the substance of the work in Latin. I have saluted in your name master Bartholomew Traheron; besides which you desired me moreover to exhort him to be faithful to the Lord, and to continue constant in the truth. And he most certainly does so; for he is a truly pious man, and one who fears God. He endeavoured as far as he could, (for he was one of the burgesses in the last parliament,) that there should be no ambiguity in the reformation of the Lord's supper; but it was not in his power to bring over his old fellow-citizens to his views. Therefore, as master John Butler will more fully inform your reverence from my letter, we have an uniform celebration of the Eucharist throughout the whole kingdom, but after the manner of the Nuremberg churches and some of those in Saxony; for they do not yet feel inclined to adopt your rites respecting the administration of the sacraments. Nor do I doubt but that master M. B. [Martin Bucer] and the other learned men from Germany and Italy, (who are here with the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, and are lecturing in the universities of this country,) teach, nay, exhort and persuade that there is no occasion for it, and perhaps even, that it is not becoming. Thus our bishops and governors seem, for the present at least, to be acting rightly; while, for the preservation of the public peace, they afford no cause of offence to the Lutherans, pay attention to your very learned German divines, submit their judgment to them, and also retain some popish ceremonies.

I can make no answer to your letter written Nov. 9, 1548, because you therein desire me to let you know, if possible, how the archbishop of Canterbury received your letter and your book. For I have no such familiarity or intercourse with him, or with persons of his rank and authority, as to be acquainted with such matters; and I therefore pray you not to take it ill that I have not, during this whole year, given you any information on the subject. Be kind enough to

salute in my name all your fellow-ministers, and especially your wife and all your family. My wife also salutes you much, as likewise your most chaste partner. May the Lord Jesus preserve you for ever! Amen.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

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## LETTER CXXII.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Nov.* 17, 1549.

PRAISE to God! Much health in the Lord! It is only two days, my honoured master, since I received your most courteous letter, dated August 31, together with a packet of letters for master John Hoper and certain other brethren and friends of yours, which I immediately delivered to those to whom they were directed by you. To write a few words respecting my own letter, I owe in the first place many thanks to your kindness in continuing to exhort me to the duties of religion, and to caution me against the too great cares of this world. And I must confess, that we ought to admonish each other in turn by mutual letters and discourses of this kind. I hear with pleasure of the agreement between you and master John Calvin respecting the sacrament<sup>1</sup>, and doubt not but that master Hoper will shortly allow me to read it. I will deliver your salutations to master Bartholomew Traheron and master Bernardine with much pleasure at the earliest opportunity, and will pray them, as you desire, in your name, that although you had not at this time leisure for writing to them, they will not, on that account, omit their office of writing to you. I gave your very kind salutation to my wife, who salutes your piety in return, and most cordially desires your advancement in sacred learning, to the glory of God and the edification of the church. She has been afflicted with severe illness ever since the month of August, so that for a long time we all of us despaired of her life. But the Lord liveth, who bringeth down and raiseth up; and he has

[<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 121, note 2.]

now afforded her a little respite, so that we have begun to cherish some hopes of her, that she will shortly be better, and at length be restored to health. To this end I pray you, and all your fellow-ministers and brethren yonder, earnestly to entreat the Lord. She was first afflicted for a long time by a *suffocatio matricis*, and then by fainting fits, which lasted occasionally for a whole week; and lastly, she is severely suffering with a quartan fever up to this very day.

You will, I know, be informed as to the existing state of our kingdom by the letter of our very dear brother, John Burcher. On the whole, we are hoping that Christ may yet remain with us, though but a month since it seemed to many that he was inclined to depart from us, even beyond sea. But the strength of the Lord is 'perfected in weakness. Salute Pellican, Bibliander, and your other friends with whom I am acquainted, and especially master Butler together with his wife, and your most pious partner. And give, if you please, to master Butler the printed paper inclosed in this letter, that he may read it, and interpret it to you. Farewell. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you to us! Amen.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

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## LETTER CXXIII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 25, 1550.*

PRAISE to God! Much health! This day, my very dear master, I have delivered some letters of yours addressed to master John Hoper; and I doubt not but that, if there is occasion, he will shortly reply to them. I have received the letter which was inclosed in one of John Burcher's, addressed to me in this present month; for I have for a long time occasionally received most of your other letters through Burcher, and have taken care that they should be delivered, as soon as I conveniently could, to the persons to whom they were addressed: and you will always find me most ready to do the like, whenever occasion shall require.

In the month of May last I received your letter, dated March 13th, together with a copy of the third decade, which you therein mention; and I feel exceedingly obliged to your piety for having thought fit thus to bear me in your remembrance. I have not yet read the book itself; but the subjects which you therein promise to treat of, please me very much, and I am especially anxious to read what you have written respecting trade. As I know you rejoice in the prosperity of England, I can assure you, that never before in our time has there been such hope of the advancement of the pure doctrine of the gospel, and of the complete subversion and rooting up of antichristian ceremonies and traditions; so that we are daily expecting some Balaams to preach the truth, and bless the people of God. And it is reported that the bishop of Winchester will shortly be discharged from the Tower of London, where he has been detained for his obstinacy these two or three years, and will publicly assert the pure doctrine of Christ; with what mind, God knows, probably an unwilling one. But, however this may be, we are all of us, who favour the gospel, rejoicing in the mean time, that Christ Jesus will be plainly preached. But of these matters I have lately written more at length to master John Butler, whom I entreat you to salute in my name, together with his pious wife.

As to what relates to your letters to others, or those of others to you, I will most willingly perform what you desire; and I have long since carefully cautioned the aforementioned Burcher respecting them. And I doubt not but that he will willingly do as you desire, provided only that he can receive at Strasburgh the money which he will have to pay for the postage of such letters.

My wife, who by the blessing of God is now recovered from a most severe illness, desires heartily to be commended to you and your most pious wife, and likewise to her, who was formerly the wife of master Megander, and to her other acquaintance yonder. I doubt not but that the Lord, our heavenly Father, hath heard the pious prayers of yourself and others on her behalf; for she was all but expiring on two or three alternate nights in the month of December last, when you wrote to me and others at this place.

You write, that you are deprived of some pleasure, so long

as I do not write to you, and that you are delighted with my letters. Wherefore I now at last answer your letter, though I do not perceive any grounds from whence you could derive such gratification, excepting only that I occasionally write in haste concerning the hope which all godly persons entertain in this country respecting the advancement of the kingdom of God and of Christ.

The reason of your letters having been sometimes so delayed in their delivery, and loitering so long on the road, is, that John Burcher hands them over, as occasion offers, to the seamen at Strasburgh, and also to the wagoners and carriers who convey merchandise by the Rhine to Antwerp. And this he especially does, when the packets of letters are of any great size; otherwise he would be obliged to pay for every ounce weight ten kreutzers to Spires, and not much less to Antwerp and London, if they were sent thither by the post. For at Antwerp the post receives for the conveyance of a sheet of paper to London two stivers of Brabant, besides as much at London; that is, four stivers for a single sheet of paper. But when we give our letters in charge to the merchants, we make them no payment whatever, either at the one place or the other.

Masters Bernardine and Bartholomew Traheron salute you very much in return. And I pray you, my master, to commend me to all yonder who wish me well, namely, to masters Gualter, Bibliander, Pellican, Zuinglius, Lewis Lavater, and the rest. In what state are the affairs of master Hoper, who two months since was nominated by the king's majesty to the bishoprick of Gloucester, you will doubtless learn from his own letters. He perseveres, by the grace of God, to be a most constant asserter of the gospel; and he preaches every where with the greatest freedom agreeably to your orthodox doctrine in the matter of the eucharist. He exhorts, yea, he persuades all. For our people, as many as sincerely love the truth, have been always inclined to that opinion respecting the eucharist. Your most amiable wife, I pray you, salute for me, in the Lord Jesus, whom I pray evermore to lead us in the way of truth! Amen! Farewell.

Yours from my heart,

R. H. *Anglus.*

## LETTER CXXIV.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *March 22, 1551.*

PRAISE to God! Much health! I have received to-day, my most honoured master, together with your letter dated the twenty-fourth of last February, one from you to the wife of master John Hoper, to whom I forthwith delivered the same. As you so much desire me, in the letter aforesaid, to write you a full statement of his, namely, master John Hoper's condition, I reply, that I have nothing to make known to your piety respecting his troubles, beyond what I wrote on the first of last February to our common friend, master John Butler, and which I have no doubt but that he has before now made you acquainted with. But now, thanks to God! this same master Hoper is discharged from custody, and restored to his former condition. Previously, however, he yielded up his opinion and judgment upon certain points which are here regarded by us as matters of indifference. And this Lent, habited in the scarlet episcopal gown<sup>1</sup>, after he had been initiated or consecrated after the manner of our bishops, he preached before the king's majesty; many of the [bystanders] either approving or condemning his dress, just as they were guided by their feelings. Master Hoper is now gone to Gloucester, which is the seat of his bishoprick; but, as I hear, he will shortly return. I grieve that the Germans have, in great part, gone over to the council of Trent. But I think our countrymen, by the grace of God, are so firm and rooted in the truth, and especially in those articles which make against the primacy of the bishop of

[<sup>1</sup> "His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge." Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 641.]

Rome, that they will never, at least in our time, give in their adhesion to this same Tridentine council.

In your letter to me of the twentieth of August you relate good news from Italy, that she is beginning to receive the gospel. May God increase in those who live there faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and may he perfect unto the day of Christ the good work that he has begun in some of them! Amen.

I have to thank you very much for your present of the decades of your sermons. I cannot easily recompense this kindness. But I will certainly requite you in some measure, when opportunity shall offer, both for those three or four decades, as also for the many other books which you have long since presented me with. Salute, I pray you, in my name, your most excellent wife, together with my other friends yonder. My wife salutes you, and all yours, especially your wife. Fare well in the Lord our Saviour Jesus Christ!

Yours,

R. H.

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## LETTER CXXV.

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RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *July 9, 1553.*

PRAISE to God! Much health! Yesterday, my faithful and very dear friend, the lord mayor<sup>1</sup>, with some of the aldermen and merchants, citizens of London, were summoned to the king's palace at Greenwich, on the banks of the river Thames, and about a German mile from the city. When they arrived there, in the presence of the king's most honourable

[<sup>1</sup> "The 8th of July the lord mayor of London was sent for to the court then at Greenwich, to bring with him six aldermen, as many merchants of the staple, and as many merchants adventurers, unto whom by the council was secretly disclosed the death of K. Edward, and also how he had ordained for the succession of the crown by his letters patent, to the which they were sworn, and charged to keep it secret." Stowe's Annals, p. 1058. King Edward died on the 6th of July.]

councillors, the lord treasurer, the president of the same council, addressed them to this effect, namely, that our very pious and holy king Edward VI. (who has now departed from this world and valley of tears, and, his earthly tabernacle being dissolved, is now, I doubt not, in the enjoyment of his eternal mansion in heaven,) bearing in mind that, mighty sovereign as he was, he was nevertheless subject to death, and the rather, because he had lately been weak and in bad health; studying too, not a little, that this English nation might be ruled and governed after his departure in tranquillity and peace; and considering that both his sisters (of whom the elder, Mary, is ill-disposed to the pure doctrine of the gospel) have been, by certain statutes enacted by authority of parliament in the reign of his father, declared illegitimate, as born of an unlawful marriage; earnestly required his honourable councillors to agree among themselves, in case the Lord should take his majesty from them, to admit, and account for his lawful heir and successor, the son of the lady Frances, now duchess of Suffolk, (provided she have a son during the king's life-time,) who is the daughter of the lady Mary, the aunt of his majesty, and formerly queen of France; and afterwards the lady Jane, a truly learned and pious lady, who has this very year married the lord Guilford, youngest son of the duke of Northumberland, provided the said lady Frances have no lawful male issue during the life-time of king Edward. He stated, moreover, that all the king's honourable councillors, together with nearly all the chief nobility of the realm, had faithfully promised and bound themselves by oath and manual subscription to a writing to the same effect, that they would accomplish and perfect this arrangement, conceived by the king's majesty during his illness. Wherefore they desired the lord mayor and aldermen of London to be in like manner conformable, and to sign this document, which they readily did. So that, though Almighty God, in punishment of our heinous sins, has taken away from us the most holy prince Edward our sovereign, concerning whom all persons who have ever known his majesty state, that they never saw a more excellent or more godly mind in any mortal body; yet we are not altogether without his mercy, since he has now ordained such a successor to so pious a king, under whom we have great hopes (for, praised be the Lord, we do not see any

thing to prevent it) that we, her subjects, shall nevertheless be able to live a godly, quiet, and tranquil life, in all peace, virtue, and righteousness; and that the pure word of God will always be sincerely preached in this realm, and the true doctrine of the gospel maintained to the great comfort of all believers who dwell here, which may the Lord Almighty grant! Amen.

When I had written thus far, my honoured friend in the Lord, the 10th of July arrives, when it is publicly proclaimed here, in the name of the aforesaid lady Jane, now queen of England, that the aforesaid king Edward is dead, that the lady Frances aforesaid, the queen's mother, had no son, and therefore, as I understand, that the government of this realm has devolved upon this queen Jane, to which event may our good and gracious God grant his blessing! Amen.

I thank you very much for the little book you presented me with, and which I received together with your letter dated March the 10th, and I pray our good and gracious God, that, as you pray for me in that letter, I may stedfastly persevere in faith and charity, and all good works, the unjust gains and sinful pleasures of this world being trodden under foot. And if I can be of any service to you in forwarding your letters to your friends, I will faithfully and willingly use my best exertions to that effect. You kindly consider it a great service, as I understand from what you have written, that I have caused your letters to be delivered to the parties to whom they were addressed. But I do not consider myself as having any claims upon your acknowledgements for any service that I can render you, much less for one so trifling.

My wife heartily salutes you and your wife, and wishes every happiness to you and to all your children. Salute affectionately in my name master Pellican, and your son-in-law Lewis Lavater; and especially master Theodore Bibliander, and be pleased to tell him that I have delivered his two little books to master Cheke and master Hooper, as in his letter written in March he desired me to do. And I return him my best thanks for having deigned to oblige me by such a present. Salute too, I pray you, my very dear brother in Christ, master Butler, and let him know that I received in the month of June his letter dated May 18th, but have not now time to write an answer; nor indeed is there much occasion for me to

do so, because I wrote very fully respecting all that required an answer, in my former letter. Farewell and happily!

Yours wholly,

RICHARD HILLES.

## LETTER CXXVI.

JOHN AYLMEER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [BRADGATE<sup>1</sup>], *May 29*, [1551].

SINCE we are accustomed, most accomplished sir, to regard any favours conferred upon our friends as extending also to ourselves, I must consider myself on many accounts exceedingly indebted to your kindness; and first of all, for your having so studiously and diligently exerted yourself to instruct the family of our most noble marquis<sup>2</sup> by your very learned works, and by your excellent advice to retain them in the true religion. For, believe me, the letters of that holy man Bucer, whom when alive we revered as a father, and the remembrance of whom, now that he is no more, we most constantly retain as of a messenger of God; and also your own letters, which you sent to my most noble patron, were of great use both to confirm his stedfastness in the religion we had embraced, and also to rouse and stir up the minds of those who had begun to be either inactive through length of time, or fastidious through weariness of the subject in which we profess an interest, or careless through levity and fickleness of disposition. For they always thought it right to submit to your authority, and to follow your important admonitions. And as to myself, whenever my lord placed in my hands

[<sup>1</sup> Bradgate, near Leicester, was the residence of the Suffolk family. See Nicholls's *Hist. Leicestershire*, Vol. III. p. 667.]

[<sup>2</sup> Becon thus speaks of Aylmer, in *The Jewel of Joy*, Parker Society's Edition, p. 424. "In Leicestershire I had familiarity only with one learned man, a countryman of ours [viz. in Norfolk], called John Aylmer, a master of arts of the university of Cambridge, a young man singularly well learned both in the Latin and Greek tongue, teacher to my lord marquis Dorset his children."]

either Bucer's letters, or your own, (and he always received them from both of you with the greatest satisfaction,) I used to consider myself as highly favoured in being the guardian of such valued treasures. For as often as I read them over, I seemed to myself to hold converse with the two most precious lights of the church of Christ. In the next place, the singular regard you entertain towards my pupil<sup>1</sup>, compels me to declare my respect for you, if in no other way, at least by letter. For what favour more useful to herself, or gratifying to the marquis, or acceptable to me, can possibly be afforded her, not only by you, but also by any other person of equal learning and piety, than that she, whom her father loves as a daughter, and whom I look upon with affection as a pupil, may derive such maxims of conduct from your godly breast, as may assist her towards living well and happily? And you are well able to determine, in your wisdom, how useful are the counsels of the aged to guide and direct young persons at her time of life, which is just fourteen. For at that age, as the comic poet tells us, all people are inclined to follow their own ways, and by the attractiveness of the objects, and the corruption of nature, are more easily carried headlong unto pleasure, which Plato calls the bait of mischief, than induced to follow those studies which are attended with the praise of virtue. In proportion therefore as the present age teems with many disorders, must more careful and discreet physicians be sought for; that the diligence, and labour, and exertion of excellent men may either remove or correct such evils as are implanted by the corruption of nature, and the infirmity of youth: for as we feed off the too luxuriant crops, and provide bridles for restive horses, so to these tender minds there should neither be wanting the counsel of the aged, nor the authority of men of grave and influential character. You have acted therefore with much kindness in administering to the improvement of this young lady; and if you will proceed in the same course, you will afford great benefit to herself, and gratification to her father.

Your singular regard for my pupil, as well as the impertinency of that excellent and talented youth, John ab Ulmis, has induced me to write thus much to your reverence. I was indeed afraid to interrupt so learned an individual, and one

[<sup>1</sup> Lady Jane Grey. See Letter IV., p. 4.]

so diligently employed in the vineyard of Christ; but as he pertinaciously urged me, and assured me of your incredible kindness, I have banished all shame and fear from my mind. Receive this, therefore, I pray you, with kindness and complacency; and if I have erred in any way, impute it to my affection for you, and to the importunity of my friend. Farewell, most reverend sir, and pardon this extempore effusion. May God, for the sake of the church, extend your years to those of Nestor!

Your excellence's most devoted,

J. AYLMER.

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## LETTER CXXVII.

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JOHN AYLMER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Dec.* 23, [1551].

GRACE and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, and a life of blessedness in him, &c.

I have received, most worthy sir, your letter, abounding not only in affection and kindness, but also in true godliness and piety, wherein you describe me as highly favoured in two respects; both in having such a pupil whom God has thought fit to adorn with so many excellent gifts, and because her family is one that is both well disposed to good learning, and sincerely favourable to religion. In this respect, excellent sir, I agree with you, that for these reasons I may be accounted to have attained such happiness as falls to the lot of man; but I consider myself far more favoured in having formed a friendship with you, and which God, who searcheth all hearts, knows how greatly I value. It has always indeed been my disposition not only to set the highest esteem upon all kinds of learning, but to regard with the greatest affection those who cultivate and profess it. For I well know how brutish this life of ours would be, were not the understanding of mankind cultivated by useful learning and liberal pursuits. And while I have much delight in all these, I am yet ravished by my fondness for theology, and am often lost in admi-

ration of it; so that I give more honour to its professors than to any other class of mankind soever. For there flows forth from such persons, as from the purest fountains, all godliness, knowledge of religion, and innocency of life. All good men confide in the teaching of such, and approve their sayings as the most holy oracles of God. Hence faith towards God is acquired, charity is imparted, hope is increased, and in fine, all things that appertain to Christianity have their origin. Since then the Lord has so abundantly heaped his riches upon you, as that you are in a position not only to inform your own mind, but to be a teacher and guide in the church to those who would otherwise err; it is our duty to love and reverence and look up to you, both for his sake who has been so gracious to you, and also for your own. For thus does St Paul exhort us in these words, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God," &c. [1 Cor. iv. 1.]; and in another place, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour:" [1 Tim. v. 17.] whence we are taught to pay no less honour and respect to the ministers of Christ, than to those who, previously taught of God themselves, treat of, deliver, and explain, the most sacred mysteries of faith and salvation.

It now remains for me to request that, with the kindness we have so long experienced, you will instruct my pupil in your next letter as to what embellishment and adornment of person is becoming in young women professing godliness. In treating upon this subject, you may bring forward the example of our king's sister, the princess Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>, who goes clad in every respect as becomes a young maiden; and yet no one is induced by the example of so illustrious a lady, and in so much gospel light<sup>2</sup>, to lay aside, much less look down

[1 Aylmer, in his Harbour for faithful subjects, speaking of the princess Elizabeth, says: "I am sure that her maidenly apparel which she used in king Edward's time made the noblemen's wives and daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks, being more moved with her most virtuous example, than with all that ever Paul or Peter wrote touching that matter. Her plainness of dress," he continues, "was especially noticed on the occasion of the visit of the queen dowager of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, to the court of Edward VI., in October 1551, two months before the date of this letter."]

[2 When lady Jane Grey was urged to wear a costly dress, presented to her by Mary, she replied, "Nay, that were a shame to follow

upon, gold, jewels, and braidings of the hair. They hear preachers declaim against these things, but yet no one amends her life. Moreover, I wish you would prescribe to her the length of time she may properly devote to the study of music. For in this respect also people err beyond measure in this country, while their whole labour is undertaken, and exertions made, for the sake of ostentation. If you will handle these points at some length, there will probably, through your influence, be some accession to the ranks of virtue.

Farewell, most illustrious sir, and may the supremely great and good God grant you a long life! London. From the house of the duke of Suffolk, late marquis [of Dorset]. Dec. 23.

Your reverence's most devoted,

JOHN AYLMEER.

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## LETTER CXXVIII.

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JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BRADGATE, near LEICESTER, *May 29, 1551.*

HEARTILY wishing you health from the Lord! Though no correspondence, most illustrious sir, has ever taken place between us, nor have I even seen you in person; yet I seem to myself to be acquainted with you, both from your published writings, and also from your letters to my patron the marquis of Dorset; and especially too, from the conversation and discourse had concerning you with John ab Ulmis, a godly youth, and one much attached to you, who has at length almost compelled me after long delay, and at first almost reluctant, to write somewhat to you. If therefore I have been to blame by this freedom and extemporaneous effusion, and, to speak plainly, this trifling address, I beg you to lay the fault upon him; though I must candidly confess that, from a desire of a more intimate acquaintance with you, I am

my lady Mary, who leaveth God's word, and leave my lady Elizabeth, who followeth God's word." Aylmer, as above.]

in some measure implicated therein myself. May the Lord Jesus evermore bless your ministry, and every way defend and guide you by his Spirit! I hope that you remember me in your prayers to the Lord. Bradgate, near Leicester, May 29, 1551.

Your piety's devoted,

JAMES HADDON.

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## LETTER CXXIX.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Dec.* 28, 1551.

MUCH health in the Lord! Your letter, I perceive, breathes the same spirit of benevolence that you are universally reported to possess. Wherefore, although at this time no certain intelligence of any great importance presents itself, yet as I have met with a person by whom I can send a letter, I am unwilling to let him depart without one. Your having received my former letter with so much kindness, I consider as an evidence of your regard for me; and you have now given me such encouragement, that if I write nothing of an important or serious character, I will at least write for the sake of establishing the correspondence we have now begun. I conveyed your respects (as you desired me to do) to my patron, who is now duke of Suffolk, in such a way, that he has sent you a letter<sup>1</sup>. You can indeed confer no greater obligation upon his grace than by continuing (as you have once done already) to impart godly instruction to his daughter. For, although she is so brought up, that there is the greatest hope of her advancement in godliness, yet your exhortations afford her encouragement, and at the same time have their due weight with her, either as proceeding from a stranger, or from so eminent a person as yourself. You commend to me John ab Ulmis, with the rest of the Helvetians: I wish I could be of as much use to them as I desire. But

[<sup>1</sup> This letter is given above, p. 3.]

though God does not see fit to give me any power in this way at present, yet they shall always find my labour, diligence, and zeal ready to serve them, as far as I can, and especially John ab Ulmis, with whom I am acquainted, and whom I believe to be a young man of integrity and pure morals. Farewell. May Christ every way preserve you, and evermore bless your ministry! Remember me, I pray you, in your prayers. London, Dec. 28, 1551.

Your attached,

JAMES HADDON.

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## LETTER CXXX.

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JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at RICHMOND, near LONDON, *August*, 1552.

HEALTH in the Lord, most honoured father! While I was thinking what I should best write to your reverence, in comes John ab Ulmis, and tells me that it would much gratify you to be informed either of the progress and establishment of religion among us, or respecting the management of the household of my patron the duke of Suffolk. As to religion however, after the demolition and overthrow of the idols, and the weakening and downfall of idolatry, and after our approach to the true light of the gospel, by the blessing of God now restored, I think that you are not ignorant of the path we have entered, the measures we have adopted, and the order we have maintained for these four years past. At this moment, however, it is reported, that the book, called the king's book<sup>2</sup>, in which is contained and explained the manner of divine worship and the mode of prayer to God, commonly set forth among us, (and to be used of all persons in public) is about to be amended in certain places; in what, however, and in how many, doth not yet appear. There were certain prayers for the dead<sup>3</sup>, which did not seem very convenient. Moreover, in the cele-

[<sup>2</sup> See Liturgies of Edward VI., Parker Society's Edition.]

[<sup>3</sup> See Liturgies, &c., as above, p. 88.]

bration of the Lord's supper there is something either to be altered or entirely expunged. The book too, which is set forth concerning the election and ordination, as they call it, of ministers, seemed to contain some things which were partly absurd, and partly impious. We are in the expectation, by God's help, of their being amended, at least in some measure, if they do not reach the entire perfection they ought and should do, and which, however we may desire it, we cannot perhaps as yet fully hope for. But, thank God, we are in great hopes that ungodly superstition will be entirely abolished.

As to the regulations of the duke's household, you are rather to be entreated of me again and again to point out the method that you think best yourself, than that I should explain to you our family arrangements, of which John ab Ulmis can give you a better account than I can. There is one thing however, respecting which I will lay before you my sentiments and intentions, and on which too I shall request of you your own opinion and advice. You are aware, that in the houses of our men of rank there are practised not only such recreations as refresh both the body and mind after a moderate and godly manner, but such also as occasion sloth, and beget idleness and ungodliness: of this kind are games of cards and dice. The duke has forbidden all his domestics to risk any money upon amusements of this sort; but yet he himself and his most honourable lady with their friends, not only claim permission to play in their private apartment, but also to play for money. As to myself, however, I am of opinion that I can nowise admit it to be allowable for a Christian so to risk his money at any game whatsoever, as to leave off as a winner, with some pecuniary advantage, or else as a loser, to his pecuniary loss. And the matter is frequently discussed in this way. Those who are on their side bring forward for the most part these principal arguments, that they do not wish for another person's money, but that it is the same thing to them whether they win or lose; that the game loses all its interest without a stake, so that its sleepy character, as it were, must be awakened; that no one feels any excitement, unless there be a stake laid down; that in many other things there are superfluous and unnecessary expenses, as in diet, and clothes, &c. Wherefore, in this respect also, we must yield somewhat

to fashion, and not act with so much strictness, or bring every thing to the test of conscience and of duty, since no one can live entirely without faults of some kind; with much more to the same effect. It is therefore lawful to hazard a small amount, only the risk must not be excessive. I tell them, on the other hand, that I cannot be brought to believe that the human mind is so equable and indifferent in matters of chance, as not to regard gain more than loss, or to avoid loss rather than gain. Were it not so, gaming would not be a risking of money, but rather a constant inclination to be generous. Besides, if any one possesses so even a temper, he will then act very blameably in endeavouring to destroy this equanimity and to expose himself to the inconsistency, by introducing a stake, of incurring the danger of exciting the calm and heretofore settled and quiet affections (if indeed they can be such, which I do not believe), whence there forthwith arises the coveting of another's property, anger, envying, strife, &c. Let the game then be cold and lifeless, and (lest it should become worse) let the act of playing itself, which is, or ought to be, the chief motive, be a sufficient reward in any kind of game, and the prize, if it seems fit, be as it were a garland of praise. If a person cannot be sufficiently induced and excited by these motives, it cometh of evil, which is an additional argument. But the case is different in public games, which have their certain appointed prizes for the sake of exercise, and of a contest in other respects laudable and necessary, and for the good of the state. As to what may be superfluous in food or clothing, if one's table be too exquisite and redundant, and one's dress too gaudy and expensive, or in any other respect beyond what is necessary, this is a voluntary superfluity and a self-sought sin. Besides too, there is a great difference between money risked without any necessity, and an expense of this kind, which is in some measure necessary, because the ends are different. For clothes and other ornaments are made and wrought for the very end and purpose of being used and worn out by some persons or other. The fault consists only in their being over abundant, and superfluous beyond what is proper, and when their cost is disproportioned to the rank of the wearer. The same judgment must be given too with respect to diet, except only that its use is more necessary. But money is intended for use,

and by the sanction of law, as a standard of value for the property of mankind, as Aristotle has admirably shewn both in his *Ethics* and *Politics*. Moreover, we must of necessity have some clothing or other: to risk money at play is not necessary, because games are of themselves an exercise without any stakes being produced. And though moderation ought to be observed both in dress and diet, according to the distinctions of rank, yet it is not so in gaming. For it is equally an offence towards God in all persons, inasmuch as by all persons the money might be applied to better and more necessary uses. And because, by reason of our innate corruption, we are always prone to evil, and even when we purpose rightly, unless God assist us by his grace, our very purpose ends in sin; yet, though notwithstanding the greatest possible diligence no one lives without sin, we must not seek after premeditated opportunities of committing sin or of acting wrong, and allow ourselves in them; and it is very inconsistent with christian piety to do so. It is not therefore allowable to risk the smallest sum for the purpose of gain, and in such a way as that loss may hence accrue to any one; for, however small may be the amount, if it be only a penny, it may be employed to better purposes. And there is no reason why money should be introduced, if not for the sake of covetousness, or at least of gain, since play is play of itself, without a single farthing being played for, &c. In this manner and to this effect the dispute is often carried on.

I am much influenced too by the fact, that I perceive gain of this kind is not approved in any well-ordered form of government. That it is allowed by some of the schoolmen seems to me too trivial, not to say, absurd; though indeed all the sounder writers altogether condemn it, if it is for the sake of lucre, or exceeds the expense of a dinner, or something of the kind, whence no harm can arise, but rather much advantage from the mutual good will and kind feeling which accompanies such entertainments; and when both parties have agreed beforehand as to the expense, so that a stated sum may be laid out. But the expense attendant upon gaming is by no means necessary, and depends upon the mere fickleness of fortune. And you know far better than I can tell you, how much the civil laws forbid things of this kind, and how the right of recovery becomes void. With us, however, a

wager won at archery may be recovered by law, and an action may be brought by the winner against the loser, just as in the case of those contracts which are sanctioned both by the civil law, and our common law and acts of parliament.

You now perceive my boldness, in that, for fear of writing nothing at all, I have troubled your reverence with these trifles. But however, these light matters, and as some may think them, ridiculous, sometimes occasion great and serious mischief by the losses caused and sustained, to say nothing of other evils that have occurred. Indeed, I always consider them as matters of serious importance. For whatever is wasted in this way, (for I must call it by that term,) however trifling in amount, might nevertheless be applied to far better and more useful purposes. I daily see many evils arise from this practice, and not one advantage. And although these evils are not necessarily connected with the thing itself, because all persons do not thus abuse it; yet I perceive that games of hazard are almost always attended with this mischief, that the shadow follows the substance. And so much for my opinion.

As to my purpose, it is this. I bear with it for the present, but in such a manner as to reprove it as often as a good opportunity presents itself; but this I do in private, or in conversation with a few, and not by openly preaching against it. Once indeed I publicly denounced it from the pulpit, last Christmas, because at the very time, as you know, when we ought most of all others to sing praises to our most merciful Father, and rejoice in the Lord, people more especially amuse themselves by indulging in mummeries and wickedness of every kind; and rejoice together with the wicked, and are especially serving the devil, in imitation, as it seems, of the ancient *Saturnalia*, as you know better than I do. I am not now speaking of the family in which I reside, for the case is not so with them; and I am quite ignorant how the case is with you, or in other places. But with us, in general, throughout the whole country, (although not separately in the house of every individual,) at this time more especially, and at these holidays<sup>1</sup>, we abound in examples of the worst and most abandoned character, and most inconsistent with our profession.

[<sup>1</sup> The statute 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. prohibits to all but gentlemen the games of cards, dice, &c. except in the time of Christmas. See also Latimer's Sermons on the Card, p. 8. Park. Soc. ed.]

And the evil practice has become so prevalent, that unless people will make merry (as they call it) at these holidays, and merry too, in the worst possible way, or one at least of which they will be ashamed at the season of Lent, as they say, they not only consider them stupid and unfit for any thing, but it is almost a part of their religion to act in some measure in this way; and they fancy that they are merry after this fashion on account of the birth of our Lord. This still prevails among the vulgar and the country folk, who are not yet instructed. In our family, however, there is nothing of the kind, nor anything so greatly unbecoming, concerning which I shall say more presently. But I have described to you the general practice through almost all England, except in a few particular places; and I explain it to you more fully, because John [ab Ulmis] told me that you would be gratified by my doing so. If therefore I seem too verbose, you must lay the blame upon him, and excuse me. To proceed therefore. Although the nobility and greater part of the commonalty (now by the grace of God better instructed) plainly understand that it is not their duty so to conduct themselves, yet partly from the force of habit, and a desire not to appear stupid, and not good fellows, as they call it, but partly and principally, as I think, from their not having yet so far advanced as to be able perfectly to hate the garment spotted by the flesh, or to feel as yet the genuine fear of God implanted in their mind, they have no settled intention, much less any desire, to conquer and crucify themselves.

But to return from this digression, and explain the reason why I once reprov'd my flock in my sermon, and what followed thereupon. It is as follows. When I had openly reprov'd the whole thing altogether, and those too, though in common and general terms, who played for money, I saw that it was taken in bad part, because in the household of the duke, my master, the domestics do not play, or at all events in no wise play for money, so as to be found out. But since the duke himself and his lady have secretly played with their friends in their private apartment, they thought it was my duty merely to have admonished them in private. But you must hear the reason of my acting as I did. For this open rebuke was not immediately administered by me at first, but long after; and in the manner, and with the consideration and caution that I shall now state. When I had frequently

done this, and, as I perceived, without any effect, although they had nothing to say against it with any shew of reason; and having forewarned them that I would at length sometime or other plainly and openly reprove them, if they should repeat the practice of playing in their apartments, provided they played for money, (for that otherwise I had no fault to find with their playing, as an exercise both of mind and body; but that I could no longer put up with that kind of game, when they played for money, because I saw no sufficient reason adduced by them for that very unnecessary expense,) and having said very much to the same effect, they left off for a time: upon which I was very glad, and began to entertain great hopes. Afterwards, however, on the Christmas following, when I perceived they were beginning to return to their old habits, I publicly reprov'd, as opportunity offer'd, both the thing itself, and those who practis'd it, but in the way that I have above stated, that is, in general terms, without naming or describing any individual. Understanding however that offence was taken at this, I was from thenceforth silent, contenting myself with a private and individual reproof, whenever the subject was brought forward in conversation. And so far I put up with and allow the practice, that I do not reprove it publicly and in my sermons. But since they consider me too strict, and under this pretence choose to be their own interpreters in other matters, contrary to what they have been accustomed; and say, "In this or that point Haddon cannot agree with us, though they are just as much matters of indifference as the play which hardly any one finds fault with but himself;" and they are thus advancing to what is really evil: lest, I say, they should err in that way, and go on by degrees into intolerable evil, I bear with this, as I have above explained, against my will. I bear with it of compulsion, that I may gain them over in other things of greater importance; I bear with it, just as a man who is holding a wolf by the ears. But I perceive some good arising from this concession, which in fact is no concession at all, but in some measure a remission of duty, or rather of strictness in the performance of it; because I do not find fault in public, although individually and in conversation I always reprove in the same way as heretofore. But because they see that I in some measure yield to them, even against my own opinion, and consider that I deal tenderly with this infirmity of theirs,

they are willing to hear and attend to me more readily in other respects.

I have now explained, more fully perhaps than is consistent with your engagements, both my own opinion upon this subject, as also my purpose and manner of tolerating it. I request that you will plainly write to me upon this matter, and fully state your own opinion respecting it, and how you think I ought to act: state what you approve, and what you disapprove, as far as it may seem good to you; and give me your advice as to how far you think I may concede in matters of this sort, and to what extent I may connive at them. But do this at your leisure; for I should be unwilling to interrupt you when occupied in things of greater moment. Unless I judged of you in some measure by myself, (as far as is allowable for so slender a scholar, and one who is but just beginning to learn,) to be a most accomplished and learned man, and one who is perfect in every kind of knowledge, I should not have dared to interrupt you in this way, whom I have scarcely saluted in these three letters. But be this as it may, you are yourself to blame for having wished me to write. I will carry my boldness a little further, and pray you to salute for me that most honoured man master Bibliander, whom I seem to myself to be well acquainted with from his published works. Farewell, ye two lights of the church. May Christ protect you, and by his Spirit aid both you and your ministry! Richmond, near London, August, 1552.

Your attached and most devoted,

JAMES HADDON.

## LETTER CXXXI.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Without place or date. [About *October*, 1552.]

GREETING. I have heretofore written you tolerably long letters; I now send you a short one, and the rather, as you tell me you are in a weak state of health. I shall pass over the formal and almost courtier-like custom of returning you my thanks for having written to me, notwithstanding you

were either actually indisposed, or at least a valetudinarian. Your very short letter, most courteous and honoured sir, was, you may be assured, exceedingly gratifying to me, not only because you seem entirely to agree with me, but also for the description of the beginning and progress, and the order now observed among you; all of which things I had a wonderful desire to know. I have conferred with the duke, my master, respecting your friend Schmutz; and he promises, for your sake, to be exceedingly kind to him, and to bestow upon him the same pension as he formerly did on John ab Ulmis. It will be necessary for you some time to recal this to his grace's memory, as I am shortly about to leave his roof, having been summoned by the king's majesty to undertake a certain office<sup>1</sup> in the state, in which, though it is not very lucrative as to my individual benefit and emolument, I purpose to the utmost of my power to promote the gospel. I am telling you this, that when you write about Alexander Schmutz, you may not address the duke as if I were with him, but as though I were absent, as I intend to be. For though I shall not be able to be altogether and entirely separated from his grace, yet I shall be for the most part, as soon as I shall be able to discharge the debt already contracted, and yet to be contracted, for the payment of the first-fruits. But it has pleased God to render his grace so much attached to me, and me too in my turn so devoted and attached to his grace, that I cannot entirely separate from him, but must occasionally visit him. You can however yourself write more fully about Schmutz, or any one of the like sort whom you may wish to recommend to his grace, as supposing that I am not with him; and there is no doubt but that his excellency (such is his kindness towards yourself and those who are like you) will take it in good part. I commend your health and your whole self to God. I would willingly exhort you to preserve it as you can, and as you know you ought. I earnestly pray you to salute master Bibliander in my name. May God be with you by his Spirit, and with your ministry!

Your attached,

JAMES HADDON.

[<sup>1</sup> A gift to James Haddon, B.A., of the prebend of Westminster, void by the death of Antony Bellows, LL.D., and master in chancery, was dated in August 1552. He was appointed in October, this year, to the deanery of Exeter. Strype, Mem. ii. ii. 272, 274.]

## LETTER CXXXII.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, Nov. 30, 1553.

I SHOULD have to write very much to your reverence, if I could indulge the feelings of my mind. But by reason of the manifold engagements with which I am at present overwhelmed, I can scarcely write to you at all. Indeed all that I have to say could not well be committed to writing, and the bearer John Schmutz will give you far better information in words. Alas! what a severe loss have we sustained! Alas! how true religion is banished! Alas! how justly is the wrath of God stirred up against us! I dare not write more; you must understand the rest. We were not so much in the hope of restoring true religion, as we are now in fear of recalling impious and abominable idolatry. Pour forth your prayers, I entreat you, for me and those like me. A few individuals of this sort are compelled to afford their testimony to real godliness and religion. All our leading men, I mean the bishops and persons of that sort, are overwhelmed by this calamity, and thrown into prison. May God help us! We also are speaking to no purpose, for unless God order it otherwise, it is already determined what is to be done: only that we may profess in whom we believe, and what religion we hold, we accepted an offer made us of encountering our enemies. What will be the result, God knows, and whether this may not be the last letter that I shall be able to write to you. I very much regret that I was unable so fully to provide for your friend Schmutz by means of the duke of Suffolk, as I hoped and expected, had not this event taken place, which I cannot relate without tears. Pardon me therefore, if I do not write more upon the subject. I doubt not but that the order, as it were, of the whole tragedy will be related to you. The duke<sup>1</sup> himself holds to the true God, and I hope by God's help will fully retain his opinions about true religion, in opposition to the devil, whose agents are

[<sup>1</sup> The duke of Suffolk was committed to the Tower, Feb. 6, 1554, and beheaded on Tower-hill on the 23rd of the same month.]

striving with all their might to lead his lordship astray : that he may do this more effectually, I commend his lordship to your prayers, and I commend too myself, and those like-minded. Salute for me, I pray, master Bibliander. May God be with you by his holy Spirit unto the end, and ever glorify his name by you, as he hath hitherto done ! London, Nov. 30, 1553.

Your most attached,

JAMES HADDON<sup>2</sup>.

### LETTER CXXXIII.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *July 9, 1554.*

I HAD intended to see your excellence, and deliver to you in person this letter written to you by master Hooper. But having met with some godly persons and brethren in the Lord, I cannot leave this place at present. I have thought it therefore my duty not to retain by me any longer the letter of one who is so much attached to you. I entrust it to Parkhurst, that brother in the Lord, who is able to give you as much information about our friend Hooper as almost any one else. For they were most intimately united, as well by disposition as by vicinity of residence<sup>3</sup>. As for myself, I intend, by God's assistance, to visit some time or other both yourself and the other distinguished men in your church. Among whom salute, I pray you, for me the reverend father in Christ, master Pellican. I am now writing to the worthy and excellent Bibliander to the same effect as I have written

[<sup>2</sup> Next to this letter, in the Archives, comes a Latin version of the dying speech of the duke of Northumberland. "Joannis nuper ducis Northumbriæ in Anglia, quum ad supplicium productus esset, oratio. Viennæ, ex officina Mich. Zimmermanni. 1553." See Soames, iv. 44.]

[<sup>3</sup> Parkhurst was rector of Bishop's Cleeve, near Cheltenham, when Hooper was bishop of Gloucester.]

to you. May God every way be with you, and preserve you for the benefit of his church! Strasburgh, July 9, 1554.

Your attached,

JAMES HADDON.

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## LETTER CXXXIV.

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JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Aug. 31, 1554.*

MUCH health. I perceive in your letter to me, most honoured sir, that of which I never doubted, namely, your grief for the downfall of the church of England, and your kindness and good-will towards me. Of the former I will say nothing, lest the wound should break out afresh. Of the latter, however, I can rather conceive in thought, than express in words, what I ought to say, because I know that you will not willingly hear it. Passing over these things therefore, as to your wish that I should inform you respecting your friend Hooper, whether or not any letter of yours written to him will be safely conveyed, and delivered into his hands, I have not yet obtained any certain information upon this point; nor am I able to do so, for he writes word that he is now thrust down to the very lowest dungeon, and that his servant<sup>1</sup> has been taken away from him. Still there have been, as I hear, many ways and means devised, by which good men have communication with him, and he in turn with them. Wherefore I have conferred here with one of his friends, who has promised to take care that your letter shall be sent to London, and given in charge to some godly person who, if he can deliver it safely, will do so; if not, it will remain in his keeping. You will act therefore as you think best. But your letter to him will doubtless afford him great comfort. For this it is that he complains of, respecting many

[<sup>1</sup> William Downton, whom Babington, warden of the Fleet, imprisoned, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters. See Foxe, vi. 648, Letters of the Martyrs, p. 97, and above, p. 102, n. 1.]

May opus  
et plura ad tuam prudentiam, et pietatem. Cuiusmodi statueris,  
et mea opera videris. paratiss. invenies. Vale in Domino plurimum. J.  
Argentorati die. pridie calend. September. 1554.

Jacobus Gaderus



persons, that he cannot hear from them ; and he almost thinks himself deserted by his friends, which (as you yourself know) is the greatest grief to persons in distress, and especially to those who are of a naturally benevolent and well-ordered mind. And the word *well* I refer to teaching in general. For we do not here lay aside our natural feelings, but seek for consolation in adversity elsewhere than from God alone. But to seek it from those more especially, who approach nearest to God, that is, the godly, is not so remote from godliness, (since means are not to be rejected, especially when of a kindred character,) although we ought to depend upon God and his Spirit exclusively. I need say no more to one of your wisdom and piety. Whatever you may determine upon, if you wish for my assistance, you will find me entirely at your service. Farewell very heartily in the Lord. Strassburgh, Aug. 31, 1554.

Your most attached,

JAMES HADDON.

P.S. There is one Banks<sup>2</sup> who has written to you about the lady Jane. He has shewn me your letter in answer to his, from which I infer that he wrote something to you which you did not deem it prudent to publish. It is well that you came to this determination, and I beg of you by no means to make it public, or suffer many persons to copy it. For although he wrote it without my knowledge, yet I know for certain that it will occasion the greatest danger to me, if it be published or appear in his name, because I brought him over from England, and he is with me as my friend. If it were evident that all the statements were certainly true and proved, and that their publication would tend to the glory of God, I would then prepare myself to meet the danger. But I am rather afraid that all the facts are not as described by him, but that he has gathered them from common report, and being himself too in some measure biassed by his zeal. Were the statement published, it would probably do more harm to the truth, and to our cause, than it would do them good ; to say nothing of the certain risk and peril which would hang over others. Nor could the whole account be defended with

[<sup>2</sup> See below, Lett. CXLI.]

a sufficiently safe conscience, since, probably, some things have been stated as facts, which may not be found to be such. But as to what regards the lady Jane herself, and what is said in her name, (as for instance, her exhortations to a certain apostate, and her discourse with Feckenham,) I believe, and partly know, that it is true, and did really proceed from herself. It will now be sufficient for me to have pointed out to your prudence, what you have already perceived of yourself, that is, that these things should not be published, and especially the other matters under any circumstances whatever, and I pray you again and again not to allow it. Should it be thought expedient that they should come forth some time hence, this can be done whenever you may think fit; but the present time is most unsuitable for such a measure, even if it were certain that the whole statement is correct. For we have too many matters of fact to make it necessary to collect mere rumours, and those perhaps altogether invented. Our adversaries already partly lay this calumniously to our charge: what will they do if they have sufficient grounds of accusation? Let me soon hear from you, that I may know you have received this, and that I may be assured that the letter neither is nor will be published.

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## LETTER CXXXV.

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JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Dec. 9, 1554.

MUCH health. As the letters of the absent are a kind of substitute for personal intercourse, I therefore write to you, most honoured and kind sir, with much pleasure; and the rather, because I not only perceive your kindness towards me in your letter to me, but am also informed of your regard for me from the report of others; and not that merely, which you entertain towards all the members of Christ our Saviour, but an especial regard arising from the leaning of your mind towards me, and which, I am told, you manifest

by your frequent inquiries about me. God be thanked, who has implanted in you this kind feeling! I would give you news from England, if any good tidings were to arrive. As to bad, there is nothing certainly known at present, and the bearer of this can inform you of what is reported better than I can. In short, every thing seems to be declining, and getting worse and worse. I could tell you a great deal about myself and my present condition, but I am unwilling to trouble your kindness with unnecessary details. As to that Banks, however, about whom I wrote to you before, I have an earnest request to make of you on his behalf. I have hitherto relieved his necessities out of my own slender means. But now, owing to the calamities of the times and the fury of my enemies, I am stripped of almost all my property. And they are so violent against me and those like me, that God only knows what else will follow. To his will and providence I resign myself, as to that of a most kind and merciful Father; and I earnestly implore you to entreat the same with me and for me, that I may continue to do so even unto the end. The reason of this rage of my adversaries is, I hear, the testimony openly given by me to the truth in that convocation held at London<sup>1</sup> last year. But in the mean time they have been seeking with the greatest possible diligence some other plausible pretext; and not being able to find one, they at length denounce me as a heretic on account of my freely declared opinion<sup>2</sup> against their abominable doctrine of transubstantiation, &c. I call it a freely declared opinion, not only because it was freely set forth by me, but also because that assembly ought to have been most free, as likewise the opinions which were therein

[<sup>1</sup> This convocation was opened Oct. 16th, 1553, by a Latin sermon by Harsfield. For an account of the proceedings, written by Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, and who bore a principal part therein, see Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 395. Burnet, II. 407. Soames, IV. 103.]

[<sup>2</sup> Haddon's argument is thus given in Foxe, vi. 405, and Philpot's writings, Parker Soc. Ed. p. 200. It was to prove the substance of bread and wine to remain after the consecration of the eucharist. The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols. But bread and wine they were before; therefore bread and wine they are after.]

advanced. Concerning which the bearer of this, Chambers<sup>1</sup>, my very dear brother in the Lord, can give you fuller information, as well as in what manner our adversaries, filled with the greatest hatred against the truth, acted in entire opposition to what is just and good, and against all laws, human and divine.

But to return to Banks, he will think himself very well dealt with, if he can obtain a situation with some respectable and pious printer, as a reviser or corrector of the press. And he hopes that this may be accomplished by your recommendation. There is no need of commending him to your kindness with many eulogies, or of enlarging upon the ability which he possesses for such an employment. He is well acquainted with Latin, as you can judge for yourself, and not unskilled in Greek; of peaceable disposition, glowing with true religion, and exceedingly devoted to literary pursuits. In my opinion you will confer a benefit upon any one with whom you may be able to place him. And yet, for Banks's sake, I shall consider the favour in some measure conferred upon myself, because, as it appears, I can no longer support him at my expense, as I should wish, unless things turn out otherwise than they seem to be, and really are, at present. I might have written these matters with less plainness, but I did not think it right to do so, but rather to explain nakedly and clearly to your kindness the whole state of the case. May God every way be with you, and preserve you to the glorifying of his name, and the benefit of his church! Strasburgh, Dec. 9, 1554.

Your most attached,

JAMES HADDON.

P.S. I have the greatest regard for that most excellent man, master Bibliander, and for the most honoured father, master Pellican. I request your kindness to salute them both from me.

[<sup>1</sup> Chambers and Grindal were sent with a letter from the congregation of Frankfort to that of Strasburgh, Dec. 3.]

## LETTER CXXXVI.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Jan. 8, 1555.*

GREETING. Your letter, most honoured sir, was most gratifying to me, both on account of the sympathy which you manifest in my misfortunes, and of the regard and truly paternal affection towards me which I now perceive you to entertain. A fortnight after I had written my last letter to you, one was delivered to me from England, informing me that I have been entirely stripped of all my property, as I before explained to you, but that there was now some hope from other quarters. I thought it my duty therefore to inform you of this by the very first opportunity, that as you were heretofore distressed on my account, so you may now with me return thanks to God our Father, to whom I doubt not but that you have prayed together with me, and commended me and my cause to him.

I have also to thank you very much on behalf of Banks. For my very dear brother Lever has informed me, that master Sultzer<sup>2</sup> has arranged for me to send Banks to Basle at the Frankfort fair; for he has met with one Parkes, a printer, I believe, with whom he will place Banks. I would say more, but am suddenly interrupted by the bearer, who will convey this letter early to-morrow morning. I pray you therefore to take this, as you do every thing of mine, in good part. For I thought it my duty to send you this by the present opportunity, rather than nothing at all, lest I should occasion you greater concern and anxiety than would become me; because I have not only perceived from your letter, but have gathered from others, the anxious inquiries you had determined to make on behalf of Banks, if this had not succeeded. May God long preserve you for the benefit of his church and the comfort of many! Strasburgh, Jan. 8, 1555.

Your most attached,

JAMES HADDON.

[<sup>2</sup> Simon Sultzer was a divine at Basle.]

## LETTER CXXXVII.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Jan. 15, 1555.*

GREETING. Most honourable and my very good friend, I send you herewith certain heads of a discourse held by him<sup>1</sup> whom the inscription points out. It is possible that he embraced many more topics at that time, but most likely they were all to the same effect. I have translated them from the English, just as they were brought here, word for word as nearly as I could. Shall we wonder at the unheard of boldness of the man in inventing, or his singular shamelessness in lying, or his subtle and versatile talent, and (so to speak) most godless mind, for that, having so long stored up in his remembrance so many slaughters and such heavy charges of treason, he could cherish and foster them with such hypocrisy and dissimulation? I think there was never heard tell of such a turncoat and monster of a man, and pest of the state, if the book<sup>2</sup> he published many years since in a quite contrary sense, and written too with such emphasis and asseveration as that nothing apparently can exceed it, be compared with his present assertions. But we have justly deserved portents of this kind, for having almost despised the godly and those who told us the truth. May God now take compassion on us, and hear the prayers of his own people, as in his mercy he is wont to do; and may he succour our not only distressed but deplorable, and, as far as human aid is concerned, desperate condition! Many signal examples shew that he has done so; nor do I doubt but that he will again do

[<sup>1</sup> On Sunday, Dec. 2, 1554, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached at Paul's Cross before king Philip and cardinal Pole, upon Rom. xiii. 11. An account of his sermon is given in Strype, Mem. III. i. 259, and more fully by Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 577, whose statement is so nearly identical with the Latin heads here referred to, as to render it unnecessary to retranslate them.]

[<sup>2</sup> Haddon refers to Gardiner's book *De vera Obedientia*, published in 1534, to justify the parliament in giving the king the title of supreme head of the church. An account of this book is given in Strype, Mem. I. i. 264. See also Foxe, vii. 594.]

it in his own time. In the mean time, all things are working together for good to his people. He who keepeth Israel will neither slumber nor sleep. And that noble act related by Moses in Exodus, and mentioned by you, and so often recorded in the Judges and Prophets, affords abundant consolation. I will not at this time trespass any longer upon your kindness. I hope that my last letter has been delivered to you ere now, bearing testimony to the good result of your letter to master Sultzer on behalf of Banks, and for which I again thank you in his name. May God every way be with you! Strasburgh, Jan. 15, 1555.

Your most attached,

JAMES HADDON.

P.S. My countryman and friend, Abel the merchant, warmly salutes you. He was with me at the beginning of the winter, and it is from him that I have the copy of the writing which I send you.

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## LETTER CXXXVIII.

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JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *April 24, 1555.*

GREETING. Your letter, most honoured sir, testifying your affection and exceeding love towards me, was delivered to me on my return from Frankfort. You tell me that you write to me in all the hurry of business, whereat I partly rejoice, and am partly sorry: for your letter, short as it is, contains singular consolation drawn from the examples of Joshua and Jehoiada; but I am sorry that I was an hindrance to you when so well and so actively employed. For I am aware that the charge of many and most weighty concerns is laid upon you, and that you are almost continually distracted by matters of the greatest importance. I must therefore beg of you not to withdraw yourself in future, even a single moment, on my account from any business whatever, unless

when a breathing-time and leisure shall be afforded you. For although, being not now engaged in any public labour or employment, I am able frequently to write to your reverence, the case is not the same with you. Wherefore, although I hear from you most gladly and with the greatest eagerness, yet I shall be content if you do not answer my letters, except at the times and on the terms above stated. On which subject the bearer also will communicate with you by message from me. I have learned also by the information of our friend Chambers the exertions made by your kindness in respect to Banks. He is not yet recovered, but is better. He will always acknowledge himself very greatly indebted to you, and I offer you my best thanks on his behalf. We commit the repayment of this favour to God, who alone can accomplish it effectually, and whom I pray to preserve and direct you for the advantage and benefit of his church. In whom farewell. Strasburgh, April 24, 1555.

Your reverence's most devoted,

JAMES HADDON.

P.S. I have saluted our friend Sampson and the others in your name.

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## LETTER CXXXIX.

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JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Dec. 7, 1555.*

MUCH health. My very dear friend in Christ, I have been often thinking of writing to you for some months past; but nothing has occurred which seemed worthy of being committed to paper, especially as reports were spread abroad with various degrees of uncertainty. But it is now certain that that bitter scourge<sup>1</sup> of divine justice, the most cruel of all men

[<sup>1</sup> Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. See Foxe, vii. 585. Strype, Mem. iii. i. 465, and Philpot's writings, Parker Society's edition, p. 269.]

within our memory, and who most eagerly thirsted for the blood of the saints, has been removed from this life. But though our sins had richly deserved so great an evil, and even a punishment yet more severe, on account of the listlessness and ingratitude which for the most part pervaded our country when the free course of the gospel was allowed us, yet our heavenly Father and Almighty God has manifested his usual kindness and power. That illustrious pair, masters Ridley and Latimer, offered themselves to God a short time before<sup>2</sup>, an admirable and noble sacrifice; and their ashes (together with those of others who had gone before them, and who now live in the presence of our Lord and Saviour) have, methinks, called down the judgment of God upon the above-mentioned scourge of heaven. We have no other certain or confirmed intelligence, as far as I am at present aware, worthy of being communicated to you. Besides, I think that you have been made acquainted either previously or more fully from others with the facts I have above stated, though I considered it also my duty to write to you to the same effect; for it seems very long since I had any intercourse with you. Salute for me, I pray you, master Gesner. Please to remember me, and the condition of our country, in your prayers, as I doubt not but you will. May God be with you and your ministry, and preserve you for the benefit of his church! Strasburgh, Dec. 7, 1555.

Yours,

JAMES HADDON.

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## LETTER CXL.

JAMES HADDON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *March* 12, 1556.

HEALTH in the Lord. I have written to you before, but I now doubt whether my letter was delivered to you; not

[<sup>2</sup> Gardiner died in the next month after the burning of Ridley and Latimer, which took place, Oct. 16, 1555.]

that I wish to interrupt you, occupied as you are in most weighty affairs, much less to draw you away from them for a moment by replying to my letter; nor indeed were the matters upon which I wrote to you of such consequence as to require an answer. They informed you of the tidings which we had then received from England. What I have now to write is much less worth your notice; but I nevertheless send you this letter, because it seems to me a long time since I have corresponded with your reverence, or have heard from yourself. Our friend Burcher, when on his return from you, replied to my inquiries concerning you, that you were not in good health. But as I have not yet received any further account, I very much desire to hear from yourself, how you do. I ask nothing more, and not even this, except at your leisure. There are many reasons why I am anxious to hear of your health. Nor is it to be wondered at that I am exceedingly anxious about you as an individual, since I have discovered your regard for me to be such as it has been declared to be by the report of some of our friends. I doubt not but that these times occasion much grief to yourself, as to all godly persons, and cause many and deep sighs to be breathed forth. But what can you do? He who sitteth in the highest heavens looks down upon lowly things in heaven and earth. He wills his people to be tried, but will not suffer his church to be left altogether destitute; but as that man of sin has already been partly detected by yourself and those like you, so he will at last be destroyed by the breath of the mouth of the Lord. Amen, amen! May the Lord be with you by his Spirit, and preserve you for the good of his church! Strasburgh, March 15, 1556.

Your most devoted,

JAMES HADDON.

P.S. I wish every happiness, according to the will of God, to masters Bibliander, Pellican, and Gesner.

## LETTER CXLI.

JOHN BANKS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *March 15, 1554.*

You will probably be surprised, most excellent sir, at my writing to you in these turbulent times, which I have never done before; and the rather, because I had no personal acquaintance with her<sup>1</sup> [of whom I write], and am about to address you upon those subjects which would occasion the greatest danger to myself, in case my letter should be intercepted before the bearer of it leaves England. But I have not thought this consideration of sufficient consequence to retard my purpose, since it was both godly in itself, and truly deserving of being known by every one, and especially by your reverence, by reason of that kindness and good-will which you entertain towards the very noble family of Grey in this country, and which you have not hesitated to illustrate by your own recorded testimony. But though this family is now overthrown and almost extinct, on account of their saving profession of our Saviour, and the cause of the gospel; yet all godly and truly christian persons have not so much reason to mourn over the ruin of a family so illustrious, as to rejoice that the latest action of her life was terminated in bearing testimony to the name of Jesus; and the rather, because those who rest with Christ the Lord in the kingdom of his Father, will not have to behold with their own eyes the wretched and lamentable overthrow of our nation. It is we, we who are wretched, who are not only hearing every day the name of the Saviour loaded with reproach, but witnessing the most horrible slaughter of those who have endeavoured to promote his glory, and extend his kingdom.

But to return to the Greys, about whom I purposed to commune with you in this letter, both on account of your peculiar regard for them, as evinced by your godly writings; and by reason of my own affection towards those now dead, to whom I diligently endeavoured, during their life-time, to prove my respect.

Jane then, the daughter of the duke, was truly admirable,

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, lady Jane Grey.]

not so much by reason of her incredible attainments in literature, by which in the seventeenth year of her age she excelled all other ladies, as by reason of the remarkable firmness with which, though a young girl, she surpassed men in maintaining the cause of Christ; insomuch that she could neither be defeated by any contrivances which the papists imagined against her, nor be deceived by any of their artifices, as your reverence will understand from a discourse of hers which I now send you.

This conference was held by her with master Feckenham<sup>1</sup>, a clever and crafty papist, upon some controverted points of our religion, upon which she explained her opinion with much learning and ingenuity. And that she persevered in this confession of faith even to the last, is sufficiently evident from the statement<sup>2</sup> she made a little before her execution. This I have thought fit to send together with the other, because they seemed to me worthy of being universally known. Moreover, it may be seen how her truly admirable mind was illuminated by the light of God's word, by two letters, one of which she herself wrote to the lady Catharine<sup>3</sup>, her sister, a most noble virgin, to inspire her with a love of the sacred writings, and the other to a certain apostate<sup>4</sup>, to bring him back to Christ the Lord. I have taken the pains to translate both of these letters from our vernacular<sup>5</sup> language into Latin, that your excellence may perceive that the pains which you have taken to enlighten that family and

[<sup>1</sup> See this discourse given in Foxe, vi. 415.]

[<sup>2</sup> See Foxe, vi. 424.]

[<sup>3</sup> This letter is also given in Foxe, vi. 422. The lady Catherine was afterwards married to Henry, son of William, earl of Pembroke, by whom she was divorced. She was committed to the Tower by queen Elizabeth in 1562, for her clandestine marriage with the earl of Hertford. See Zurich Letters, first series, p. 103, n. 7.]

[<sup>4</sup> This was Thomas Harding, afterwards known as the antagonist of bishop Jewel. Foxe, who gives the letter, in his first edition, refrains from naming him, "partly reverencing the worthy learning of the person, and partly, again, trusting and hoping again of some better towardness of the party hereafter." See Foxe, vi. 418.]

[<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to find that lady Jane Grey wrote to Harding in English, as some expressions in the Latin version, printed in her Remains, have given occasion for reflections, which, from this letter of Banks it appears, rather apply to him as the translator than to her as the writer.]

incite them to the love of godliness have not been ill bestowed. For I can bear testimony, which, if not very abundant, is at least that of an eye-witness, that the whole family of the Greys, and Jane especially, derived incredible benefit from your writings. She indeed had not only diligently perused, but also committed to memory, almost all the heads of your sixth Decade.

The duke also himself devoted as much time as he could steal from the affairs of the nation, in which he was engaged, to the reading of scripture, and especially to your writings, with the milky eloquence of which he used to say that he was wonderfully delighted. From the reading of which too he derived the greatest benefit, when certain wicked wretches endeavoured to draw him away, while in prison, from the faith and confession of the true Christ. But they were in no wise able to move him; for he confessed the Lord Christ even to his latest breath<sup>6</sup>. And at the time he was led to execution, though the papists brought forward one of the council, a swine out of the herd, who defended the catholic church, the mass, the fathers, and customs established by length of time, yet he would not acknowledge any other atonement than that which was perfected by the death of Christ: by this faith he supported himself, and in this faith he at length ended his life. I would speak of the entire overthrow of religion in England, and the fury of antichrist, only that those who are continually coming over from England to Zurich, that most wealthy mart of all good learning, will make you acquainted with it. It now remains for me earnestly to entreat your reverence again and again to take this my service in good part, and to enrol me among the number of your friends; and to beseech the Lord that our England may at length be delivered from that tyranny of the papists by which she is now oppressed. Farewell, most excellent Bullinger, and continue, as you do, to set forth the kingdom of Christ in your writings! London, March 15, 1554.

[<sup>6</sup> This statement is confirmed by the account given in Foxe, Acts and Mon. vi. 545, where Dr Hugh Weston is stated to have attended the duke of Suffolk at his execution.]

## LETTER CXLII.

JOHN BANKS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Dec. 9, 1554.

No circumstance has ever afforded me greater pleasure than the condescension of your reverence in not only admitting me among the number of your friends, but in so courteously declaring this by your written letter; in which, whenever I peruse it, as I do very frequently, I seem to observe two things especially worthy of commendation. In the first place your singular kindness appears from this circumstance, that a person like yourself, so justly admired by every one, should condescend, in the midst of so many and important engagements, to write to an obscure individual like myself. Your rare judgment in the next place is shewn by your disapproving of the publication<sup>1</sup> of what possibly may be injurious to many individuals; a circumstance which I had not before considered. I now, however, perceive that our adversaries in England are most mightily disturbed by certain pamphlets, and that they are endeavouring to exclude us from the liberality of those from whom we were expecting the necessary means of subsistence. Nothing indeed now seems to be left for us, but either that we English, who are in exile from our country for the sake of God's word, must support ourselves by the labour of our hands, or else implore the assistance of godly individuals to enable us to continue our studies; whereby, should it please God to restore us to our country, we may be able to refute the doctrines of the papists, and to explain to our people and nation the artifices by which they have been circumvented and deceived by them. The godly men, by whom we have hitherto been aided and supported, are either all of them cast into prison

[<sup>1</sup> See above, Letter CXXXIV. p. 293. It seems that together with the preceding letter, Banks had sent to Bullinger the conference of lady Jane Grey with Feckenham, her letters to Harding and to her sister, with a view to their being published, but to which Bullinger made some objections from a fear of injuring the cause of the reformation in England.]

on our account, or, if any are still at liberty, they are so carefully watched by the papists, that they can afford us no assistance without the greatest danger. Whence it is, that we are at this time placed in great difficulty; and it is come to this, that each individual must look out how he can best provide for himself. For my own part, I have no hope of being able to continue in the course of studies I had determined to pursue; for he who has maintained<sup>2</sup> me hitherto, is now reduced to the like straits as the rest of the English, being spoiled of all his property, and (such is the malice of his enemies) without any hope. I speak of master James Haddon, a man who deserved to be rich for his liberality to the poor. Since, therefore, my condition is such, that I am unable, through want of means, to pursue the course of study I had proposed, I would willingly follow that which seems desirable in the next place, and engage in that kind of life which is most nearly allied to literary pursuits; in which object, as I understand your excellence has it in your power greatly to benefit me by your recommendation, relying upon that kindness which you have so manifestly expressed in your letter, I make bold to implore your aid and co-operation. There is a printer in your town, of the name of Froschover, of whose integrity and diligence in his art the bearer of this letter speaks most highly, and has advised me to use my endeavours to induce him by any means to employ me as a corrector and reviser of such books as are printed at his press. Your recommendation, I believe, will go far to effect this object. Wherefore, should your excellence grant me this favour, I shall consider myself to have received an especial benefit, and will use my best endeavours that you may not seem to have recommended an unworthy person. Farewell, most excellent sir, and most esteemed by me in the Lord. Strasburgh, Dec. 9, 1554.

Your piety's most devoted,

JOHN BANKS, *Anglus.*

[<sup>2</sup> See Letter CXXXV. p. 295.]

## LETTER CXLIII.

JOHN BANKS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at [STRASBURGH], Jan. 9, [1555].

I HAVE perceived by the letter of your reverence, not indeed written *to* me, but to my singular good patron and much esteemed master in Christ, master Haddon<sup>1</sup>, *about* me, that you have no less exerted yourself on my behalf, than if I had been your own son, and not a stranger, and only known to you by letter. I cannot therefore express the thanks due to your reverence for the pains you have taken on my behalf. But when I reflect that you were born for this very purpose, to succour the brethren, and to shew yourself a true Christian, namely, one who devotes his talents to the good of all, not only the men of this present age, but of posterity also; I consider you in no respect inferior to the greatest characters, and that in your brotherly affection and incredible diligence you easily excel them all. There are indeed some very learned and truly pious persons, but who will not readily allow themselves to be withdrawn from their studies, even though from such interruption great advantage might arise to their brethren. But you on the contrary, seem to regard nothing as of more importance, than in the midst of your ministerial labours to allow of an interruption in those studies so necessary and beneficial to the church of Christ, and this too for no small interval, for the sake of affording aid to a poor wretch like myself, when placed in circumstances of some difficulty. Most gladly therefore would I express by some grateful attestation, how much I value your good will towards me; but this your more than paternal kindness towards me exceeds all power of expression or even of thought. I will diligently endeavour therefore, and it is all I can do, that you may not seem to have recommended an unworthy person. But as to your excusing yourself to me, who indeed am I, that one like yourself, so justly and universally respected, should think it necessary to excuse yourself in the

[<sup>1</sup> See above, Letter CXXXVI. p. 297.]

midst of your important engagements, for not replying to such an insignificant individual as I am, and who is moreover so greatly indebted to your kindness, and had rather undergo any thing than be in any way a hinderance to your studies? Wherefore I return my best possible thanks to your piety, and since I can do nothing else, I will always bear your goodness in mind in my prayers; and I pray our great and good God, through Christ our Saviour, very long to preserve you to his church. January 9, [1555].

Your piety's most devoted,

JOHN BANKS.

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## LETTER CXLIV.

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THOMAS HARDING<sup>2</sup> TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, Oct. 19, 1551.

IF, as it has been observed of<sup>3</sup> old, friendships have often been dissolved by neglected intercourse, what is there, most learned Bullinger, to preclude the hope that the friendship of good men may be obtained and cemented by their being addressed with courtesy and respect? and especially when this is done upon just grounds, and without any suspicion of flattery or self-interest.

For my own part, a regard to my duty, as well as the very reasonable request of these young men to be introduced to your notice, has afforded me a sufficient occasion of writing to you. For who can be so insensible to every courteous feeling, as not to be compelled to write and return you thanks

[<sup>2</sup> Thomas Harding was elected fellow of New college in 1536, and afterwards appointed Hebrew professor by Henry VIII. He became a papist in the reign of queen Mary, by whom he was preferred to a prebend of Winchester, and the treasurership of Sarum. He is best known by his controversy with bishop Jewel; for an account of which, see the Zurich Letters, first series, Letter LXVII.]

[<sup>3</sup> Πολλὰς δὴ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσεν. Arist. Ethic. VIII. 5.]

for those kind offices you did me when I was with you about the first of May three years since, on my way into Italy, whither I was then proceeding for the purpose of study? Nor can I ever forget with what kindness you received me, and with what liberality you entertained me; not to mention in the mean time, with what learned and grave discourse you detained me, who was exceedingly desirous of an interview with you, for some hours in your house; and, to speak plainly, satisfied my mind, when, inquiring and hesitating about some matters, as they appeared to me, of no small importance, you relieved me entirely from all doubt and perplexity. To this I must add that other token of no common regard and esteem, (for such I ought to consider it,) in that you then inquired my name, just as if I were a person of consequence, and inscribed it among your papers.

As often indeed as these acts of kindness recur to my mind, as they do very frequently, I think of what Timotheus<sup>1</sup> said respecting a supper of Plato, to which he was invited by him, when he met him the next day, namely, that the suppers of Plato were not only agreeable for the present moment, but for the day following. The same thing may be affirmed in a larger sense respecting your kindness, that it was not only gratifying for the moment, but has now been so for many months, and will be, I hope, for many years. And indeed, had not my circumstances ordered it otherwise, and drawn me away at that time to other places, almost against my will, I should on no account have suffered myself to have been so soon separated and disunited from your most learned society, of which I had then first begun to taste the enjoyment. But as the state of my affairs has, contrary to my inclination, continually precluded me from this happiness, it only remained for me to propose to myself the occasional enjoyment of your society and intercourse by epistolary correspondence. And just as I had returned to England, and was seeking how to carry this into effect, and was purposing to write to you, John ab Ulmis, who was (as he says) formerly your pupil, paid me a most opportune visit. He prays me to commend these young men to you by a written letter; which indeed I have promised very readily, both for his own sake, with whom I have had some

[<sup>1</sup> See Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 35. Athenæus, x. p. 419. Ed. Lugd. and Ælian, V. H. II. 18.]

acquaintance, and also for their sakes, as perceiving them to be such, as for their peculiar modesty, probity, and erudition, are most entirely deserving of the warmest commendation. You will not therefore, I entreat you, according to your most kind disposition, think lightly of this my commendation, but will receive into your kindness and good-will these youths, Andrew Croariensis and Stumphius, on their return to you. I dare assure you in the mean time from their very honourable and gentlemanly conduct, that however great may be the advantage that may accrue to you from the regard of the most worthy characters, no less will accrue to you from the attachment of the persons in question; and that you will acknowledge them to be young men of tried probity, courtesy, and honourable feeling, as well as of unvaried good temper. You will certainly confer upon me the greatest obligation, if you will so conduct yourself towards them, as to make them know that this my recommendation has had some weight with you. Farewell. Oxford, New College, Oct. 19, 1551.

Salute very affectionately from me our friend Butler<sup>2</sup>.

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## LETTER CXLV.

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HENRY SIDALL TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, Oct. 4, [1552].

MUCH health. Last year, most honoured sir, I received a letter from your excellence in favour of this youth ab Ulmis, which was on many accounts very gratifying to me, but, if I must speak the truth, altogether superfluous. For his piety, integrity, and zeal for learning had already so interested me

[<sup>2</sup> John Butler, of a noble family, having travelled about Germany, and thence into France, and afterwards into Italy, seated himself at last in Zurich, where he became greatly acquainted with John Wolphius, the learned printer, who dedicated to him, in the year 1552, the second edition of P. Martyr's tract of the sacrament. See Strype, Mem. i. i. 545.]

in his favour, that I should consider myself to have received a benefit by having it in my power to confer one upon him. For any individual, in whom I discover such good qualities, cannot but be very dear to me, to whatever country he may belong; for I heartily detest all respect of persons. In this large college my trifling exertions cannot have been of much advantage to him; but my mind has at all times been well-disposed towards him, which I can promise will always be the case, provided only, which I hope will not take place, he shall not change his conduct. But since he has now gone back to you, and is, it seems, somewhat doubtful of returning to England, I do not see how I can be of any service to him in future, except perhaps by imploring your clemency to regard him with greater kindness and affection than hitherto, which I most ardently entreat your piety to do. For his conduct in this numerous society of learned men has always been so amiable and unpolluted, and so obedient to all our statutes and domestic regulations, that it has most justly earned for him the greatest commendation from all persons, and a more than paternal regard from myself. Moreover, his discretion has always been exceedingly approved by me, inasmuch as he has so accommodated himself to our habits, that he never could justly be reproached by any one as a foreigner, but has deserved universal commendation as one conversant with our laws and country. I have thought it my duty to acquaint your excellence in good faith with these matters, lest any suspicion should arise on your part that he has conducted himself otherwise in this place than would become a youth of the most excellent character. I should have written to you at this time concerning our university of Oxford, and the restoration of religion, and the number of the godly among us, only that this youth will be able to relate all these things to you better at your leisure. Your piety may know this for an undoubted truth, that many among us are exceedingly united to you in spirit, although personally separated by sea and land; among whom I wish to be counted the chief. For although I am far inferior in many other respects, in this I will yield to no one. Farewell in the Lord. Oxford, Christ Church, Oct. 4, [1552].

[H. SIDALL.]

## LETTER CXLVI.

RALPH SKINNER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at OXFORD, *Jan 5*, [1550].

HEALTH and peace in the Lord. John ab Ulmis has frequently requested me long since, most excellent Bullinger, to send you a letter; but latterly he has left no stone unturned to extort from me these few lines, and I must candidly confess that he has not without difficulty induced me to write now. Not that I entertained any doubt of your kindness, or that the ingenuousness of your disposition has not been well known long since both by your own writings and the report of others; but partly from my having forgotten how to write Latin by reason of long disuse, and partly because I am too modest to presume to trouble, with my unpolished letter, you who are occupied in so many and important affairs of the church. I readily admit, most learned sir, that I owe you this duty; and I acknowledge also, that I owe you many and great thanks for the honourable mention which you made of me in your letter to my patron, the marquis of Dorset. I have certainly long regarded you with the greatest love and veneration, for the sake of the true religion, and considered myself much indebted to you in the name of all christian people. But latterly, my Bullinger, you have so bound me to you for my own sake and that of my country, that you cannot in future attach me more. For you seem to be affected with as it were a father's feeling, and no ordinary regard towards our England. You have every where publicly eulogised that country in many ways by your excellent lucubrations and most learned writings. And on this account you have obtained true and just praise with all good and learned men, of whom, thank God, a great number is at this time found among us. And you may learn from this, that you have not laboured among us in the Lord's vineyard to no purpose; and how much honour and gratitude is owing to our excellent king, and how much we owe to our rulers, who not only are favourers of the truth themselves, but are also good and firm patrons of all who embrace it. And you have

certainly bestowed upon them in these your writings no undeserved or unworthy commendation. For they justly deserve it, and are to be praised on every account; and we very properly rejoice, whenever it has happened that you have dedicated your lucubrations to men of this character. For an useful stimulus is hence afforded to them in their progress, and encouragement given, that they may not be weary of completing in the best way what they have well begun. And this I hope will very soon be the case. For they have lately assembled a convocation, and appointed certain persons to purify our church from the filth of antichrist, and to abolish those impious laws of the Roman pontiff, by which the spouse of Christ has for so long a time been wretchedly and shamefully defiled; and to substitute new ones, better and more holy, in their place. It will be our duty meanwhile, diligently to implore God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, that true, pure, and undefiled religion may at length begin to flourish, not here only, but throughout the whole earth. I have written, excellent Bullinger, at greater length than I at first intended, and yet there remain many things, with which I could wish you to be acquainted, did time suffice for that purpose. But I will defer them for the present. I shall in my next letter possibly impart all my grievances. Meanwhile, excellent sir, farewell, and I pray God that he may long preserve you to us for the manifestation of his glory! Oxford, Jan. 5.

Yours heartily,

RALPH SKINNER.

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## LETTER CXLVII.

JOHN WILLOCK TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at OXFORD, *May* 12, 1552.

HEALTH in Christ. I came over to Oxford on the 11th of May, which as soon as John ab Ulmis knew, he has never ceased asking me, most excellent sir, to send you a letter. I

could not therefore refuse him, as he requested what is proper, and rightly reminded me of my duty. I wrote you a letter soon after Christmas, but know not whether it ever reached you. I will therefore only at present briefly touch upon the heads of what I then wrote. First of all, I return everlasting thanks for the kindness by which you were induced to make such affectionate mention of me in your dedicatory preface to our prince. I have ever admired your universally acknowledged learning and erudition; but I now embrace again and again, and most readily recognise, your exceeding kindness and incredible regard to myself. The prince certainly received that little present of yours with a most grateful and well-disposed mind; and you must know that you have not acted more honourably, than usefully and piously; for, as Socrates says, the exhortations of great men are as a whip and spur to happy perseverance in a praiseworthy course of life. Every night, when we were employed on the Scottish borders, after the book had been received there from John ab Ulmis, with great difficulty on his part, his highness was not satisfied with having a large portion of your book merely read to him, but would have it diligently examined; by which I perceived him, endued as he was with a most excellent disposition, greatly to improve; and indeed he very often expressed himself greatly obliged to you for it.

You will truly learn the state of my affairs from the bearer of this letter. I had intended at first to have written more, but business and my journey itself necessarily call me elsewhere. I will however add a few things to which you will exceedingly oblige me by sending a reply. First then, I ask, whether that be a legitimate and true marriage which is contracted without the knowledge or consent of parents; and whether those persons can be said to live piously and lawfully in holy matrimony, who being so married, continue in the same; or whether they may be allowed to separate themselves again at the desire of their parents. I ask, secondly, whether a woman leaving her own husband, and attaching herself to another during his life-time, may be allowed to marry him after the death of her own husband, to whom during that husband's life-time she had attached herself. I inquire, thirdly, whether those are to be considered as living piously in holy wedlock, who through fear of death in time of perse-

cution have mutually betrothed themselves without witnesses, but have nevertheless declared before many persons that they were married, and have lived together for the space of twenty years. I entreat you again and again briefly to explain your sentiments upon these points. I have written hastily and in confusion: take it in good part, as I doubt not but that you will do. Farewell, most excellent and very dear master Bullinger, and always commend my ministry in your prayers. Oxford, May 12, 1552.

Your honour's most devoted,

JOHN WILLOCK.

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## LETTER CXLVIII.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Feb.* 20, [1540].

I SHOULD indeed be uncourteous, most learned Bullinger, not to address you by letter, who, when I was among you<sup>1</sup>, treated me with so much kindness. You can however guess the reason of my not having written last fair. And though the same reason may possibly still exist, I have thought it right to break my silence, lest my delay should seem not so much to arise from the state of the time, as from forgetfulness and neglect. But this, believe me, is not at all agreeable to my disposition. For my mind is by no means insensible to mutual friendship, and I am of all persons least unmindful of any kindness that has been shewn me. I have nothing to relate at present, except that all the monks in this country have lost the appellation, that some of the principal monasteries are turned into schools of studious men, and that three

[<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew Traheron was a favourer of the reformation, and had been much persecuted when at Oxford by Dr Loudon, warden of New college, in 1527, or 1528. Strype, Mem. i. i. 581.]





*J. W. G. sc.*

THOMAS LORD AUDLEY.

of the most wealthy abbots<sup>2</sup> were led to execution a little before Christmas, for having joined in a conspiracy to restore the pope. I must not omit to tell you that the bishop of Winchester preached a very popish sermon, to the great discontent of the people, on the first Sunday in Lent, and that he was ably answered by Dr Barnes on the following Lord's day with the most gratifying, and all but universal, applause. The points which the bishop principally handled I have related to John Butler, from whom you may learn them. You will hear other news from other correspondents. The Lord Audley<sup>3</sup>, an excellent man, and in the king's service, has conceived a great regard for you from my commendation, and has bidden me not only to salute you respectfully in his name, but to tell you, that if you send over your son to this country, he will treat him with the attention due to the offspring of a very dear and honoured man. I salute much your mother, wife, brothers, children, and the whole family. Salute likewise in my name those worthy and excellent men masters Pellican, [Leo] Judæ, Rhelican<sup>4</sup>, and Megander. Farewell. London, Feb. 20.

[B. TRAHERON.]

## LETTER CXLIX.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

[Before *Feb.* 18, 1546.]

HEALTH in the Lord. I wrote to you many weeks since, and gave the letter to our most loving friend, master

[<sup>2</sup> These were Richard Whiting of Glastonbury, Hugh Faringdon of Reading, and John Beach of Colchester. The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading had been found to have aided the northern insurgents by large supplies of money and plate. See Soames, II. 278, and Burnet, I. 384.]

[<sup>3</sup> Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, was created baron Audley of Walden, in 1538. He died in 1544, when the barony became extinct.]

[<sup>4</sup> This is probably an error, but it is so in the copy.]

Calvin, who was going to Berne, that it might be forwarded to you from thence. But as far as I can judge by the letter which you sent by master Butler's messenger, mine has not yet reached you; and as I make no doubt but that you would have made some mention of it, this circumstance annoys and vexes me not a little. For as the rest of my countrymen have written to you, and as I myself too have addressed others in your city by letter, you might well charge me with ingratitude for having neglected you, to whom I owe so much. Had I really done so, I doubt not but that some time or other I should have suffered the just vengeance of Jupiter the protector of strangers. But believe me, I thought of nothing less, and therefore sent off my letter to you before my singular good friend and very dear brother, master Butler, had procured this messenger. But, as I perceive, the matter turned out unfortunately. It has indeed vexed me most exceedingly, not that there was any thing in the letter which I considered worth your reading, but from the fear that I may possibly be regarded by you as either undervaluing your friendship towards me, or being unmindful of your kindness. And I hardly know which of these two I should choose the least. It is a proof of your singular courtesy that you have joined me in your letter to master Butler. Whence also I have good hope that you will not unwillingly accept this my vindication, although I call heaven to witness that I have not in any way offended against our friendship, unless perhaps this may be called an offence, that I did not write you another letter when a regular messenger was at hand; and in this I acknowledge myself to be somewhat to blame. But who would have thought that the letter would not reach you which I gave to master Calvin, and he again to master Megander? If I ever allow from henceforth any messenger to come over to you from us without a letter from me, you are at liberty to esteem me among the number of the ungrateful, or even of those who hate their friends; which however, of all deeds of wickedness, I would least wish to attach to myself. For I am, if any one is, so disposed to mutual affection, that sometimes I do every thing but doat even upon those who wish no good to myself. At all events, I have such an affection for all learned men who have deserved well of me, that nothing affords me more pleasure, or is more deeply rooted

in my mind. How then can I forget you, whose erudition has always been most delightful and profitable to me, and whose acts of kindness to me are so numerous? There is no reason, therefore, why you should suppose that it arose from forgetfulness of you, that my letter has not yet reached you; but there is a reason why you should make inquiry of master Megander, who has neglected to forward it. You perceive, I hope, that I am not at all to blame, excepting that I did not write to you twice. I heartily congratulate you on the accession of a little son, and one too, who was christened on the day of his birth; and I no less rejoice that the very excellent lady, your wife, is delivered from this danger. We are very anxious to know what Luther and his party are doing about the eucharist. There is I know not what report here, that the minds of the Bernese are somewhat inclined to Bucer's opinions. Here, as far as we have been able to judge hitherto, all things are properly set forth.

To yourself, all your children, your excellent wife, grandmother, and Rodolph, I wish all happiness and prosperity, and true joy in Christ. Farewell, my very dear friend master Bullinger, with all belonging to you.

[B. TRAHERON.]

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## LETTER CL.

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BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Aug.* 1, [1548].

WHAT more delightful gratification could possibly be afforded me, than to receive a letter from so great a distance, from one who is on many accounts so dear to me, and whom, by reason of his singular piety and erudition, I can never sufficiently admire? You have also, my excellent Bullinger, anticipated me in deserving the commendation of courtesy: but as there is perhaps no occasion for me to state the reason

of my so long silence, nor indeed can I do so without much pain, I shall let it pass, and express my thanks to you for your most agreeable letter, which has indeed cheered me more than I am able to express. For I am thus led to consider that the pure form of religion is now set forth among you, and that your own exertions in this cause have been such as to render the remembrance of you at all times most delightful to me.

As to our own affairs, and the extent to which we have made progress in matters of religion, I do not think you can be ignorant. You must know that all our countrymen, who are sincerely favourable to the restoration of truth, entertain in all respects like opinions with you; and not only such as are placed at the summit of honour, but those who are ranked in the number of men of learning. I except the archbishop of Canterbury and Latimer, and a very few learned men besides; for from among the nobility I know not one whose opinions are otherwise than what they ought to be. As to Canterbury, he conducts himself in such a way, I know not how, as that the people do not think much of him, and the nobility regard him as lukewarm. In other respects he is a kind and good-natured man. As to Latimer, though he does not clearly understand the true doctrine of the eucharist, he is nevertheless more favourable than either Luther or even Bucer. I am quite sure that he will never be a hinderance to this cause. For, being a man of admirable talent, he sees more clearly into the subject than the others, and is desirous to come into our sentiments, but is slow to decide, and cannot without much difficulty and even timidity renounce an opinion which he has once imbibed. But there is good hope that he will some time or other come over to our side altogether. For he is so far from avoiding any of our friends, that he rather seeks their company, and most anxiously listens to them while discoursing upon this subject, as one who is beyond measure desirous that the whole truth may be laid open to him, and even that he may be thoroughly convinced. But more upon this subject when I have more time.

Salute, I pray you in my name, those excellent and most learned men, masters Theodore Bibliander, the ornament not only of Switzerland, but of all Germany; Gualter, and the

rest, together with the most courteous mayor, my host, and your amiable wife. Farewell. London, Aug. 1.

Yours,

BARTHO. TRAHERON.

I have not yet been able to see the young man whom you commended to me, because I was absent from London when he arrived. If I can be of service to him in any way, I shall most readily exert myself for your sake. I hear that he is now at Oxford. Again farewell.

## LETTER CLI.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Sept.* 23, [1548].

How greatly am I indebted to you, most excellent Bullinger, who have thought proper not only to address me in a most courteous letter, but to present me also with your learned and pious lucubrations. I feel myself unable to express by words the pleasure which this your regard to me has afforded. I should most gladly have addressed you by letter long since, but such painful events have occurred among us during this year, and altogether so unheard of, that I could not apply my mind to write; indeed, I scarcely wished to live. I doubt not but that you will have heard the whole history. All things, through the wonderful goodness of God, seem now settled. The religion of Christ, which appeared to be giving way, stands firm; and this we attribute solely to the providence of God. We fear, however, lest Flanders should occasion some disturbance. We have a king who is firm, learned, and pious beyond his age. If there has ever existed a Josiah since the first of that name, this is certainly he. And do you also be pleased to implore our common Father in your public prayers to preserve him to us in safety. Believe me, my Bullinger, a more holy disposition has nowhere existed in our time. He alone seems to sustain the gospel by his incredible piety, most holy manners, prudence altogether that of an old man, with a firmness at this age altogether unheard of. So great a work of God ought not to

be unknown to the godly. But that you may add yet more to the praises of God, you must know that Latimer<sup>1</sup> has come over to our opinion respecting the true doctrine of the eucharist, together with the archbishop of Canterbury<sup>2</sup> and the other bishops, who heretofore seemed to be Lutherans. Let us implore God with our united prayers, to complete a work so favourably begun; and may he long preserve you and yours! Salute very much my dear brethren masters Pellican, Bibliander, and Gualter. Farewell. London, Sept. 28.

Yours,

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON.

## LETTER CLII.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

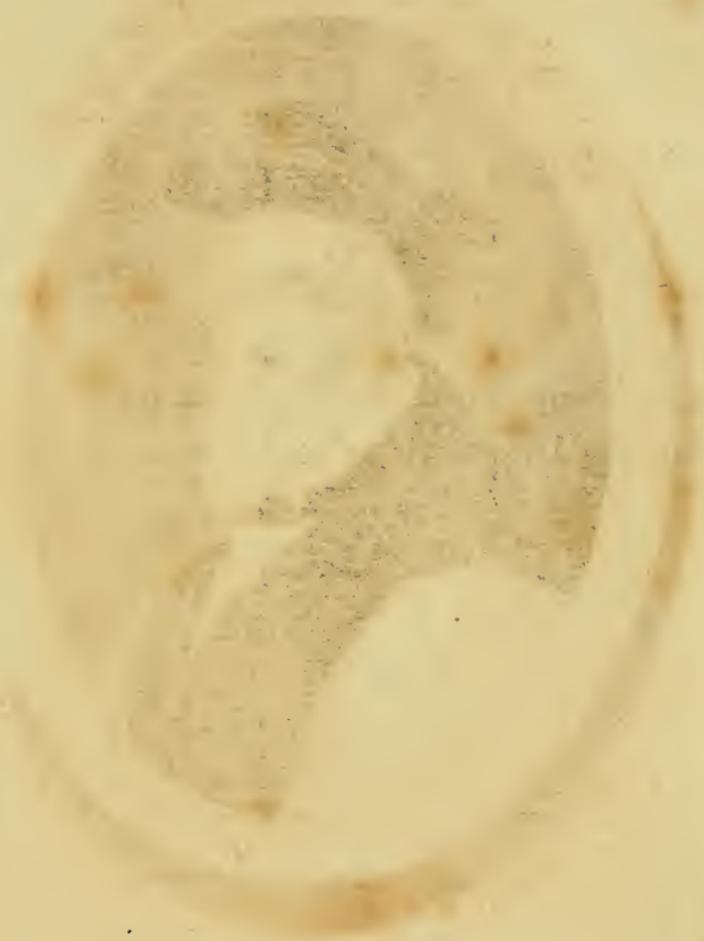
Dated at LONDON, Dec 31, 1548.

I CANNOT refrain, my excellent Bullinger, from acquainting you with circumstances that have lately given us the greatest pleasure, that you and your fellow-ministers may participate in our enjoyment. On the 14th of December, if I mistake not, a disputation was held at London<sup>3</sup> concerning

[<sup>1</sup> "It was but seven years before his burning that he relinquished that old error," namely, his opinion for a corporal presence, "that is, about the year 1547, as he confessed to Dr Weston." Strype, Cranm. 97.]

[<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 13, n. 1. For a full account of Cranmer's surrender of the Lutheran tenets, see Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranmer, LXXVI. LXXVII.]

[<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the disputation mentioned in K. Edward's journal, as given in Burnet, iv. 204. "A parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor. There was granted a subsidy, and *there was a notable disputation of the Sacrament in the parliament house.*" This parliament sat Nov. 24th—March 15th. It appears from the journals of both houses, that K. Edward's First Liturgy was read the first time in the Commons on Wednesday, Dec. 19 (not 9, as Burnet says, ii. 148), and in the Lords on the day following. This disputation therefore was probably held to give information to parliament upon the subject to which it referred, and to teach them how to deal with the new Book of Common Prayer about to be placed before them by the committee of bishops.]





*From an original Painting.*

the eucharist, in the presence of almost all the nobility of England. The argument was sharply contested by the bishops. The archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to general expectation, most openly, firmly, and learnedly maintained your opinion upon this subject. His arguments were as follows. The body of Christ was taken up from us into heaven. Christ has left the world. "Ye have the poor always with you, but me ye have not always," &c. Next followed the bishop of Rochester<sup>4</sup>, who handled the subject with so much eloquence, perspicuity, erudition, and power, as to stop the mouth of that most zealous papist, the bishop of Worcester<sup>5</sup>. The truth never obtained a more brilliant victory among us. I perceive that it is all over with Lutheranism, now that those who were considered its principal and almost only supporters, have altogether come over to our side. We are much indebted to the Lord who provides for us also in this particular. I was unwilling, my dear friend, to defraud you of so great a pleasure, and which I pray God you may long enjoy. Cordially salute master Bibliander and the other dear brethren. I heartily wish every blessing to your wife and children. Farewell. Dec. 31, 1548.

[Postscript, added by John ab Ulmis.]

Lo! just as master Traheron was about to send his letter, I happened to come into his room, and can do no otherwise than send you this brief salutation; for, owing to the great impatience of the messenger, I am unable to write more. I will tell you every thing in a few days. In haste. London. The foolish bishops have made a marvellous recantation.

## LETTER CLIII.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at OXFORD, *June 12, 1550.*

How greatly am I indebted to you, most excellent Bullinger, who not only condescend to greet me with a letter, couched in the most friendly terms, but also to instruct me by your very learned treatise; while I, for my part, have

[<sup>4</sup> Bp. Ridley.]

[<sup>5</sup> Bp. Heath.]

nothing wherewith to repay you, but a heart much attached to you, and which, believe me, I shall retain such as long as I live. And should any thing else at any time be in my power, I will not forget how much I owe you. Do you meanwhile continue to advance the christian religion by your erudite writings; you have all of us in this country favouring and applauding you. If you desire to know the state of our affairs, religion is indeed prospering, but the wickedness of those who profess the gospel is wonderfully on the increase. The people have made no disturbance this year, but there is reason to fear, lest roused partly by their own unquiet temper, and partly by the avarice of the higher orders, they should occasion some confusion, unless the Lord himself should think fit to avert it for the sake of our sovereign, who is making wonderful progress in learning, piety, and judgment. Be pleased to commend to God in your prayers this prince of the greatest hope, who is even now a defender of the christian religion almost to a miracle. For unless God, offended by our sins, should take him away from us before he is grown up to manhood, we doubt not but that England will produce another Constantine, or a character yet more excellent. I entreat you therefore, for Christ's sake, that you supplicate for him every happiness. For, although you are so far distant, even you may hence derive some advantage. For he both loves you, and acknowledges the religion of Christ to be exceedingly well established among you, and would have it ever to remain sound and unimpaired. Farewell, my most honoured brother. Oxford, June 12, 1550.

Yours,

BARTHO. TRAHERON.

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## LETTER CLIV.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Sept.* 10, 1552.

You have conferred a great obligation upon me, most learned Bullinger, who have both deigned to address me in





ALBERTVS PIGHIVS CAMPENSIS

your most delightful letter, and moreover to present me with one of your productions. For nothing can proceed from you but what is, and ever will be, most agreeable. It occasions me, meanwhile, no slight vexation that my circumstances have not hitherto permitted, and do not yet permit me, to declare how much I both love you, and acknowledge myself your debtor. But should my affairs ever take a better turn, I will certainly endeavour to make you understand, that I both regard your singular kindness as I ought to do, and that I bear in mind the especial courtesy which you shewed me at Zurich. But I am now compelled to ask of you a new favour, even while I can find nothing wherewith to oblige you in return. I am exceedingly desirous to know what you and the other very learned men, who live at Zurich, think respecting the predestination and providence of God. If you ask the reason, there are certain individuals here who lived among you some time, and who assert that you lean too much to Melancthon's views<sup>1</sup>. But the greater number among us, of whom I own myself to be one, embrace the opinion of John Calvin as being perspicuous, and most agreeable to holy scripture. And we truly thank God, that that excellent treatise of the very learned and excellent John Calvin<sup>2</sup> against Pighius and one Georgius Siculus should have come forth at the very time when the question began to be agitated among us. For we confess that he has thrown much light upon the subject, or rather so handled it, as that we have never before seen any thing more learned or more plain. We are anxious however, to know what are your opinions, to which we justly allow much weight. We certainly hope that you differ in no respect from his excellent and most learned opinion. At least you will please to point out what you approve in that treatise, or think defective, or reject altogether, if indeed you do reject any part of it,

[1 For a statement of Melancthon's early doctrine, and subsequent change of views on the subject of predestination, see Scott's *Contin. of Milner*, II. 191, 207, &c. See also two letters from Calvin to Melancthon, dated Nov. 28, 1552, and Aug. 27, 1554, in *Calv. Ep. Ed. Genev.* 1575, pp. 107, 133.]

[<sup>2</sup> Calvin's Treatise, "De *Æterna Dei Prædestinatione*," is here referred to. It is printed in the eighth volume of his works, Amsterdam, 1667, and in the dedication and commencement is express mention of its being an answer to Albert Pighius and George Siculus.]

which we shall not easily believe. And now enough of this subject. That worthy young man, John ab Ulmis, who is recalled home by a letter from his family, will better inform you of the situation of our affairs. Religion remains pure. Our most excellent king is in the best health, and makes daily progress in learning and piety. But, as I said, John ab Ulmis will give you a far more full and able account of these things. Farewell, my very dear sir, and love me much. Respectfully salute in my name master mayor his host, together with the other worthy and most learned brethren. London, Sept. 10, 1552.

Yours heartily,

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON.

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## LETTER CLV.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 3*, [1553].

I ACKNOWLEDGE, my excellent Bullinger, your especial kindness, who for the sake of satisfying my earnest request have thought it no trouble to write to me so fully and accurately respecting the providence and predestination of God. But though I admire both your exceeding learning and moderation in this writing of yours, nevertheless, to say the truth, I cannot altogether think as you do. For you so state that God permits certain things, that you seem to take away from him the power of acting. We say that God permits many things, when he does not renew men by his Spirit, but gives them up to the dominion of their own lusts. And though God does not himself create in us evil desires, which are born with us; we maintain nevertheless, that he determines the place, the time, and mode [of bringing them into action], so that nothing can happen otherwise than as he has before determined that it should happen. For, as Augustine has it, he ordains even darkness. To be brief, we ascribe all actions to God, but leave to men whatever sin there is in them; which Augustine has, I think, stated in these words: "To sin is in the power of men, but to produce this or that effect by sinning belongs not to them, but to God, who ordains

darkness<sup>1</sup>." Again, "God fulfils his own good purposes by the evil purposes of evil men<sup>2</sup>." And to this belongs that saying, that in some wonderful and ineffable manner that does not take place without his will, which is done even against his will.

But I am acting very indiscreetly in reminding you of these things, to whom all the writings of Augustine are so well known. You do not approve of Calvin, when he states that God not only foresaw the fall of the first man, and in him the ruin of his posterity, but that he also at his own pleasure arranged it<sup>3</sup>. And unless we allow this, we shall certainly take away both the providence and the wisdom of God altogether. I do not indeed perceive how this sentence of Solomon contains any thing less than this: "The Lord hath made all things for himself: yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." [Prov. xvi. 4.] And that of Paul: "Of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." [Rom. xi. 36.] I pass over other expressions which the most learned Calvin employs, because they occur every where in the holy scriptures. But I cannot think it either foolish or dangerous to follow that mode of speaking which the Holy Ghost useth. And did it not seem superfluous, I would entreat you again and again, to beware lest any disagreement be occasioned between you by reason of these things. For it will retard the course of the gospel not a little; and unless I am altogether mistaken, you will not be long able to support a cause that is tottering of itself.

If you will send your children hither, they shall be regarded by me as my beloved brothers. I have spoken with my dear friend master Cheke respecting Cœlius Secundus,

[1 Est ergo in malorum potestate peccare: ut autem peccando hoc vel hoc illa malitia faciant, non est in eorum potestate, sed Dei dividendis tenebras et ordinantis eas.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Prædest. Sanct. cap. xvi. 33. Tom. X. cols. 811, 2.]

[2 Nam Deus quasdam voluntates suas, utique bonas, implet per malorum hominum voluntates malas.—Id. Enchir. de Fid. Spe et Carit. cap. ci. 26. Tom. VI. col. 234.]

[3 See Calvin. Instit. iii. xxiii. § 7. In Bullinger's reply to the preceding letter, which is much too long for insertion, after quoting the above passage, he says: "Ego certe sic loqui non ausim, utpote qui existimem gratiæ sinceritatem defendi posse, utcunque non dicamus Deum homines creare in exitium, et in illum finem ipsos deducere aut impellere indurando et excecando." He adds, "Quis autem inficias ierit, Calvinum magnis a Deo ornatum esse muneribus?"]

who has, I think, informed you by letter either what he has done or is about to do. Farewell, very dear Bullinger, and salute all the brethren in my name, especially my most worthy host the mayor, master Gualter, my countryman master Butler, &c. Once more farewell. London, June 3, 1553.

Your most loving

BARTHOL. TRAHERON.

## LETTER CLVI.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON TO JOHN CALVIN.

Without place or date.

I AM now learning by experience, most accomplished Calvin, that whatever men may have proposed or determined, nevertheless every event is dependent upon the will of God; and that it often happens, that what we have purposed to do immediately, is accomplished either not at all, or after a long interval. For whereas I had fully resolved in my mind soon to visit you, it has now so happened that I really cannot tell when I shall be able to do so. For I have received a letter from home of such a nature, that I must go to England forthwith, whether I like it or not. I know not whether any event more painful could have occurred to me, certainly none more disagreeable; for I was desirous of passing at least a year with you, as with one whose society appeared to me most delightful and profitable. But, as I perceive, I must follow where fortune leads me. I pray you therefore, that, though we are far separated in person, we may yet be united in spirit. For you have deserved of me far otherwise than to make it possible for me ever to forget you; and I can no otherwise repay your favours to me than by the faithful remembrance of our friendship, which I shall most diligently and everlastingly retain. As to the rest, with respect to the ten crowns I placed in your hands, I would not ask for them, were I not afraid of wanting money for my journey. But take care that you do not put yourself to any inconvenience. Salute for me the worthy master Farell, with all our other friends by name. Farewell, my dear friend, long and happily!

[BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON.]

GVILIELMVS VARELLVS .





LETTER CLVII<sup>1</sup>.

PETER ALEXANDER TO PAUL FAGIUS.

Dated at LAMBETH, *March 24, 1549.*

THAT I have not yet written to you, my dear friend, you must attribute to no other cause but that I considered the letter which I wrote to that illustrious man, master Bucer, as intended also for yourself. But now, since I am commissioned by the most reverend the archbishop to address you in his name, I cannot forbear sending you at least a short letter, to inform you of his exceeding good-will and most favourable inclination towards you and your affairs. That I may not, therefore, detain you by any longer preamble, you must learn in few words the friendly feeling of our most reverend [archbishop], and his singular anxiety for the advancement of all the ministers of Christ. This excellent personage, who is the principal instrument in replacing the church of Christ in this kingdom, and restoring it to its purity, has been informed of your having been dismissed by the senate of your city<sup>2</sup>; and as, from his great anxiety for all godly ministers of the churches, he has taken a very lively interest in you and your affairs, he said it would be a very grievous thing both to you and your family, to be so unexpectedly deprived of a regular means of subsistence. And since these churches of ours are in great want of learned men, and as he supposes that you will not any longer be able to obtain an honourable livelihood in your own country, he desires to see you in this kingdom as soon as possible, and has commissioned me to invite you by this my letter in his name. I pray you, therefore, to come as soon as you possibly can, and cheer the most reverend archbishop, your attached friend, by your very early arrival. There is no doubt, excellent sir, of your obtaining some honourable situation in this country; for I know for certain that you will be appointed to a most distinguished office in the university,

[<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is preserved in the archives of St Thomas at Strasburgh. The letter of Alexander to Bucer of the same date and to the same effect is printed in Buceri Scripta Anglicana.]

[<sup>2</sup> Both Fagius and Bucer were forced to leave Germany, upon the business of the Interim. See Burnet II. 140, Strype, Cranm. 281.]

either at Oxford or Cambridge, where you will derive a greater salary from your lectures than you ever received in your own country from your most important duties as a preacher. Do not therefore, I pray you, any longer put off your journey, but come over to us immediately. We have here the most reverend the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the most faithful son of the church, together with the most illustrious prince the lord protector, who, like another Joseph, next in rank to the king, is able to accomplish whatever he will, if only for the sake of Christ and the advancement of his glory. And this he does most admirably, for he is in no wise wanting in his exertions and endeavours for the church of Christ and its faithful members in this kingdom; as whatever we see likely to turn out to the praise of God, and the advantage of the church, he endeavours with all the powers of his mind to effect as speedily as possible. There is, moreover, that aged bishop master Latimer<sup>1</sup>, who is most desirous of seeing you both, and who, since he has no little influence with the king, offers you his assistance in every possible way. Come over, therefore, sir, without delay<sup>2</sup>. Salute your wife in my name, together with your [daughter] Charity. Farewell. Dated at Lambeth, March 24, 1549.

Yours, and your host that is to be,

PETER ALEXANDER.

[<sup>1</sup> Bishop Latimer was probably at this time nearly seventy years of age. He had for some time taken up his residence at Lambeth with his friend archbishop Cranmer, and refused to dispossess Heath, who had succeeded him in the see of Worcester, which he had resigned in consequence of the "six articles' act." See his sermons, Parker Society's Edition, p. 127.]

[<sup>2</sup> Bucer and Fagius arrived safely in England in the end of April, and abode with the archbishop above a quarter of a year, until towards the end of the long vacation, the archbishop intending they should be at Cambridge, when the term should begin, Bucer being nominated professor of divinity, and Fagius of Hebrew. Strype, Cranm. 281. Soames, Hist. Ref. III. 499.]

## LETTER CLVIII.

PAUL FAGIUS TO JOHN ULSTETTER.

Dated at CALAIS, *April 18, 1549.*

I GREET you much, my beloved son-in-law. Master Bucer and I quitted Strasburgh on the sixth of April, and having passed through Lorraine, Champagne, Picardy, Flanders and Artois, we arrived at Calais, the frontier city of England, without any difficulty whatever, on the eighteenth of the same month. We were no where better accommodated than in the dominions of the emperor, from whom we were only distant two days' journey. We were most kindly received at Calais by the city authorities, all of whom were most anxiously expecting us: we found also master Peter Alexander, who had been sent thither by the archbishop to await our arrival. Most desirable appointments are in store for us: only may the Lord enable us to accomplish somewhat that may tend to his glory, and the edification of his church, and then all will be well. Do you also, with your wife, my very dear daughter, render hearty thanks to the Lord for having with such fatherly care conducted us through all our enemies; and who we doubt not will mercifully protect us for the time to come. We shall have to remain at Calais for one or two days on account of the high winds. When we have crossed the sea, with Christ our guide, and have arrived in England, I will endeavour to acquaint you with my affairs at the earliest opportunity. Do you also endeavour to let me know, as soon as possible, the situation of your own affairs. Send your letter to Strasburgh to master Conrad Hubert, who will always be able to forward it to me without any difficulty. My son Paul<sup>3</sup> is at Canterbury, and, as master Peter tells me, in good health. I hope to see him on Easter Monday, if not before. Fare you well and happily, my very dear son-in-law<sup>4</sup>, with your spouse, my very dear daughter; and salute for me most dutifully all my brethren, especially Erbius and Scriba. In haste, from Calais, April 18, 1549. I hope also my son Timothy is in good health:

[<sup>3</sup> See above, Letter XX. p. 32.]

[<sup>4</sup> John Ulstetter married Fagius's daughter Sarah, Nov. 11, 1547.]

if he continues to improve his morals, as you have led me to hope, he will in future be not less dear to me than heretofore. Be sure and let me see his letter by the first courier.

Your father-in-law,

PAUL FAGIUS, the elder.

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## LETTER CLIX.

PAUL FAGIUS TO JOHN ULSTETTER.

Dated at the Palace, LAMBETH, *April 26, 1549.*

MUCH health, my dearest son-in-law. I doubt not but that you are very anxious to learn how and when we arrived in England. You must know therefore, that on the eighteenth of April, under God's guidance, we happily reached Calais the frontier sea-port of England, where we were obliged to remain till the twenty-third of the same month owing to the roughness of the sea. On that day we crossed the channel, and reached London on the twenty-fifth. We thence proceeded by water to Lambeth, the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury, who received us with the greatest kindness. He wishes to send me to the university of Oxford, over which master Peter Martyr presides, for it is the most celebrated; and master Bucer to Cambridge. But we are urgent with his grace not to separate us, but to allow us to remain together for some time, which will be a great comfort to us both. We are however, still ignorant of our destination; for every thing is done by the king's order. May the Lord grant that, wherever we may be, we may approve ourselves unto him; which I request you to implore with us from him by fervent prayer. I cannot at present give you any certain information about English affairs. This however we have observed, that the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are very few. Let us therefore entreat the Lord to send forth suitable labourers. We found my son Paul at Canterbury in good health. He has become well acquainted with the English language, and has a tolerable understanding of French; so that he now acts as my interpreter. He has so conducted himself, as to gain

the favourable opinion of all good and learned men, which has cheered me exceedingly. We are still remaining with the archbishop at Lambeth, in daily expectation of being sent to the post assigned us. I request you again and again to acquaint me with the state of your affairs. I hope we may shortly meet. Farewell, together with my very dear pledges, Sarah and Timothy. Salute all my brother-ministers most dutifully from me, especially masters Erbius and Scriba. In haste, from Lambeth, the palace of the archbishop, April 28, in the year of salvation 1549.

Your father-in-law,

PAUL FAGIUS, the elder.

Master Bucer, with Negelin<sup>1</sup> and my son Paul desire their dutiful respects.

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## LETTER CLX.

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PAUL FAGIUS TO CONRAD HUBERT.

Dated at CROYDON, *May 7, 1549.*

MAY the only-begotten Son of God preserve you, your wife, and all your family unto life eternal, my very dear brother in the Lord! You will abundantly learn the present state of our affairs both from the letter of master Bucer, and the one I wrote to my wife, which I am very anxious for you to read. On the first of May we removed from Lambeth to Croydon, where the archbishop generally passes the summer. On the fifth of the same month we were taken to court, where access to the king's majesty was granted us immediately after dinner. I cannot express with what kindness we were received by him, as well as by the lord protector, and others of the nobility, and how he congratulated us upon our arrival. This, indeed, exhilarated us beyond measure. Though he is still very young, and very handsome, he gives for his age

[<sup>1</sup> Matthew Negelin, afterwards a minister of Strasburgh, accompanied Bucer and Fagius into England, and was then with them at the archbishop's house at Lambeth. See Strype, Cranmer, 279.]

such wonderful proofs of his piety, as that the whole kingdom and all godly persons entertain the greatest hopes of him. May our good and gracious God preserve him in safety many years, that he may be able to govern his kingdom long and happily, and at the same time to advance in various ways the kingdom of Christ, which we ought all of us to entreat for him from God with fervent prayers. We hoped that we should very soon have gone to Cambridge, but the plan is altered. For it seemed good to his majesty, the lord protector, and the archbishop, that we should translate the holy scriptures<sup>1</sup> from the original sources into Latin, with some brief explanations of the difficult passages in each chapter, and the addition of summaries and parallel places. All of which they wish afterwards to be translated into English, for the use of the preachers and people. It is certainly a work of much labour; may God grant us strength!

These things, my excellent brother, I wish briefly to acquaint you with: I pray you communicate them to my wife. Every thing else you will learn from other letters. Farewell, with all your household, and all our brethren in the ministry, especially masters Marbach, Lenglin, Christopher, Martin, and Udalric, and also master Andernach, together with their dear wives. In haste, from the archbishop's house at Croydon, May 7, 1549.

Yours wholly,

PAUL FAGIUS, the elder.

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## LETTER CLXI.

BERNARDINE OCHINUS<sup>2</sup> TO WOLFGANG MUSCULUS.

Dated at LONDON, *July 17, 1548.*

GREETING. A letter has been brought me from Augsburg, in which are contained sad tidings respecting the state of the

[<sup>1</sup> Fagius was to have taken the old testament, and Bucer the new, for their several parts. But their death put an end to the design.]

[<sup>2</sup> See first Series, Letter XXIV. p. 58. For a further account of him see Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. cent. xvi. Part II. chap. ii. § 42.]

church and commonwealth. For I am informed that the impious doctrine set forth by the emperor Charles has been received in many cities of Germany, some of whom influenced by fear, and others by foul superstition, had not courage to resist the ungodly edict. And, indeed, this most heavy chastisement from God, which leads men's minds into a denial of the truth, and into extreme destruction, is much more hurtful and calamitous than an internal and civil war could be to their bodies. But among the other states which have arrived at this wretchedness, is mentioned that of Augsburg<sup>3</sup>, which, impelled by the menaces of the emperor, is forced to receive that abominable Interim<sup>4</sup>. They write too respecting yourself, that as you were unable to maintain with integrity and fidelity the office to which you had been called, you had abandoned the city<sup>5</sup>, and sought refuge in a place of greater security. When therefore I made mention of your virtue and learning, and present misfortunes, to the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, he replied, that if you thought fit to come over into this country, he would provide you with some honourable means of subsistence. I considered that I owed this service to our long friendship; and I recommend and exhort you, by my love for you, not to despise the vocation offered you, in which you will probably be employed with much greater usefulness than, under existing circumstances, in any part of Germany. Farewell. I could not but commend you to him, and point out of what great use you would be, if you would come hither; and he said that he would provide for you and for your family. London, July 17, 1548.

#### BERNARDINE OCHINUS.

[<sup>3</sup> In Augsburg the emperor displaced the magistrates, substituting for them creatures of his own, each of whom was sworn to observe the Interim. See Sleidan, 469, 470.]

[<sup>4</sup> Interimendum illud Interim. *Orig.*]

[<sup>5</sup> Wolfgang Musculus was minister of the church of Augsburg till 1548, when, on the entry of Charles V. into the city, and the consequent re-establishment of popery, he retired to Berne, where he was elected professor of divinity, and where he died in 1563.]

## LETTER CLXII.

BERNARDINE OCHINUS TO WOLFGANG MUSCULUS.

Dated at LONDON, *Dec. 23, 1548.*

GREETING. I gave your letter to the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, having read which, he declared himself exceedingly desirous that you should come hither: he said moreover, that there was but little hope of Upper Germany, and repeated his promise of providing every thing necessary for yourself and family. He has commissioned a certain merchant, by name Richard Hilles, to supply you by his order with the money required for your journey, in case you should come. You will receive, I think, the letter of this merchant together with mine. I will add, that there are in London more than five thousand Germans, to whom you may preach and administer the sacraments; and if you wish to lecture at Cambridge, you will be able to do so. All things, I hope, will be reformed. I have now done my part; may Christ direct you! My wife and daughter are well, and salute you with your wife and children. Farewell, and remember me in Christ. London, Dec. 23, 1548.

BERNARDINE OCHINUS.

## LETTER CLXIII.

WOLFGANG MUSCULUS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BERNE, *March 12, 1549.*

(EXTRACT.)

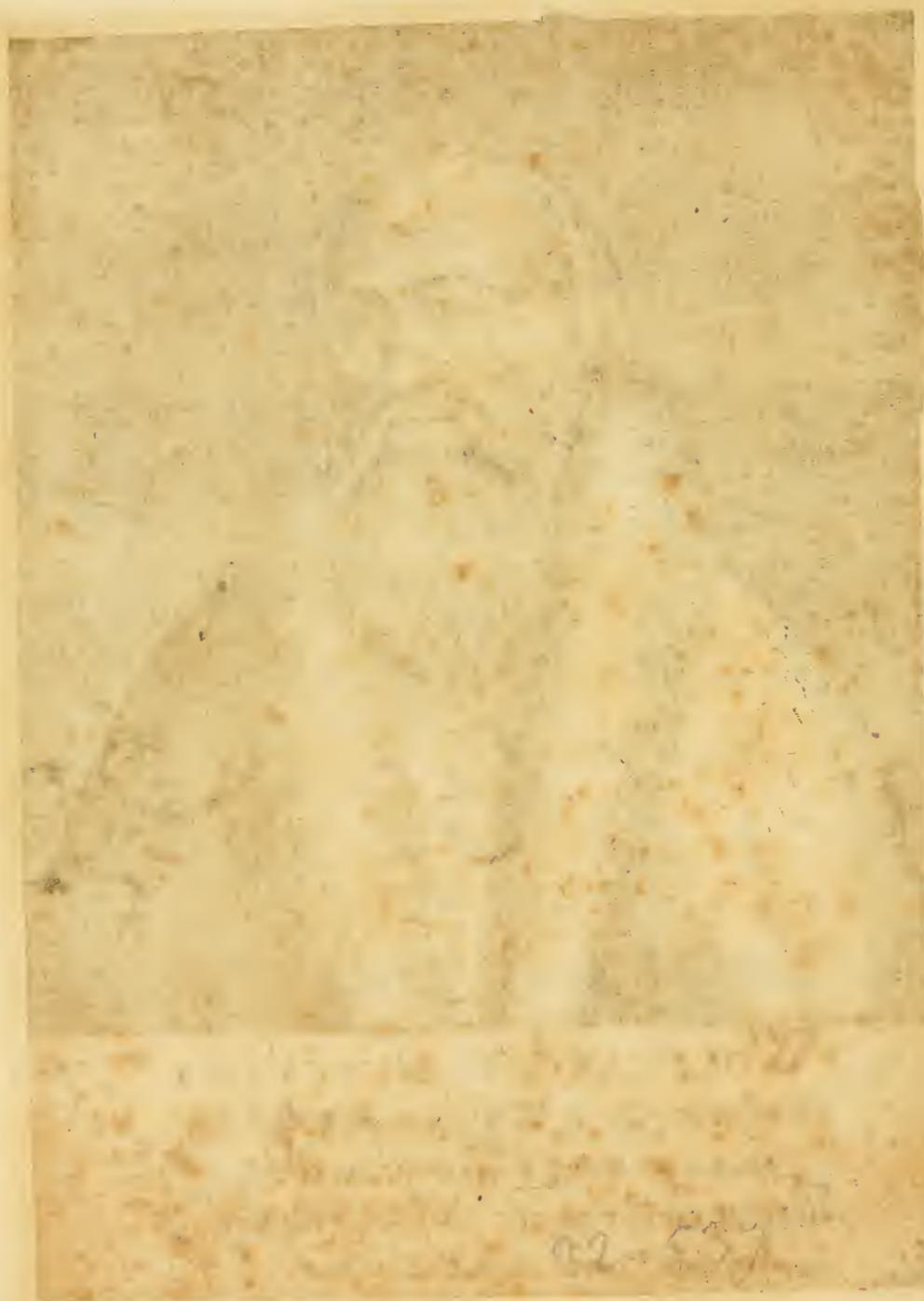
..... BERNARDINE (Ochinus) is inviting me to England by his letters, two of which I have now received dated on the 23rd and 31st December, to this effect: "I have shewn your letter to the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, which when he had read, he most decidedly manifested his great desire that you should come to England, and he again confirmed what he had before promised. But as you wrote

H. A. J. c.



**WOLFGANGVS MUSCVLVS.**  
*Talis erat vultu Wolfgangus Musculus olim,  
Ipsa a quo metuit Roma prophana sibi.  
Illius vt rapidos ungues, catos que rapaces,  
Non metuit: contra sic metuendus erat.*

*Cum prauit.*



that you had still some expectation in Germany, he immediately subjoined that such hopes were of a very slender nature; but that as you stated that you had a large family, and feared the expense would be greater than you could afford, he had been speaking to a certain merchant to supply you with every necessary. He will send, I think, a hundred crowns for your journey. Now if you require my sincere opinion, I recommend and exhort you to come. A lectureship will be provided for you at Cambridge; and should not that situation meet your wishes, you might preach publicly in London, where a numerous auditory would not be wanting. For there are more than five thousand Germans<sup>1</sup> here, to whom you would doubtless be most acceptable. I am therefore very desirous that, if you can do so without great inconvenience, you should come over as soon as possible. I have nothing more to write about the archbishop, except that he is daily becoming more favourable to evangelical truth. And though some reports of a contrary character have hitherto prevailed respecting him, he is now really shewing himself to be a most godly person, and that he has nothing more at heart than that Christ should flourish and be triumphant. We are therefore upon the most harmonious and friendly terms."

Thus far he. As to myself, I have no thoughts of this invitation, unless (as I before wrote to Bernardine) there should not be afforded me an opportunity of serving Christ in Germany. I am however very much pleased that the pure form of Christianity is daily more and more prevailing in that kingdom, which will doubtless receive many exiles flying thither for refuge. Wherefore we must unceasingly pray God to put an end at length to that perilous war with Scotland, whence evils of no ordinary kind may arise to that kingdom, unless the mercy of God avert them. Farewell, most illustrious sir. Berne, March 12, 1549.

Yours in the Lord,

W. MUSCULUS.

[<sup>1</sup> The king's letters patent to John a Lasco and the German congregation are given in Burnet, iv. 308. They are dated July 24, 1550. Among the ministers is mentioned Ricardus Gallus, of whom see below, p. 339. n. 1.]

## LETTER CLXIV.

PETER OF PERUGIA<sup>1</sup> TO HENRY BULLINGER.Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *Feb.* 10, 1550.

GREETING. Although I am personally unknown to you, most learned and accomplished Bullinger, this circumstance need not prevent me from addressing you with every feeling of affection and respect, and desiring to gratify you to the utmost of my power. For I am not so ignorant as not to perceive the extent of those obligations which all those who, like myself, embrace the pure doctrines of the gospel, owe to you and others of the like character, by reason of those admirable exertions and services by which you have again purified the church of Christ itself, which had been miserably defiled by antichrist. I pray you therefore, most godly Bullinger, to assure yourself of every service from me which a grateful pupil can render to his instructor, and which I would desire to prove to you rather from the active performance of them than from a mere verbal declaration.

The state of England is at this time entirely tranquil, compared with what it was during the last year. The duke of Somerset, who had been the king's governor, and who was so ignominiously committed to the Tower of London, is now at length delivered by the divine blessing, and most honourably set at liberty. And although he is deprived of his former office, he will nevertheless be able to live with honour and magnificence upon the revenues that they have left him. You see therefore the wonderful mercy of God towards his elect: for from the beginning it was the general opinion that he would suffer death; but it has turned out far otherwise. The gospel in this country is rather extending itself more widely than suffering any change. Masters Bucer, Bernardine, and Peter Martyr, are most actively labouring in their ministry, and are indeed most useful.

[<sup>1</sup> Pietro Bizarro of Perugia is mentioned in a letter of Languet to Sir Philip Sidney, with high commendations of his eloquence, and remarks on the want of wisdom in the English in not "earning the good-will of such a man." See the Correspondence of Sidney and Languet, collected by Rev. Steuart A. Pears, p. 2. He was entertained divers years with the earl of Bedford; and expecting preferment here, failing of it, he departed and lived abroad. Strype, Ann. III. i. 660.]

We have great hopes of a peace with France, although we do not yet know upon what terms it will be effected. May our most gracious God grant that all things may turn out happily: and I earnestly pray him long to preserve yourself, together with masters Pellican, Bibliander, Gualter, Vergerius, and the whole church, to the glory of his name. Master Bucer, who is now at the university of Cambridge, where he is lecturing with the greatest eloquence and godliness upon Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, most affectionately salutes you and your church. Cambridge, February 10, 1550.

Your most attached and devoted,

PETER of Perugia,

an exile from Italy, his native country, by reason of his confession of the doctrine of the gospel.

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## LETTER CLXV.

THOMAS NORTON TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at LONDON, Nov. 13, 1552.

HAVING understood from your letter to master Richard<sup>2</sup>, the preacher of the word here in the French church, that you were desirous to know what had become of the children of my late master, the duke of Somerset, the consideration of your kindness affected me with exceeding delight and satisfaction; and I seemed to recognise the kindly feeling of an excellent and truly christian pastor, who do not account as unworthy of your remembrance and regard, in their present fallen state, those individuals who have been cast down from the pinnacle of prosperity on which they had formerly been placed. Wherefore, although it may hardly seem to be within my province to answer for another, yet induced by the request of master Richard, partly because no one can give you

[<sup>2</sup> A memorandum written about the end of the 16th century, speaks of Richard Vauville as "a man sound and perfect in christian piety," the minister of a church at London, in which "French was spoken," on the authority of the preface of a work written by Poulain, printed in 1552. See Burns, *Hist. of Foreign Protestant Refugees*, Lond. 1846, p. 24. Beza says, "Vauville est mort, ministre en l'église Française de Frankfort, apres la dissipation d'Angleterre, où il avoit long temps servi heureusement." *Hist. Eccles. Anvers*, 1580, l. 57. He also bore the name of Richard François.]

more certain information upon this subject than myself, who am still attached to them, and partly because, from your most courteous reply to my last, I perceive that a letter of mine will not be unacceptable to you, I have thought fit to acquaint you in writing with their present circumstances. After God had taken away from us the duke himself by the hand of the executioner, because, alarmed for his own life, he was reported to have plotted the destruction of certain others of the royal council; it was enacted in the collective assembly of the realm, (which from a French word we call a parliament, from the freedom of speech there allowed,) that himself and his sons by Anne<sup>1</sup> his wife, who cannot be unknown to you, though you have never seen her, and whom he married upon the decease of his former wife Catharine<sup>2</sup>, should be deprived of the dukedom, earldom, and barony, as it is called, and also of any other titles of honour bestowed by reason of services rendered to the state; and that they should be reduced to the lowest rank of nobility. With respect to their maintenance, the following provision was made. The eldest daughter Anne<sup>3</sup>, with whom you have corresponded, has been married nearly three years to the earl of Warwick, son and heir of the duke of Northumberland, and is happily and honourably settled. The other four, Margaret<sup>4</sup>, Jane, Maria, and Catharine, are unmarried, and committed by the council to the care of their aunt<sup>5</sup>, the widow of the lord Cromwell, to whom four hundred marks are yearly paid by the king for

[1 The duke of Somerset married for his second wife, Anne, daughter of sir Edward Stanhope of Sudbury, co. Suffolk. She died in 1587, aged 90.]

[2 This lady was daughter and coheir of sir William Fillol.]

[3 This lady was afterwards married to sir Edward Ampton, knight of the bath. Strype, Mem. ii. ii. 8.]

[4 Margaret was sought in marriage by the lord Strange in 1551, and with the approval of the king. But that match did not take effect, and she died unmarried, as did her sisters Catharine and Jane, the latter of whom it was said the duke secretly endeavoured to match with the king. Strype, as above.]

[5 Elizabeth, second daughter of sir John Seymour, and sister of queen Jane Seymour and the duke of Somerset, married successively sir Anthony Oughtred, and Gregory, lord Cromwell, son of the earl of Essex. He died in 1551. His widow was originally to receive 300 marks, or £50. for each of these four ladies per annum, which salary was, November 1, increased to 100 marks a year apiece. Strype, Mem. ii. ii. 7.]

their maintenance, according to the act of parliament. Each mark is worth thirteen shillings and fourpence. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, who is now in her second year, is with her aunt Smith<sup>6</sup>, who lost her husband about four months since,<sup>6</sup> and to whom in like manner a hundred marks are yearly assigned for her support. To Edward<sup>7</sup>, his son and heir, thirteen years old, and as it were the living image of his father, out of the estates which yielded annually to his father [ . . . . . ]<sup>8</sup> thousand pounds of our money, each of which is equivalent to four golden crowns, as they call them, there is reserved, by the same act of parliament, about two thousand four hundred pounds, more or less. The surplus, with all the personalty, was paid, as is wont, into the exchequer. He, with his two brothers, Henry and Edward<sup>9</sup>, the latter five years old, and the other twelve, is with the lord treasurer of England. They are wards of the king, to whom, so long as they are under age, belongs the guardianship of noble orphans, and also the use, enjoyment, and management of their estates. They are liberally educated, and have no other attendants or governors but those to whom they were entrusted by their father in his life-time. Philip Gilgate, a worthy gentleman, is their governor, and I retain my old office of instructing them. But you may perhaps feel uncomfortable at their residing in the house of that individual, the marquis of Winchester<sup>10</sup>, of whose religion you may have been

[<sup>6</sup> Dorothy, youngest daughter of the above sir John Seymour, married sir Clement Smith, knight, a gentleman of Essex, who died August 26, 1552. In February, 1552, there was a warrant to the exchequer to pay this lady an annuity of 100 marks towards the finding the lady Elizabeth during her abode with her. This Elizabeth afterwards married sir Richard Knightly of Fawsley, and died in 1602.]

[<sup>7</sup> A patent was granted in the fifth and sixth years of Edw. VI., to the duke's eldest son, to be restored to as many of the lands as were his mother's, and sold away by the duke without her consent; and that this should be made good to him out of the lands that the heirs begotten of the body of the lady Anne, his second wife, should have. Strype, Mem. II. i. 543.]

[<sup>8</sup> Fere millia, MS. Probably a mistake of the copyist for decem.]

[<sup>9</sup> Edward, the duke's eldest son by his second marriage, having been dispossessed of all his titles by act of parliament, as above related, continued without estate or title, until created by queen Elizabeth, before her coronation, baron Beauchamp, and earl of Hertford. He died in 1621.]

[<sup>10</sup> See his character in Strype, Mem. III. i. 141.]

led, from the reports of others, to entertain a doubt. This doubt, however, I am able to remove. As far as I can perceive, he is a worthy and religious man, nor do I see in what respect he differs from us: so that, even supposing he were to think differently, which I do not believe to be the case, yet as he does not draw us aside, but even goes before us in religion by his own example, there is no danger; and still less so, because their minds are both strengthened by education, and fortified against popery by the presence of us who reside with them. Their mother<sup>1</sup> still remains in the prison, which we call the Tower of London. As she is guarded there with great care, we are ignorant as to what she is doing, or for what offence she is suffering. We hope, however, that she will shortly be set at liberty, because some parties are of opinion that she was not imprisoned for having committed a crime, but to prevent her from committing one; so that when they perceive that the government has no cause for alarm, they will doubtless restore her to her friends. I now think that I have satisfied your inquiries. Wherefore, if I can only obtain this from you, that you will gratify me by writing again, I will cease to give you any further trouble. Farewell. London, Nov. 13.

Your much attached,

THOMAS NORTON.

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## LETTER CLXVI.

HIEROME MASSARIUS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, Dec. 21, 1553.

I WAS lately at Strasburgh, where I saw and spoke to your son: I inquired after his health, and what company he kept. He frequently visits master Zanchy, from whom I had an excellent account of the youth; and when I took my leave, I told him that I was about to go to Zurich, and that I would convey thither any letters he might have to send.

[<sup>1</sup> The duchess of Somerset remained in the Tower during the whole of king Edward's reign. In 1553, £100. was assigned her out of the profits of the late duke's lands, to be paid to the lieutenant of the Tower for her use. And bishop Hoper, formerly the duke's chaplain, was allowed to visit her. Strype, Mem. II. ii. 8.]

He gave me the inclosed, and at the same time requested me, should I meet with a courier at Basle, to forward them by him, as I told him that I intended to go to Berne previously to my visiting Zurich. I therefore send them. I shall leave this place for Berne in about four days, and after staying there two or three days, I shall proceed straight to Zurich, that I may enjoy the delightful society of you all for some little time. But enough of this. Masters Peter Martyr and Zanchy affectionately salute you.

There is no good news from England. We have heard by letter that the most godly archbishop of Canterbury is condemned, first of all to be hung, and then quartered as a traitor<sup>2</sup> to the queen's majesty. All the sons of the duke of Northumberland have also been condemned, and those too of the duke of Suffolk, together with that same Jane who was proclaimed queen; but whether any of them have yet suffered, we do not certainly know. The day before I left Strasburgh, all the baggage of Peter Martyr arrived there by the favour of God, and I hope that he will again obtain a most honourable appointment from the magistrates. He had hired a house, which he was daily supplying with various furniture, in expectation of the aid and calling of the Lord. Public prayers have been had every day for the English church; and it is ascertained that queen Mary<sup>3</sup>, the sister of the emperor, is on her way to Calais, whither also that most ungodly Jezebel of England is about to come. It is the general assertion that a marriage has taken place between the king of Spain and Jezebel; and though this was not allowed by the papal laws, it is said that the pope has consented to it upon this condition, that he himself be again recognised as the supreme head of the church in England. We must therefore use diligent prayer on behalf of that miserable and almost ruined church. Farewell, and love me, and salute, I pray you, master Gualter in my name. Basle, December 21, 1553.

Yours heartily,

HIEROME MASSARIUS.

[<sup>2</sup> Abp. Cranmer pleaded guilty of high treason on Nov. 13, 1553. The queen, however, pardoned his treason that he might be burned as a heretic, which he was adjudged to be on the 3rd of May following. See Strype, Cranmer, 458. Burnet, III. 341. Soames, IV. 91.]

[<sup>3</sup> Queen Mary was the widow of Lewis II., king of Hungary. She was appointed regent of the Low Countries, and died in 1558.]

## LETTER CLXVII.

JOHN BYRCHMAN TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated *Dec.* 10, 1549.

Most accomplished master Bullinger, I have received your letter which was very gratifying to me: I should have answered it by my corrector [of the press] whom I sent to master Froschover, if I had received it sooner. If master Froschover needed any exhortation, I could wish for your assistance in printing the English bible: my good friends in England are very importunate, and desirous of its completion. For the emperor had strongly urged upon the English ambassadors the settling a form of religion agreeable to the Interimistic doctrine. But upon due consideration they confirmed by public decrees throughout the kingdom the form established by master Bucer. He had been attacked with very severe illness, but is now recovered, and in the enjoyment of great authority and estimation among the people of London. I have not heard any thing of the Pole, Florian. The maritime cities are urgent with those of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Luneburgh, respecting an accommodation with the cities of Bremen and Magdeburgh; but nothing will be done, unless they come to an agreement about religion. If your reverence has any thing to tell me about the newly elected pope<sup>1</sup>, do not refuse me the information. All persons here seem to be in doubt about him. The emperor has changed his intention, and means to celebrate his birthday at Brussels. He is preparing for a journey into Italy. We are expecting your letter to our archbishop, and also your book, and that of Calvin. Peter Martyr has published in forty-three pages his disputation<sup>2</sup> concerning the sacrament of the eucharist, held at the university of Oxford in England. I would have sent it, had I a messenger who was going to Basle. I have given this letter to master Froschover, that he

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, pope Julius III., who was elected Feb. 7, 1550. His predecessor, Paul III., died Nov. 10, 1549.]

[<sup>2</sup> For an account of this disputation see Foxe, vi. 298. Strype, Cranmer, 283.]

may arrange the finishing of the bible as soon as possible.  
Salute all our friends.

Yours heartily,

JO. BYRCHMAN.

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## LETTER CLXVIII.

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WILLIAM SALKYNS<sup>3</sup> TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Nov. 26,* [1554.]

HAVING met with so opportune a messenger, most reverend father, to whom I might very conveniently entrust a letter for your reverence, I cannot by any means neglect so favourable an occasion of writing; but will write by him according to my capacity, and detain your prudence, for the time you are reading this, from those matters of far greater importance, in which you are always occupied. And herein I must pray you to excuse my freedom; for I can neither consign to oblivion the extreme kindness with which you entertained me when I was at Zurich, nor anywise refrain from speaking about my master in whose service I now am. The former topic indeed demands a grateful recollection and remembrance, which I hope never to lay aside. And of the latter my duty requires me to say somewhat at this time, and to endeavour now to obtain from your piety, by letter, what I could not so readily accomplish in words when I was with you. For your telling me that from the long intimacy that formerly existed between you and my master, Richard Hilles, you felt inclined to write to him, has very often come into my mind since I left you. For I thus thought with myself: if master Bullinger, who has so much influence, and is so famous for learning, would insert in the letter, which he intends to write to my master, a few words upon fleeing from the abomination of the mass, (by the frequenting of which in England my master is now placing his soul in jeopardy<sup>4</sup>;) the result would

[<sup>3</sup> William Salkyns was the servant of Richard Hilles.]

[<sup>4</sup> It is a curious circumstance that Richard Hilles brings precisely the same charge against one of his servants, above, p. 218.]

be, that either convinced by his argument, or moved by ancient friendship, (which I know has very great weight with him,) he will yield to his exhortation above all others, and consider how he can flee away from such abominable idolatry. I thought too, that your piety would perhaps effect this object without any hint from myself; but on account of my duty and obligation to my master, the love I bear him, and the great anxiety I shall labour under, until I see him extricated and delivered from these defilements, I could not but especially bear the matter in mind, and now, most reverend sir, recall it to your remembrance. To which end I implore and entreat you by Almighty God, that when you write to him, you will not forget this; and I would wish you so to write, that no suspicion may fall upon myself as having persuaded you to do so. But when you have finished what you have to say, I will take care that the letter shall be safely conveyed to him with all diligence. Farewell. May the great and gracious God long preserve your piety to his glory and the good of his church! Strasburgh. From the house of Peter Martyr, Nov. 26, [1554.]

Your most devoted,

WILLIAM SALKYNS,

Servant of master Richard Hilles.

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## LETTER CLXIX.

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WILLIAM SALKYNS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Dec. 29, 1554.

YOUR two letters, reverend father, written both to my master and to myself, I received, as the saying is, in the very nick of time; for to-morrow, God willing, I purpose to go to Antwerp, whence I will take care that your letters, which otherwise must have been given in charge to some one else, shall be conveniently and safely forwarded. Your letters then were most gratifying to me on two accounts, both by reason of the opportuneness of their arrival, as also of the great and abundant advantage which I certainly hope will be



Reginaldus poleus  
collegij corporis xpi  
electus in detm

R Cardinalis  
oxon olim socius  
collegij - 14 feb 1532



Engraved by W. Maddocks, from a painting on board, preserved in the Vestry of Lambeth Palace.

Cardinal Pole.

Wm Maddocks del.

the result. And while I acknowledge this as a singular token of your kindness, so I doubt not but that the great and good God will abundantly recompense you, as it is far beyond my power. But your wishes will be quite satisfied when your letter has answered the end for which you wrote it, and has produced that effect which we both of us so much desired, and which will be salutary to him<sup>1</sup>. In future, however, if you should kindly think fit to write to him, you can send it most conveniently to Christopher Goodman, at the house of master doctor Peter Martyr; and he will take care to forward it, whatever it be, to me at Antwerp. I shall henceforth make use of his assistance, in communicating such news as may occur there, and which it may be desirable for you to know.

Your reverence asks me for news from England: many events have occurred, though of a very painful and distressing character, yet such as the wisdom of God may make use of both for the setting forth of his glory, and the greater consolation of the godly in time to come. Cardinal Pole<sup>2</sup>, the legate of antichrist, was some time since received in England, after the popish fashion, with great pomp and solemnity, in the presence of Philip the Anglo-Spanish king, with his queen Mary, at Paul's cross, a most celebrated place in the middle of London; where Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached a sermon<sup>3</sup> before a great concourse of people of all ranks, in which with an impudent and shameless forehead he maintained the supremacy of the pope which he had formerly impugned<sup>4</sup>, and asked forgiveness (as he said) for his previous error. But when the cardinal addressed the queen, and no human language occurred to him worthy of such a woman, he did not scruple to pervert the holy language of scripture; but addressed the queen on his first interview in the same words

[1 Namely, Richard Hilles. See the preceding letter.]

[2 For an account of the proceedings on cardinal Pole's arrival as legate, and the subsequent submission of England to the pope's authority, see Foxe, vi. 567, &c. Strype, Mem. iii. i. 246. Burnet, ii. 453. Soames, iv. 256.]

[3 A full account of this sermon is given in Foxe, vi. 577.]

[4 Namely, in his book, *De vera Obedientia*, published in 1534, to justify the parliament in giving the king the title of supreme head of the church. See Strype, Mem. i. i. 264. Foxe, vi. 139, vii. 594.]

with which the angel saluted the mother of God, and thus the monstrous flatterer begun: "Hail, Mary, full of grace, &c." Shortly after they introduced the primacy of the pope, and proclaimed Pole archbishop of Canterbury, chief primate of England, and introduced him into the senate, or, as we say, the parliament, where the aforesaid bishop of Winchester demanded, with fox-like cunning, the pope's pardon and indulgence for all the peers, who were then disgracefully prostrated at the feet of the cardinal, of which however he said they were wholly undeserving. The queen is said for certain to be pregnant. Philip is not yet crowned, nor is it thought that he will be during this parliament, which will shortly be dissolved, and a new one appointed in due time, in which the papists are in great confidence of obtaining the accomplishment of all that remains for them to wish for. Many individuals are daily committed to prison, and the bishops are still confined in the same place. I have heard from persons worthy of credit, and who have received the information by letter, that the emperor is about to go to Spain, and there wait for the last extremity; but that Philip will come to Flanders, and remain there. This is what I now have to communicate. Should I hear any thing more favourable, I will not fail to let you know. Farewell, most reverend sir, and take in good part this my writing. Strasburgh, Dec. 28.

W. S.

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## LETTER CLXX.

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FRANCIS DRYANDER<sup>1</sup> TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *March 25, 1549.*

SHORTLY before I left Strasburgh, I acquainted you with my intended journey. I have not written in the mean while,

[<sup>1</sup> Francis Enzinas, known also by the names of Dryander and Duchesne, was born at Burgos about 1515. He became a scholar of Melancthon, and translated the New Testament into Spanish in 1542; for which he was imprisoned, but after fifteen months made his escape, and fled to Calvin at Geneva. He came to England in 1548, to avoid the persecution occasioned by the Interim, and brought with

as I had no opportunity of sending a letter ; and I employed the greatest part of my time in travelling, a thing which was indeed very irksome to me, till at length, after being long tossed about, I have fixed my abode in this university, where I am Greek professor, in which situation I endeavour to bestow tolerable diligence and fidelity. As I have now therefore some breathing-time, and an opportunity is afforded me of sending a letter by persons going to the Frankfort fair, I have resolved to write to you, that I may renew our ancient friendship, and give you a motive for writing in return. I am indeed personally separated from you by a long distance, but in mind, in studies, in religious opinion, I am truly most united. For to pass over the religious teaching, in which you excel, I have always ascribed to you the praise of integrity and faithfulness ; and wherever I am, I do not fail to set them forth, as virtues which I find wanting in many other nations. But I am of opinion that I am placed in this corner by the especial counsel of God, that I may be preserved for some space of time safe from those snares which tyrants laid for me, even when I was at Basle. But I am in the hand of God, who can every where preserve his own ; and I ought to render him this obedience, that I may always be ready to depart from hence, whenever I shall be summoned by our Captain. With respect to the public state of this kingdom, you must know, that the parliament is just ended, in which I understand that, by the common act of both houses, the lord admiral, the brother of the lord protector, who was said to have been in various ways guilty of treason, was condemned, and he is also beheaded. I hear also that a praiseworthy reformation has taken place in matters of religion : it has not yet seen the light, but its promulgation is daily expected. It is generally reported that the mass is abolished, and liberty of marriage allowed to the clergy : which two I consider to be the principal heads of the entire reformation, the object of which, as I think, is not to form an entire body of christian doctrine, and to deliver a fixed and positive opinion without any ambiguity upon each article,

him letters of commendation from Melancthon to king Edward, and Cranmer, by whom, as Strype says, (but which seems to be contradicted by this letter,) he was placed at Oxford. See Strype, Cranmer, 580, Mem. II. i. 188.]

but is entirely directed to the right institution of public worship in churches. I hear that there was a great dispute among the bishops about transubstantiation; all which things were managed in secret, like the mysteries of Eleusis, as it would have been impious to communicate such great mysteries to lay-men. I think however that, by a resolution not to be blamed, some puerilities have been still suffered to remain, lest the people should be offended by too great an innovation. These however, trifling as they are, may shortly be amended. But I can say nothing for certain, until I am better informed of the facts. As soon as the act shall be published, I will send it you, if it be in Latin; if not, I will give you an account of every article. You can relate these things to master Hooper, to whom I will now write, if time permit. But I wish he would perform the duty he owes to his country, which is sadly distressed at this time for want of good preachers. And in a calling the most honourable of all others, to lend one's aid to the churches is the duty of a man not only of eminent talent, but of heroic courage; and I think he would do this with dignity. Salute in my name master Pellican and the rest of the brethren, in whose prayers I desire the whole course of my life to be commended to God. Farewell. Cambridge, March 25, 1549.

Yours heartily,

FRANCIS DRYANDER.

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## LETTER CLXXI.

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FRANCIS DRYANDER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *June 5, 1549.*

I WROTE to you lately, before the reformation of the churches was publicly known. A book<sup>1</sup> has now been published, a month or two back, which the English churches received with the greatest satisfaction. A compendium of this book written in Latin I send to master Vadian, on the condition of

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, the first book of Common Prayer. See Liturgies of Edward VI. Parker Society's Edit.]

his communicating it to you. You will see that the summary of doctrine cannot be found fault with, although certain ceremonies are retained in that book which may appear useless, and perhaps hurtful, unless a candid interpretation be put upon them. But in the cause of religion, which is the most important of all in the whole world, I think that every kind of deception either by ambiguity or trickery of language is altogether unwarrantable. You will also find something to blame in the matter of the Lord's supper; for the book speaks very obscurely, and however you may try to explain it with candour, you cannot avoid great absurdity. The reason is, that the bishops could not of a long time agree among themselves respecting this article, and it was a long and earnest dispute among them whether transubstantiation should be established or rejected. You perceive therefore by this certain proof, that there are no true and solid principles of doctrine in these men, who take a great deal of pains about the most minute and even absurd matters, and neglect those points on which they ought chiefly to have bestowed their attention. But this is the fate of the church, that the majority overpower the better part; and though many things may be improved, there are nevertheless some causes of offence still remaining. Meanwhile this reformation must not be counted lightly of; in this kingdom especially, where there existed heretofore in the public formularies of doctrine true popery without the name. Anabaptists, and other fanatical spirits, are now beginning to shew themselves, and will occasion much trouble to the church; so that we shall ever be in this life under the cross and in a state of most painful disquiet. Bucer and Paul Fagius have arrived here in safety. They are at this present time in the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury, and will come hither within two months to give lectures in divinity. I lately wrote to masters Bibliander and Gesner, whom salute diligently in my name, together with masters Pellican and Frisius. Farewell. Cambridge, June 5, 1549.

Yours heartily,

FRANCIS DRYANDER.

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## LETTER CLXXII.

FRANCIS DRYANDER TO JOACHIM VADIAN.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *June 5, 1549.*

GREETING. AS no possession in life is more valuable than the friendship of good men, it should be preserved and strengthened with great diligence; and no distance of place ought either to prevent the intercourse and connexion of the good, or to diminish their mutual good-will. For my own part, indeed, most learned Vadian, I retain in mind the most entire and perfect remembrance of you, although you are absent, nor will the most delightful recollection of so dear a friend ever perish from my memory. The same I ask from you, and by the right of kindness and friendship, which you cannot neglect without deserved reproof. You have long since, I suppose, learned the state of things in this country from master Hierome: I now send you the public reformation of religious doctrine which has been effected in this kingdom; in which though you may desire a more judicious and attentive consideration of some important matters, you will nevertheless be tolerably satisfied with the true setting forth of the principal articles of religion. I wish this letter to be communicated also to master Bullinger, that he too may understand, not from general report, but from the truth itself, the alteration that has taken place in England in respect to religion. Should there be any more news, I will send you word. The Germans are allowed to have their own church and preachers in London, where there are said to be four thousand of that nation. Musculus could most ably undertake this ecclesiastical charge, to the great advantage both of himself and of the state. I know what he replied to Bernardine's letter, when he invited him to England in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury; and in my opinion he replied very prudently. But I do not consider that the office of preaching and administration of the sacraments to his fellow countrymen would be attended with any inconvenience. If he feels inclined to a situation of this kind, upon being informed of it I will point out the most eligible way. But I write this for no other reason than because I

wish well both to him and to the community. Farewell, with all our godly friends, and let me have from your letters some certain information respecting the state of Switzerland. Cambridge, June 5, 1549.

Yours heartily,

FRANCIS DRYANDER.

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## LETTER CLXXIII.

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FRANCIS DRYANDER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, Dec. 3, 1549.

As I hear many reports are here circulated no less painful than groundless, both respecting the realm of England itself, and also our own countrymen, who are professors of learning and religion in that country; I have thought it my duty to deliver you from all anxiety, as I have already done to the people at Basle. It was the persuasion of many persons here, that Bernardine and Bucer had been apprehended together with the lord protector of the kingdom, and that with him the entire form of religion which they had established a short time before, had fallen to the ground. But this is not the fact. I was a spectator of the whole calamity, and not only I saw the external and wretched appearance of the change; but the purposes of the leaders are well known to me, and I will, by God's blessing, acquaint you with them in person, when the times shall be more quiet. I affirm this, meanwhile, of Bernardine and Bucer, that in my opinion they never lived more happily or usefully than at this time. For Bernardine employs his whole time in writing, and this too with a force and rapidity, as he tells me, beyond what he ever did before; and he has a son lately born, in whom he takes great delight. Bucer is created regius professor of divinity, and, as he is now nearly restored to his former health, was to go to Cambridge a day or two after my departure. I say too, that religion is now in a better condition than it was before the imprisonment of the protector. For I have seen a public edict proclaimed by royal authority, and printed, in which is not only confirmed the reformation of which I sent you an account, but it declares that some other matters, yet

untouched, shall be reformed according to the tenor of the gospel. This is the truth; and on the fifth of November I was at Lambeth with the archbishop of Canterbury and Bucer, on which day both our public and private affairs were in the same state as I now describe. What has taken place since I know not, nor do I think that either the people of Basle or Zurich can know. For I came as quickly as any one could do, and for no other reason, but that I might publish here this winter what I had written in England, having meanwhile left my family at Cambridge; to whom, by God's blessing, I shall return at the beginning of spring. I wished you to know these things, as being the true state of the case. I would write yet more, if time permitted, or I did not think it better to defer them till my arrival. For I long to see you, whom I have always acknowledged, and in many places openly declared, to be true ministers of God; and to be refreshed with you by the mutual communication of our faith. Salute all the brethren and the church at large in my name. Farewell. Basle, Dec. 3, 1549.

Yours heartily,

FRANCIS DRYANDER.

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## LETTER CLXXIV.

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FRANCIS DRYANDER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *May 2, 1552.*

ALTHOUGH I do not often write to you, I can truly declare that my regard for you is the same as ever. And if I thought there were any occasion, I could prove this by a variety of reasons. For both your eminent virtues and admirable doctrine deserve the perpetual favour of all good men, and teach honourable persons to make a prudent choice of characters whom they may love, and to retain their friendship. And had not these troubles of war kept me at home, it was my intention to have visited you, and to have refreshed my mind, languishing as it is after long continued exertion, by communion with you. But I must remain at my post, and together with the commonwealth encounter the danger that

seems to be impending, unless it be by God's mercy averted from us. Since therefore the young Paul Fagius, the son of that most learned man of most honourable memory, is intending to go to Zurich, I determined to write you a short letter, to renew our ancient friendship, and to commend the youth to your friendly notice. He has within these few days arrived from England, in which country he devoted himself to learning; and you may learn from him some particulars respecting the state of that kingdom, which would not perhaps be mentioned in your other correspondence. And since schools here are not very numerous, he intends, by the advice of his friends, to enter himself at your school, to be there instructed in literature and religion. You will provide therefore, with your usual kindness, that he may be placed in some good situation, where he may be able to make much progress both in learning and godliness. He would wish to lodge with master Gualter, who would willingly, I think, afford him room in his house. You will learn from the young man what is going on here; and if God shall grant us some tranquillity, I will either come to you, or write more copiously. Meanwhile, I only say that the prediction which you wrote me at Basle respecting Frisius, has turned out most true. But I was deceived by the appearance of piety which I thought was in the man, since experience has taught me that nothing could be more impious than he was. Salute in my name masters Pellican, Bibliander, Gesner, Lelius, and our other friends. Farewell. Strasburgh, May 2, 1552.

Yours heartily,

FRANCIS DRYANDER.

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## LETTER CLXXV.

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FRANCIS WARNER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *July 8*, [1543].

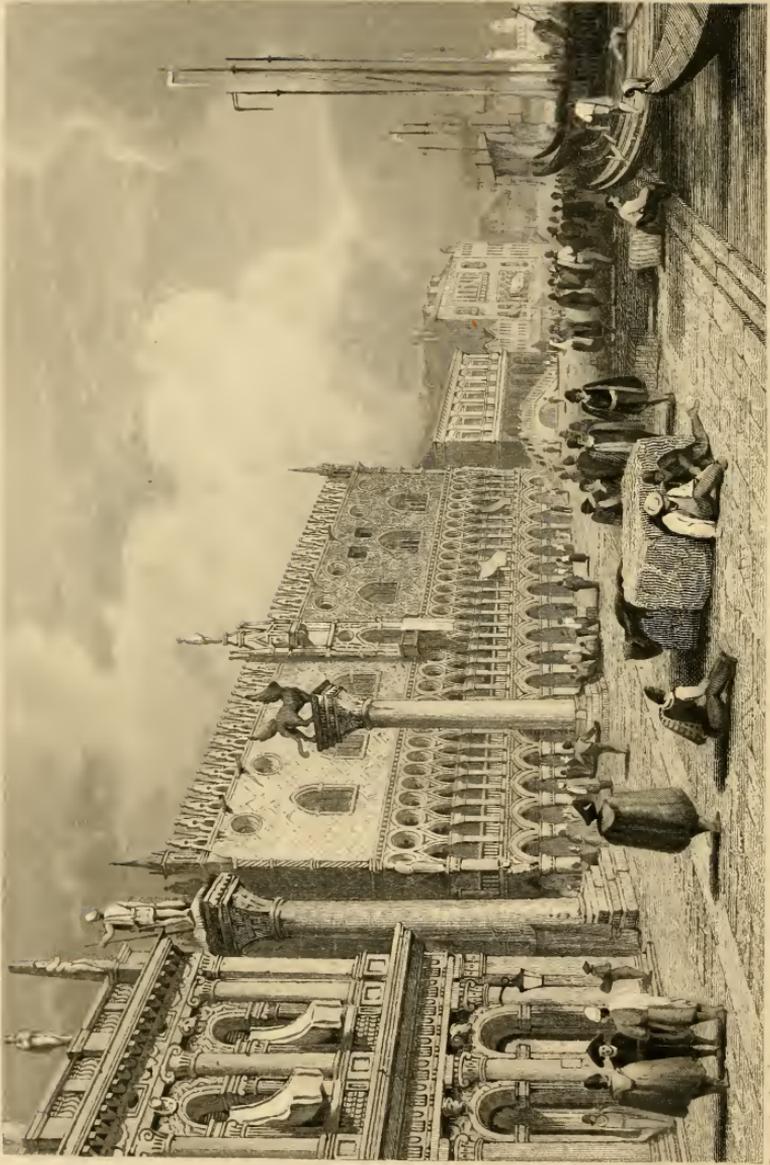
GRACE and peace in the Lord! When I heard from master Richard Hilles the great desire that you sometimes feel, most accomplished sir, to be informed of what is going on in foreign parts, and among our English more especially; and when he urged me to acquaint you by letter with the

disgraceful events that have very lately taken place among my countrymen; I much hesitated to do so at first, as being well aware of the rashness of the undertaking in a man like me, of no learning or talent, presuming to address by letter you who have long been placed on so high a pinnacle of learning and popular reputation. But after he had fully assured me of your easy access and courtesy of manners, exhibited towards persons even of the lowest station and condition of life; and when you had also yourself (in your last letter to him, wherein you so kindly salute me) afforded a sufficient evidence of your kindness; I am at length overpowered, and impelled both by his request and the state of existing circumstances to take upon myself this office. For the fact itself seemed to both of us not unworthy of notice, and I considered it too very greatly to the interest of my countrymen and the church at large, that you, and those like you, should be acquainted with it. For inasmuch as, with the Lord's blessing, the most excellent means of protection are afforded to us by Almighty God against all storms of all times, one of which is your good opinion, the other, the imploring of divine aid; the relation of this tragedy may perhaps conduce in no ordinary degree to our obtaining both of these with more advantage and effect: inasmuch as when the enemies of the gospel are pointed out, and the devices, and weapons, and mode of attack of our adversaries are altogether laid open, it will be more easy to determine, upon due consideration, how to oppose them; and we shall also be more ardently excited to the conflict, when we know that such bitter and shameless opponents are yet remaining; and again, when we see before us the recent calamity of the church, we shall be greatly stirred up to implore from Christ in its behalf, a deliverance from these evils and anxieties; which may God of his good pleasure grant to it in due time! Amen.

But now to come to the thing itself: you will receive herewith inclosed a certain proclamation<sup>1</sup> fixed up in public, in which the reading of holy scripture is forbidden to men

[<sup>1</sup> In the "*Act for the advancement of true religion, and the abolishment of the contrary*," it was provided that every nobleman and gentleman might have the bible read in their houses; and that noble ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themselves; but no men or women under those degrees. *Strype. Cranm. 142.*]





Engraved by Frobenius

Drawing by Simeon Prout

of a certain rank. I had intended to have translated this decree verbatim into Latin, and have done so, with the omission of some adulatory matter, as far as the thirteenth section; but when I had proceeded thus far, I perceived that for want of time, and by reason of my slowness in matters of business, I was unable to pursue my design as I had intended; (for the printed copy did not reach me till Thursday, when I was so engaged in other matters by reason of the fair, that I had hardly leisure to transcribe it;) so that I am obliged only to give you the sum and substance of the remaining sections. It is now your place, with your wonted courtesy, to take these things in good part; and should there be any thing unpolished, obscure, or savouring of a solecism, (as there probably will be,) to excuse it. Farewell. You are saluted, together with your wife, by master Richard Hilles and his wife, from whom you will receive a pair of knives for your wife, which master Henry Falkner will deliver to you. In haste. Strasburgh, July 8, [1543.]

Yours,

FRANCIS WARNER, *Anglus.*

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## LETTER CLXXVI.

THOMAS KNIGHT TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at VENICE, *Jan. 23, 1547.*

HEALTH in Christ. As I know, reverend and godly father, that you are not an ordinary acquaintance, but a most especial friend, of master Richard Hilles the Englishman; I have thought it right, in case the Englishman John Burcher, an inhabitant of your city, has not yet returned from his journey to England, to commit to your care this small portmanteau, that it may reach the aforesaid Richard with greater safety and dispatch. Should you have paid any thing for the carriage, John Burcher will repay it upon his return.

The gospel is daily preached here with greater purity than in any other places in Italy; and it is ordained by a decree of the senate, that a sermon shall be preached every day in the Palazzo maggiore, during the approaching Lent,

a thing that has never been seen since the foundation of the city. The number of the faithful is daily increasing more and more. Your commentaries are daily becoming more esteemed by the Italians; and, were they not so bulky and expensive, no books would meet with a better sale. It will be therefore an act of kindness on your part to continue writing, and to bring forth out of the treasures of your abundance those rare spiritual gifts for that little flock, hungry and thirsting as it is. Should there be any news, you will obtain it from the bearer of this letter. May the Lord, who has chosen you as our pious and faithful pastor, long happily preserve you to us, and grant that we may at length reach together the promised land! Commend me, I earnestly pray you, to Christ, with your other friends. Venice, Jan. 23, 1547.

Your humble son, and servant to command,

THOMAS KNIGHT, *Anglus*, Bookseller.

P.S. You will receive together with this parcel a cask marked with the name of Richard. You will have the kindness to endeavour that it may be forwarded to him by means of some of your friends. You will not receive the jar of figs at this present time, because there was not room for it in the carrier's chest; so I only send you by him a small parcel marked with the two letters R. H.

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## LETTER CLXXVII.

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RICHARD MASTERS TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at OXFORD, *June 14, 1551.*

THOUGH I have not replied, my dear friend, to your so frequent appeals as well by your friendly letters, as by your repeated salutations, I cannot plead my occupations as an excuse for my not having performed that duty; but you must rather impute it to my being unaccustomed, not to say unskilled in writing, and not to any forgetfulness of you. For I was afraid, unlearned as I am, to intrude upon a man so learned and accomplished as yourself with my unpolished letters. At length, however, I have divested myself of this

rustic shamefacedness, as I esteem your sincerity and candour more than I fear my own rudeness of style. You request, and from your kindness towards me readily obtain, that I should inform you of my state and condition. You must know then that, after the lapse of a year or two from your departure hence<sup>1</sup> to your friends at home, a very lucrative benefice was procured for me, which, to speak plainly, because I was not well qualified for the function of a good clergyman, both from my want of sufficient acquaintance with the word of God, and of the duties connected therewith, and also because popery, however it was abolished in name, still flourished among us in reality, I decidedly refused, and resigned into the hands of the patron. Since that time I have devoted myself for ten successive years to the study of medicine, and am now maintaining myself by the practice of it, having become, from a bad divine, a tolerably good physician, like the person mentioned by Augustine, as having become from a bad monk a good divine. But I have not so entirely taken leave of theology, as not to welcome from my heart, value, and delight in, whatever the most godly Bullinger and his like-minded disciple, Gualter, may write.

I had intended to have written to you long ago, but have been unable to do so from having been detained in my native place, and at a distance from Oxford, by a quartan ague of three months continuance; in addition to which, after I had recovered my usual health, my worthy father fell into the like disease, and at length died at the age of sixty<sup>2</sup>. John ab Ulmis, having lately met with an opportune messenger, at the same time that he informed me of him, has also reminded me of my promise, or rather of my duty; so that I could not allow him to come to you empty, and without a letter, which I doubt not will be gratifying to you, inasmuch as it has proceeded from a heart full of kindness, and which prays for you every happiness. I was eagerly expecting the arrival of your relative, and hoping that from this circumstance some opportunity would arise of doing you a service: but as he is now travelling elsewhere, there is no means by which you can make experiment of my love towards you. Your countrymen are in excellent health, and highly esteemed by all good men for

[<sup>1</sup> R. Gualter visited England in 1537.]

[<sup>2</sup> A few words are here illegible in the MS.]

their probity of life and conduct : among whom John ab Ulmis, who is as it were their leader, is removed from our society into the king's college, and distinguished by the degree of bachelor in arts ; and, I believe, will shortly take his master's degree, so that he may now be called an incepting master. This individual is a most active defender of the true religion, and a valiant opponent of that which is false ; and is not only known to be such in college, but also at court, where he is placed in so honourable a situation by the marquis of Dorset, that it is easier to imagine than express, how greatly he values him for the sake of religion. But now, as I am called away elsewhere, I must bid you farewell, and pray God long to preserve you in safety to his church. Oxford, June 14, 1551.

Yours heartily,

MASTERS.

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## LETTER CLXXVIII.

AUGUSTINE BERNHER<sup>1</sup> TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BAXTERLEY, *May 31, 1552.*

HEALTH in the Son of God ! Our friend John ab Ulmis being about to return to his native country, earnestly entreats me to write to you ; and he is so urgent, that without being considered as regardless of my duty, or as wanting in gratitude, I am altogether unable to refuse compliance. Your kindness to me, as long as I lived at Zurich with my most revered preceptor, master Wolfius, was exceeding great, and

[<sup>1</sup> Augustin Bernher was in the household of bishop Latimer, whose sermons he published with a preface. He was greatly serviceable to the martyrs in queen Mary's reign, in the letters of whom he is often mentioned. Robert Glover in his last letter to his wife and children, before his martyrdom, wrote : "As Christ committed his mother to John, so I commit you in this world to the angel of God, Augustine Bernher." He was instrumental in saving the life of bishop Jewel in the Marian persecution ; during which period he, together with Scamler, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, Bentham, afterwards bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, John Rough, a martyr, and some others, acted as pastor of a congregation in London. In the reign of Elizabeth he obtained a living in the country, called Sutton, [Southam,] and died in peace. Strype, Mem. III. i. 227, &c. II. 132.]





MATTHEW PARKE R  
Abp. of Canterbury.

I am fully sensible of the obligation. But I am now indebted to you more than ever, for your having so diligently and so lovingly commended my sister's son Alexander<sup>2</sup> to some noble personages. I would have you, most learned sir, be entirely persuaded, that without any exception of time or place I shall never cease, as long as I live, my endeavours to promote your interests. I should make this promise more at length, if I thought you could entertain any doubt of my sincerity and gratitude, or if I did not choose to prove it by deeds rather than by a bare assertion. You will fully learn from my friend John my circumstances in life, and the nature of my studies. My master, doctor Latimer, had intended to write to you, but he has to-morrow to undertake a long and arduous journey, so that the excellent old man, and your most loving friend, is unable to send you a letter at this time; but he especially commands me to salute you in his name as honourably and lovingly as possible. Lastly, farewell, and continue your regard for us, namely, Alexander and myself. May God the Father of mercy and loving-kindness faithfully reward you in the last day; and I heartily pray and beseech him long to preserve you in health and safety. Again and again farewell. Dated at Baxterley in England, May 21, 1552.

Your most attached,

AUGUSTINE BERNHER. *Helvetus.*

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## LETTER CLXXIX.

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MATTHEW PARKER AND WALTER HADDON TO THE  
GUARDIANS OF MARTIN BUCER'S CHILDREN.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, 1551.

FORASMUCH as master Martin Bucer, of happy memory, when he was dying, committed to our fidelity some particulars of his last will, and appointed us his executors; we, having had due regard to every thing, as far as time and circumstances allowed, have made so much progress in that business, as that we doubt not but that we have satisfied our duties and our consciences. And should your worships desire

[<sup>2</sup> This was probably Alexander Schmutz, of whom see Strype, Mem. II. i. 534.]

any farther information upon the case, you will easily ascertain the facts by an inspection of the respective portions into which the property has been divided. But now, since the widow is about to be with you, we have transferred our authority to her; and we have no doubt but that as a mother she will love her children, and that as a wife she will observe inviolate the last will of her husband. We therefore present her to you, together with all the property, and authority to administer the will; that, as we have applied all our diligence to the utmost, yours may follow, and guard this entire will of that worthy and most excellent man, master Bucer, perfect and inviolate in all its parts: this we ourselves have done to the extent of our power, and we feel persuaded that you will do the same. If any other points require a separate consideration, they will appear in the minute accounts which we have made out for this purpose, that, as far as the hurry of Bucer's wife's departure has permitted us, we might leave the whole affair as clear as possible. Farewell, our worthy masters in Christ. In England, Cambridge, A.D. 1551.

Your worships' loving friends,

MATTHEW PARKER,  
WALTER HADDON.

#### THE EXECUTORS' ACCOUNT OF BUCER'S PROPERTY.

The total amount, exclusive of the things not sold or valued, as on the other side, is £380.

*Various items<sup>1</sup> are stated from whence this sum was obtained, as stipend, sale of library, &c. Then two or three small legacies are set against this. The account then proceeds as follows:*

Account of goods which were not sold, but taken home.

Two green carpets. Two long bolsters full of feathers. A red counterpane. All the vessels of tin, weighing xxiv lb. Five brazen pots. A large brass kettle. Eight copper covers. A mortar. Three copper shaving-pots. Two pans of copper. Four upper coverlets, with feathers. Three large, and six smaller pillows. Four bolsters. Five counterpanes, two red, the others green. Two green cloths for covering benches. Twenty-six pairs of sheets. Twenty napkins. Twenty-one towels. Thirty table-cloths. Two black trunks, adapted for journeys. Three long gowns. Two shorter vests, one trimmed with fur. Two pair of hose. Three doublets. A cloke.

[<sup>1</sup> The particulars of these sums are not given in the transcript.]

## LETTER CLXXX.

THE WIDOW OF BUCER TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER<sup>2</sup>.[Before *April 20, 1552.*]

I HEARTILY implore for your reverence the grace and favour of God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ. Although the rank and dignity of your reverence would greatly deter me from writing, yet the exceeding benefits bestowed by your reverence both upon my husband in his life-time, and on myself since his decease, prevent the possibility of my being silent, unless I would be branded with ingratitude. But though I am unable to recount them as they deserve, or worthily to praise them, I nevertheless thank God, and daily implore him on behalf of your reverence, that he who is most rich and most powerful, may regard you with his unexhausted goodness and infinite beneficence. I remember, most reverend prelate, that when I was yet in England, your reverence promised me some document in writing, whereby the gift of his most serene majesty would be confirmed to myself alone, and remain undivided: which indeed seems just and proper, forasmuch as the civil law and statutes allow of the division only of such property as is proved to have been in the possession of the testator previous to his decease; while that which is given after his death, ought of right to remain entire and inviolate to the party on whom it is bestowed. Since therefore your reverence has promised me this document, and I am in hopes that by its authority and efficacy I may be able to obtain for myself and my little daughter, who very greatly needs it, the donation of his most serene majesty; I beg and implore your reverence to send it me either by Richard Hilles, or in any other way. For if I can procure it, I am in hopes of retaining this donation for mine own use and that of my little girl, which otherwise cannot be effected as being contrary to the laws of our government. But I would not have your reverence suspect that I am seeking this from any motives of avarice, or of envy towards the other heirs, but solely for this reason, that I may be able to aid and supply the slender means and wants of my little girl, who inherits the smallest portion of her father's property, and who has

[<sup>2</sup> For Abp. Cranmer's reply to this letter, see above, Letter XVI. and also Letter CCXCIX. in Cranmer's Works, Vol. II. p. 434. Park. Soc. Ed.]

scarcely sufficient to provide her with a decent education and the necessaries of life. For the other children have mostly arrived at such an age, that (to say nothing of their having inherited a far greater patrimony than my little daughter) they may easily gain a livelihood for themselves. Wherefore I again entreat your reverence, that you will take up this cause, and forward me the required document as soon as possible; for which favour, as for all others, you shall always find me grateful, and constantly praying God on your behalf. May the Lord God deign to defend your reverence from all evil, and enrich you with all good things! Amen.

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### LETTER CLXXXI.

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ULRIC CHELIUS AND CONRAD HUBERT TO MATTHEW PARKER AND WALTER HADDON.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *June 20, 1553.*

WE have to inform you, that after the return to us from England of the honourable matron Wibrandis, widow of the late excellent Martin Bucer, a careful account was taken of all the property that he left behind him; after which, according to the municipal law and custom of the state of Strasburgh, a division was made in favour of those parties to whom the inheritance belonged. For which reason both of us having been nominated, I, Ulric Chelius, as guardian to Elizabeth, daughter of the said Martin Bucer, and I, Conrad Hubert, guardian of Nathanael, son of the said Martin Bucer, we acknowledge by this letter to have received that portion which is due to our wards, and to be divided between them by right of inheritance, and that we are therewith well satisfied. Wherefore, reverend sirs, who are appointed executors by Martin Bucer, of happy memory, as far as we are concerned, we release you and others of your trust by this present acquittance, which we have sealed with our seals. Moreover, both of us guardians, together with Windelicus Richelius, the trustee of the widow, most earnestly request your kindness to endeavour, with the same diligence that you have hitherto employed, that the remainder of the debt, which has duly been ascertained by us, may be discharged and forwarded to us at the earliest opportunity: by which you will do us a most acceptable service, and one which shall be required in due time. Farewell. Strasburgh, June 20, 1553.

LETTER CLXXXII<sup>1</sup>.

JULIUS TARENTIANUS TO JOHN [AB ULMIS.]

Dated at STRASBURGH, Nov. 20, 1553.

To your very kind letter, my worthy John, which I received on the 18th of September, I now make a brief reply, as I am occupied by various engagements. And first of all, as you desire, I will touch upon the state of England. The most godly Josiah, our earthly hope, died on the 6th of July; of consumption, as the physicians assert; by poison, according to common report, for this is rumoured by the papists for the purpose of exciting a general hatred against Northumberland: nor, to tell the truth, were there wanting many and strong suspicions: but still, if I may say what I think, I believe the papists<sup>2</sup> themselves to have been the authors of so great wickedness; for they have expressed no signs of sorrow, and no inquiry has been made respecting so great a crime. This death, and the other evils which now oppress England, were apparently portended by a dreadful storm, to which I do not remember any equal: it was accompanied by the most extreme darkness, most violent wind, innumerable flashes of lightning, terrible claps of thunder, and an immense body of water, so that our kitchen was entirely flooded. The walnut-tree, planted in the corner at our house, was torn up by the roots, and another tree also was blown down in our garden.

A few days before his death the king made a will at the instigation of Northumberland, by which he disinherited both his sisters, and appointed the lady Frances, wife of the duke of Suffolk, to be his heir. She declined it, and the kingdom was made over to her daughter Jane, who had been married two months before to the lord Guilford, the third son of the duke of Northumberland. Almost the whole of the nobility subscribed to this testament, some of them, as it was after

[<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is printed in Fueslin, *Lett.* LXXVI.]

[<sup>2</sup> Osorius, bishop of Sylva in Portugal, affirmed expressly, in a letter wrote to queen Elizabeth, that king Edward was poisoned in his childhood. But Walter Haddon, who replied to that letter, esteemed this report to be but a fable, raised by idle people, and carried about by such as favoured popery. See Strype, *Mem.* II. ii. 118.]

wards discovered, with the view of more easily deceiving Northumberland, by whose advice all these things appeared to be done, and of concealing the plot they were preparing in favour of Mary, who is now in possession of the crown: others added their names from fear of Northumberland, for you know the character of the man; and some of the better of them, with the hope of protecting religion, which they perceived would be altogether overthrown, should Mary obtain the crown; and Northumberland himself excited great expectations that he would favour religion. In addition to this, the king himself in his will alleged as a reason for disinheriting Mary, besides her illegitimacy, the cause of religion. In fine, he had the assent of almost the whole of the nobility: Jane is brought down to take possession of the Tower, and on the same day is proclaimed queen at London, and in the same week in many parts of the kingdom. Mary, who had most faithful councillors, by their advice went, as though defenceless, into Norfolk, where she is received and hailed as queen with general applause. She forthwith procures herself to be proclaimed queen in as many places as possible, in all of which it was stated that the kingdom was being wrested from her by the treachery of Northumberland; wherefore she enjoins all her subjects to preserve it to her. Almost the entire nation rise to her assistance; first of all the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, and then those of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Essex. A portion too of the nobility, who had given in their adhesion to Jane, merely for the purpose of deceiving her, revolt from her forthwith, and exert all their energies in behalf of Mary. As to the Londoners, some of them through fear, and others through treachery, urge upon Northumberland the protection of the state, and the necessity of seizing upon Mary's person before her forces can be assembled. He therefore exerts himself like one whose fortunes are involved in the result, offers large pay, and engages a soldiery partly unwilling, and partly treacherous; for they consisted in great measure of the dependants of those noblemen who secretly espoused the cause of Mary. Northumberland sets forth, well supplied with cavalry and artillery, which however were to be turned against him. Those who remained at London, as though for the purpose of protecting Jane and retaining the city

in its allegiance, begin forthwith to consult about deserting her; for which they plausibly allege, partly their fear of the people, all of whom are flocking to Mary, and partly the well-being of the kingdom, lest it should suffer from intestine war. Why should I say more? They immediately proclaim queen Mary, with general applause, and threaten with death the duke of Suffolk, in case he refuses to leave the Tower. The good duke yields. They write to Northumberland to dismiss his troops; and being now forsaken by the people, and betrayed by others, not knowing what to do, with his soldiers deserting every day, he proclaims queen Mary at Cambridge, and three days after is carried prisoner in her name by the earl of Arundel, together with all his sons and many other noble and influential personages, to London, where he was received with unbounded abuse on his way to the Tower.

Thus Jane was queen for only nine days, and those most turbulent ones. After some days Mary made her entry with great triumph into the city, to take possession of the Tower; on entering which she immediately set at liberty the bishop of Winchester, the duke of Norfolk, lord Courtney, and the widow of the duke of Somerset. She enrolled the bishop of Winchester and the duke of Norfolk among her councillors. The case of Northumberland and the other prisoners was then brought forward. But after five days the queen removed to Richmond, during which time Northumberland and two others<sup>1</sup> were executed. You have heard of the ungodly and shameful end of Northumberland<sup>2</sup>. The most godly king is buried; the good archbishop of Canterbury performs the funeral service at Westminster<sup>3</sup> according to the established

[1 These were sir John Gates, captain of the guards to king Edward, and sir Thomas Palmer, the first accuser of the duke of Somerset. They were executed on Tower Hill, on Tuesday, Aug. 22. Strype, Mem. III. i. 41. Burnet, III. 335.]

[2 The duke was attended by Heath, bishop of Worcester, whom he called to bear witness that he was a stedfast believer in the old religion. See Burnet, II. 376, III. 334.]

[3 Dr Lingard states that it was in compliance with the wish of the emperor Charles V., who advised her to proceed with temper and caution, that she suffered the archbishop to proceed according to the established form at the funeral of her brother. Hist. of England, 4to. Ed. v. 25.]

form, that is, in English, or in a christian way, with many tears; but before the queen Winchester<sup>1</sup> himself performs the obsequies after the popish fashion. Our preachers, who now perceive the gospel is threatened with imminent destruction, exhort the people to repentance, admonishing them to persevere in sound doctrine. Winchester, in conjunction with other parties who had together meditated the overthrow of the gospel, appoints a most thorough papist, of the name of Bourn<sup>2</sup>, as preacher at Paul's cross. A great multitude is assembled to hear what he intends to say. As soon as they hear his blasphemies and falsehoods, they begin to raise a tumult; some of them demanding capital punishment for the man, and others calling out for silence. The lord mayor and some of the aldermen endeavour to quiet the people, but without any effect. Courtney interposes his authority, but is disregarded. Bradford himself comes forth in alarm; but the mob immediately cheer him, and promise silence, because he is a faithful preacher of the word. Some one in the mean time hurls a dagger at that popish preacher, when the mob becomes again excited; and it would have been all over with that wicked knave, had not God by Bradford's instrumentality reserved him to a worse fate. But what thanks do you suppose were given to Bradford for so noble an action?

[<sup>1</sup> Within the Tower was a mass of requiem sung for him [Edward VI.] the same day; at which the queen was present, and the bishop of Winchester, with his mitre on, performed it after the old popish form. Strype, Mem. III. i. 31.]

[<sup>2</sup> On Sunday, Aug. 13, 1553, Gilbert Bourn, who had been appointed by Bonner a canon of St Paul's, delivered an inflammatory discourse at Paul's cross in praise of Bonner, against the late monarch, and in favour of popery, which so excited the populace that they were ready to drag him out of the pulpit. Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, came forward and addressed the people, and exhorted them to submission and obedience to so good effect, that the multitude, after hailing him with affectionate expression, dispersed quietly. He besought Bradford not to quit him till he was in a situation of safety; and whilst the lord mayor and sheriffs preceded Bourn to the grammar-school house, Bradford and Rogers (another martyr) kept close to him behind, concealing him with their gowns, and thus conducted him safe through the mob. He was afterwards made bishop of Bath and Wells in the room of Wm. Barlow, who had fled on the accession of Mary. See Stevens's Memoirs of Bradford, p. 32. Strype, Mem. III. i. 32.]

Truly such as might have been expected from monsters of this kind. On the next day he was thrown into the Tower, upon no other charge but that, as he could so easily disperse the mob, he must have had some hand in exciting it. Some other preachers are also thrown into the same prison; all preaching is forbidden, and the place is wholly left to papists, who are surrounded by the queen's guard, that they may safely pour forth their poison; and all persons are prohibited<sup>3</sup> from coming near Paul's cross, for fear of raising a fresh disturbance. And because in London there seemed to be some likelihood of a tumult, word was sent by the queen to the lord mayor, that he must either keep the city quiet himself, or that they must look for a guard of soldiers and the deprivation of all their privileges. Then every family, especially of the gospellers, was in great distress. The queen, partly with a view of ascertaining the popular feeling, and partly for the encouragement for her partizans, sets forth a proclamation, in which she declares her adherence to, and protection and support of, popery, and exhorts all persons to conform to it; but nevertheless at that time she would compel no one to embrace it.

The papists, who had been always longing for this most wished for day, dig out as it were from their graves their vestments, chalices, and portasses, and begin mass with all speed. In these things our Oxford folk lead the van; and respecting them I must tell you a little farther. At the proclamation of Jane they displayed nothing but grief. At the proclamation of Mary, even before she was proclaimed at London, and when the event was still doubtful, they gave such demonstrations of joy, as to spare nothing. They first of all made so much noise all the day long with clapping their hands, that it seems still to linger in my ears; they then, even the poorest of them, made voluntary subscriptions, and mutually exhorted each other to maintain the cause of Mary; lastly, at night they had a public festival, and threatened flames, hanging, the gallows and drowning, to all the gospellers.

Master Peter Martyr is forbidden to leave his house; and Sidall<sup>4</sup>, a truly excellent man, is ordered to guard against his running away; and thus master Peter has had his own

[<sup>3</sup> Part of this sentence is unintelligible in the original.]

[<sup>4</sup> See a letter from him to Bullinger, above, p. 311.]

house made a prison of these six weeks. But I, perceiving that the danger was manifest, went to London to seek assistance from my friends. They were now reduced to a very small number, and were so far from being able to assist us, that they were exposed to the greatest peril themselves. Whittingham and I conceive the project of presenting a petition to the queen and council, in which we embrace the entire circumstances of master Peter; how he had been invited over from Strasburgh by the deceased king, and had been recalled by the magistrates of Strasburgh during the last year, but that the king would not give him licence to depart; that the correspondence relative to all these facts was in the royal archives, and that, moreover, many of the council could bear abundant testimony to their truth. We added, that master Peter had committed no offence either against the queen or the laws of the realm; that if his enemies chose to bring any charge against him, he was prepared to meet it; that he now perceived that the queen had no longer occasion for his services, and therefore he petitioned her for a licence to enable him to leave the kingdom. Whittingham and I proceed to Richmond; he presents the petition respecting Peter to the secretary, who, as is customary, lays it on the council table, and bids us wait. On that day nothing was done, we are ordered to come again on the morrow; we are there at the hour appointed, but still nothing is done. We feel at last that we are imposed upon. We agree therefore among ourselves, that Whittingham should return to Oxford and remain with master Peter; for he was now almost entirely by himself, since every one, except only Sidall and master Haddon, had withdrawn from his society. As to me, I remain in London to make what interest I can. At length Whittingham returns after some days: we both of us wait upon [sir John] Mason, who at first declined interposing in so disagreeable a case, and said that he was altogether out of favour; afterwards however he was urgent that master Peter might be allowed to come to London, and plead his cause before the council. He obtains his request, and we have moreover permission to remove all our goods. Master Peter comes to London. He calls upon the archbishop of Canterbury, his ancient and most revered host. Who can express how welcome he was? He had so earnestly wished for his coming, that

he had often importuned the council to that effect, and offered to give all his property as a security, if they had any fear of master Peter's running away. When master Peter arrives, [the archbishop of] Canterbury tells him how he had caused bills<sup>1</sup> to be posted all over London, in which he offers to prove that the doctrine, which was received in the time of Edward the sixth, is sound, agreeable to scripture, the same with that of the primitive church, and approved by the authority of the ancient fathers, if only they will allow Peter Martyr, and one or two others, to be his colleagues. Master Peter commends this act, and says that had it not been done, he had intended to propose it to him. They prepare themselves for the disputations. But you should know, that the popish preachers, when they perceived that many of our priests were already cast into prison, and that others had consulted their safety by flight, made a great boast about disputing with us. But when the placards of the archbishop were posted up, they began to change their note, and said that no disputation ought to take place; that they would abide by the received doctrine; that this was a matter in which faith, and not reason, was concerned. But those placards of the archbishop so strengthened the spirits of the gospellers, that they no longer hesitated to lay down their lives for the truth; but their enemies were so exasperated by them, that they instantly brought forward a new charge of treason against the archbishop, and cited him into court<sup>2</sup>, on what day of September I do not recollect, but I know it happened on a Thursday. Master Peter then dined with the archbishop, who after dinner came into his chamber, and informed him that he himself must of necessity abide a trial; and that it

[<sup>1</sup> For the declaration here referred to see Burnet, iv. 331, and ii. 385. He says that the archbishop had drawn up this writing with a resolution to have made a public use of it; but Scory, who had been bishop of Chichester, coming to him, he shewed him the paper, and bid him consider of it. Scory indiscreetly gave copies of it; and one of these was publicly read in Cheapside, on the 5th of September. See also Cranmer's works on the Lord's supper, Parker Society Edition, p. 428, where the declaration is printed with the variations of different copyists.]

[<sup>2</sup> On Sept. 13, both Cranmer and Latimer were called before the council: Latimer was that day committed, and Cranmer was sent to the Tower the day following. See Burnet, ii. 387.]

was certain that he should never see him again: he recommended Martyr to be urgent for his passports, on obtaining which he should depart; but should he fail in obtaining them, he must consult his safety by flight, for that no justice was to be expected from his adversaries. But, O God! who can explore the depth of thy counsels? About five days after the archbishop of Canterbury had been committed to the Tower, a safe conduct, and a most honourable one, was given by the queen to master Peter; who therefore, on the public guarantee, at the persuasion of his other friends, and also bearing in mind the words of the archbishop, commits himself to sea, spreading a report that he was going to Hamburg, when in reality he was proceeding to Antwerp. This he did, to escape the snares of the papists in the dominions of the emperor; and to deceive them more effectually, he wished me to remain some days in London. Meanwhile, after a fortnight's time, having obtained a wind, I set sail towards Antwerp; and on the same day both master Peter and myself arrived at Antwerp in different ships, each of us being ignorant of the other's arrival; which was indeed remarkable, for I thought that he had by this time almost reached Strasburgh. But I think that God intended to relieve us from our mutual anxiety, and moreover, to provide for my expenses. I will not however mention what perils we escaped of the pestilence, of the troops, and of the Rhine; and also what mild weather we had in our journey as far as Strasburgh, whereby any one might conclude that God had certainly recalled us thither. But just as we entered the city, James Sturmius<sup>1</sup>, who was waiting for nothing else than the arrival of master Peter, departed this life, and thus we were disappointed of our hope.

But to return to England. During this disturbed state of the kingdom, these persons, namely, lords spiritual, were thrown into the Tower; the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishop of London, Latimer, Hooper, Coverdale, and the bishop of Bath. Ponet, bishop of Winchester, and Scory, bishop of Chichester, are also deprived of their bishopricks. The bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford are removed from parliament; and all the married clergy must

[<sup>1</sup> James Sturmius died at Strasburgh, Oct. 30, 1553, after languishing of a fever for two months.]

either relinquish their wives, or be deprived of their benefices. Master Cox is stripped of all his preferment; Marshal has succeeded him at Oxford, and Weston at Westminster. What must we not expect when such men are promoted? Moreover, all the papists, whether bishops or others, are restored. As many as are really godly students at Oxford, have all bidden farewell to that place, and some have already been ejected from our college. The fire of purgatory is now really kindled in England, and the nature of every one's faith is now made manifest. Curtop<sup>2</sup> has wonderfully fallen away; and so has Harding, with numberless others. But the bare mention of this is too painful. The queen was crowned on the twenty-eighth of September<sup>3</sup>. They began parliament on the first<sup>4</sup> of October: transubstantiation was revived; but where is the wonder? no room is left for truth. The deans<sup>5</sup> made a strenuous resistance: their names do not occur to me. Moreover it was enacted in parliament, that on the twentieth of October<sup>6</sup> the popish mass should every where be publicly

[<sup>2</sup> James Curtop was a canon of Christ Church, and had been a hearer and friend of Peter Martyr. He recanted in queen Mary's days, and was sworn a witness against Cranmer at his trial. See Strype, Cranm. 285, 536. Respecting Harding, see above, p. 309.]

[<sup>3</sup> On the 28th of September, the queen, in order to her coronation, removed from St James's to Whitehall, and from thence to the Tower. The coronation itself took place on Sunday, October 1. For an account of the ceremony see Strype, Mem. III. i. 55. Burnet, III. 390. Soames, IV. 78.]

[<sup>4</sup> Parliament was opened Oct. 5. See Strype, Mem. III. i. 57. Burnet, II. 391. Soames, IV. 82.]

[<sup>5</sup> Decani, MS. "Among the assembled clergy (in the convocation of 1553) no individuals were present, as it seems, favourable to the Reformation, who were not either deans or archdeacons, dignitaries entitled to seats in the lower house. The members who discovered this feeling were Walter Philips, dean of Rochester; James Haddon, dean of Exeter; John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; John Aylmer, archdeacon of Stow; Richard Cheney, archdeacon of Hereford, and another, said to be Thomas Young, precentor of St David's." Soames, Hist. Ref. IV. 103.]

[<sup>6</sup> The bill for repealing king Edward's laws about religion was sent from the lords on Oct. 31, and argued six days in the house of commons. It passed Nov. 8, and provided, that from the 20th of December next there should be no other form of divine service but what had been used in the last year of king Henry VIII. Burnet, II. 395.]

restored. On November the fourteenth Jane, formerly queen, together with the archbishop of Canterbury and all the sons<sup>1</sup> of the duke of Northumberland, was arraigned before the judges at Whitehall<sup>2</sup>: you know the place at London. Sentence of death was pronounced upon them all: but a peculiar punishment is intended for the archbishop of Canterbury, namely, hanging, and afterwards the dividing of his body into four parts<sup>3</sup>. But we must expect things yet more atrocious, unless God in his mercy look upon that church, on behalf of which I do not think I have any need to request your prayers; for you know from your own experience, how excellent are the members of Christ in that country. Farewell. Nov. 20, 1553. Strasburgh.

Yours in the Lord,

JULIUS TERENTIANUS.

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## LETTER CLXXXIII.

MICHAEL RENIGER<sup>4</sup> TO HENRY BULLINGER.

[Without place or date.]

NOTWITHSTANDING, honoured sir, such is the perplexity and pressure of your engagements, that you can scarcely obtain any relaxation from your most important avocations; yet since your kindness and indulgence towards us all is such, that you consider the management and arrangement of our affairs to be a part of your own duty, I have made bold, both from the necessity of the case, and the persuasion of your good-will towards us, to address you by

[1 The lords Guilford and Ambrose Dudley.]

[2 These four individuals were arraigned in Guildhall, on the 13th of November, when they pleaded guilty.]

[3 Cranmer was originally arraigned and condemned for high treason. See above, p. 343, note 2.]

[4 Michael Reniger was on the foundation of Magdalene College, Oxford, whence he was expelled by bishop Gardiner in 1553, and became an exile. He was afterwards made chaplain to queen Elizabeth, and prebendary of Winchester. This letter was probably written at Zurich in 1556.]

letter. And lest it should occasion you any surprise, that when our houses are so near as almost to be united, I prefer addressing you through the intervention of a letter, rather than by a personal conference, you must account for it in this manner; that I have still about me a kind of foolish shamefacedness, which shrinks from any discourse and conversation concerning my private affairs; and also, that the person who is the bearer of this letter is able to explain all the feelings of my mind just as if I were present myself. Your kindness will thus briefly understand the whole matter. Master Burcher, at the persuasion of one of my friends, presented me with twenty florins a year. This assistance I did not think proper to decline, though I still continued to live together with the English [exiles;] first, because a necessity was imposed upon me to receive it: for a certain agreement and regulation was established among us, that each individual should exert himself among his relatives and friends to procure for himself such a livelihood and means of support, that admission might be afforded in their room to the more indigent English who might be at Strasburgh; on which account these means of support were not to be rejected by me, both by reason of the force of that obligation, and from a regard to others. Added to this, the offer was such, and so exceedingly liberal, that it was not consistent with my candour or gratitude to refuse it: and in the third place it affords great assistance to the advancement and convenience of my studies. In a word, I applied to master Richard [Hilles,] that, since this allowance was scarcely sufficient for my maintenance, he would make some addition from the general fund: he replied, in my opinion reasonably enough, that the doing so would introduce a most dangerous precedent to the whole society, and that other persons, from any quarter, would claim a like addition for themselves. I then asked him, whether I might be allowed to write to some of my friends and connexions, who are merchants, respecting their affording such increase of allowance as might be necessary; but he thought also that I could not do this without injury to the society. Being shut out from these means of support, I had communication with that most friendly man, master ab Ulmis, by reason of the intimacy which has so long existed between us: the result of which, most accomplished

sir, is, that having tried and explored all possible methods, we have discovered this last resource; for it would savour of too much want of moderation, and intolerable importunity, to expect any increase of allowance from master Burcher, who has, besides, written very doubtfully respecting his own affairs, and that he would continue this pension some time hence, should his circumstances admit. It has occurred to us, that master Vergerius has addressed us with so much affection and sincerity of heart, as to manifest that he was ready not only to do every service in his power to all in general, but also individually to such as may be willing to make trial of his kindness. When we had thought this over together, it occurred to us that we should derive little benefit without the interposition of a letter from you: which I mention on this account, because master ab Ulmis with his usual kindness and good-will towards every one, and especially to myself, is not satisfied with regarding himself as the guardian of my affairs, but is also ready (if only you think it will be of any use) to undergo with me both the trouble of the journey, and the soliciting and management of the business.

The matter now rests with yourself, to whom, as the patron of the miserable men now exiled from England, application has often been made before now, and is now made by myself under like circumstances; and to whom also any thing, whatever it may be, which may procure any alleviation to our misfortunes, is not wont to appear troublesome; that your prudence may ascertain, first, whether it is expedient to try this plan, and in the next place, may aid me, as far as you conveniently can do, with your advice and assistance. This is a short statement. I know how foolish it is to use prolixity with one who is more moved by his own kind feeling and desire to do good than by any private partiality or circumlocution. May the Lord Jesus preserve you to his church, and repay to you out of his riches that kindness with which you daily refresh the bowels of the saints!

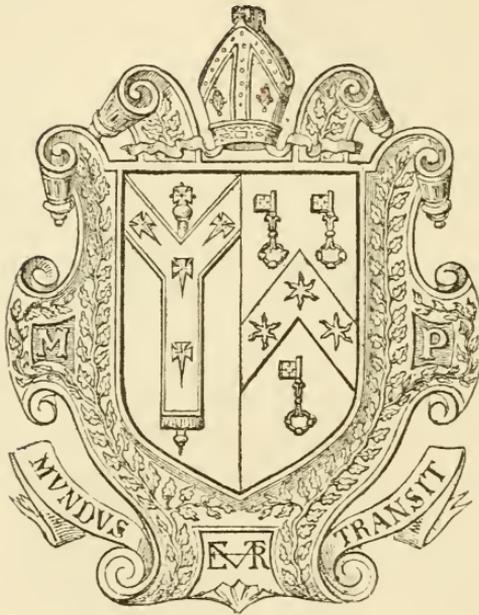
Your most attached in Christ,

MICHAEL RENIGER. *Anglus.*

EPISTOLÆ TIGURINÆ.

**The Parker Society.**

**Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XV.**



**For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers  
and Early Writers of the Reformed  
English Church.**

# EPISTOLÆ TIGURINÆ

DE REBUS POTISSIMUM

AD ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ REFORMATIONEM

PERTINENTIBUS CONSCRIPTÆ

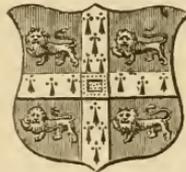
A. D. 1531—1558.

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EX SCHEDIS MANUSCRIPTIS  
IN BIBLIOTHECA TIGURINA ALIISQUE SERVATIS

**Parkerianae Societatis**

AUSPICIIS EDITÆ.



CANTABRIGIÆ :  
TYPIS ACADEMICIS EXCUDIT J. GUL. PARKER.

M.DCCC.XLVIII.



## LECTORI.

---

MONENDUS est Lector, multa in sequenti volumine, quæ in MStis manifesto vitiosa sunt, et de quorum remedio dubitari non potuit, hic sub silentio corrigi; alia autem non pauca, aperte corrupta, sed quorum correctio minus certa videbatur, corrupta relinqui.

ERRATUM.

Pag. 224. Thomas *Mortonus* corrige *Nortonus*.

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## EPISTOLA I.

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### EDVARDUS VI. CONCILIO TIGURINO.

EDVARDUS Sextus, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæque Rex, fidei Defensor, Anglicanæque et Hibernicæ ecclesiæ supremum in terris caput, &c. Magnificis atque strenuis viris Dominis Tigurinensibus, amicis nostris plurimum dilectis, salutem. Postquam regnorum nostrorum avito hæreditarioque jure gubernacula suscepimus, nihil potius aut majori curæ nobis fuit, quam ut eorum principum amicitias nobis conciliarem, et tenacissime conservarem, qui felicissimæ recordationis serenissimo Parenti nostro erant quam maxime cari: quorum numero quum nobilissimam strenuissimamque istam nationem vestram, quoad vixit, semper habuerit, non possumus et nos quoque non vehementer vos amare, plurimique amicitiam vestram facere, ob id magis, quod ex fidelis atque dilecti familiaris nostri Christopheri Mont crebris literis intellexerimus amicum vestrum erga nos animum, et promptam de nobis bene merendi voluntatem. Ad hoc etiam accedit mutuus quidam christianæ religionis veræque pietatis consensus, qui amicitiam hanc nostram cum Deo conjunctiorem debet efficere. Ob egregium itaque et benevolum vestrum erga nos animum habemus vobis ingentes gratias, cujus vicissitudinem in nobis data occasione vos semper experiemini. In mandatis itaque dedimus eidem familiari nostro, ut quam ex corde vos salutet, de nostro affectu et benevolentia plura referat, aliaque nonnulla, quæ vobis nunc declaranda esse putavimus, nostro nomine exponat. Vos igitur impense rogamus, ut loquenti illi certam indubiamque fidem habere velitis. Et bene valete. Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterii die xx Octobris, Anno Dni. MDXLIX. regni vero nostri tertio.

Vester Bonus Amicus,

EDWARD.

#### INSCRIPTIO.

*Magnificis atque strenuis viris Dominis Tigurinensibus amicis nostris carissimis. 1549.*

---

## EPISTOLA II.

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JANA SEYMAURA DOMINO BUCERO ET PAULO FAGIO REVERENDISSIMIS IN DOMINO PATRIBUS SUIS.

LEGIMUS literas vestras, patres sanctissimi, quas non amavi solum, sed exosculata sum etiam. Ex illis enim facile perspexi singularem vestram

erga me benevolentiam, facundiam eloquentiamque Ciceronianæ parem, tum etiam constantissimam mei memoriam, quæ ut in multis sunt rarissimæ, ita in vobis non possum satis admirari. Quum dispicio unde vestrum candorem tam niveum compensem, penitus penitusque haud datum esse video: at quod unum possum tamen, gratias ago vobis, et actura sum, quoad vivam, maximas. Non audeo hic scribere, quam grati fuerunt libri illi, quos ad me et sororem dedistis, ne nostra parum fœcunda<sup>1</sup> commendatio haud apta esse videatur. Quod tam insigniter commendatis orationes meas et sororis meæ, quas verius eblateravimus quam pronuntiavimus apud vos, hinc addisco benevolentiam vestram incomparabilem et amicitiam amice de nobis ubique mentientem. Nam neque soror mea, neque ego, vel scintillam quidem hujusce commendationis agnoscimus, nedum debemus agnoscere. Mater, gratia Superis, belle se habet, et utriusque vestrum salutem plurimam annunciari jubebat; deinde diligenter agit vobis gratias pro salutationibus vestris, quas ejus dignitati adscribi volebatis. Optime valete faciteque, quæso, ut quam diutissime vivatis. Datum Sioni, xii Junii. (1549.)

Vestræ Salutis studiosissima,

JANA SEYMAURA.

### EPISTOLA III.

HENRICUS SUFFOLCIÆ DUX HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM in Domino, &c. Quod literas antehac a me nullas accepisti, carissime Bullingere,—quibus et meam erga te benevolentiam, quam plurimis rationibus commeruisti, testificari, et pro tua incredibili erga me humanitate, quam habeo perspectissimam, gratias ex animo agere possem,—nihil aliud in causa fuit, quam reipublicæ nostræ negotia, quibus omne meum studium, labor et diligentia impendenda fuit, nisi vellem nec meo in Deum officio nec dignitati meæ nec multorum expectationi omnino satisfacere. Facile igitur hanc tantam perferes moram, scio, præsertim cum meum erga te amorem nullo modo, et tempore multo minus, minui posse confidas velim. De libello, quem mei nominis auspiciis edidisti, non solum mea ipsius sed totius etiam ecclesiæ christianæ causa quas debeo gratias ago, divinamque erga suam ecclesiam bonitatem et (ut apud Paulum est) *φιλαθρωπίαν* agnosco, quod hujusmodi luminibus suam ecclesiam ornare et illustrare voluerit, ut qui rudiores sumus eos in trita veræ religionis via sequamur duces, qui et possint pro iis quæ a Deo acceperunt donis, et velint pro sua in fratres pietate, sedulo qua insistendum via est præmonstrare. Actum siquidem de nobis esset, nisi hujusmodi in sua ecclesia parasset columnas, quæ

[<sup>1</sup> Facunda?]

eam alioquin absque omni dubitatione ruituram sustentare possent. Multum etiam me tibi debere fateor vel filiæ meæ nomine, quod sanctissimis tuis scriptis nunquam non ad veram in Christum fidem, sacrarum literarum studium, morum integritatem et vitæ innocentiam horteris; quod ut deinceps facias quam potes sæpissime vehementer abs te contendo. Vale, ornatissime Bullingere, et tuos in ecclesia conatus bene fortunet Deus Optimus Maximus, teque semper tueatur. Ex ædibus meis, Londini, 21 Decembris, 1551.

### HENRICUS SUFFOLCIÆ DUX.

#### INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro Henrico Bullingero,  
Tigurinæ ecclesiæ Ministro, hæc  
tradantur literæ, a duce Suffolciæ.*

### EPISTOLA IV.

#### JANA GRAIA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

IMMORTALES tibi ago gratias, agamque dum vivam, Vir doctissime; nam relaturam me affirmare non possum: tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse, nisi forte ita sensurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Neque immerito: accepi enim a te literas gravissime et disertissime scriptas, quæ quidem mihi gratissimæ erant, tum quod rebus gravioribus omissis ad me, quæ tam eruditi viri litteris indigna sum, scribere e tam longinqua regione hac tua ingravescente ætate dignatus es, tum etiam quod ejus generis tua scripta sunt, ut non vulgaria quædam ad delectandum, sed pia et divina ad docendum, monendum et consulendum, ea præsertim, quæ et meæ ætati et sexui et familiæ nostræ dignitati inprimis conveniunt, continere videantur; in quibus, ut in aliis omnibus, quæ in summam reipublicæ christianæ utilitatem edidisti, non solum te exquisite doctum et singulari eruditione præditum ostendisti, sed etiam ingeniosum, prudentem, et pium consiliarium, qui nihil sapis nisi bona, nihil sentis nisi divina, nihil jubes nisi utilia, et nihil paris nisi honesta, pia, et tam observando patre digna. O me felicissimam! cui talis contigit amicus et prudens consiliarius, (nam, ut Schelomo habet, תשועה ברב יעץ Prov. xi. 14;) quæque jam cum homine tam docto, Theologo tam pio et veræ religionis acerrimo προμάχῳ, necessitudinis et amicitiae jure conjuncta sum. Multis de nominibus Deo O. M. me debere puto, et inprimis quod, postquam me pio Bucero, viro doctissimo et patre sanctissimo orbasset,— qui dies noctesque πὺξ καὶ λαξ non destitit mihi quæ ad vitam instituendam et formandam necessaria essent suppeditare, quique meum in

omni probitate, pietate et literarum scientia cursum et progressus provehebat, et suis optimis consiliis adhibitis incitabat,—te, Vir colendissime, mihi ejus loco concessit, qui, ut spero, mihi tardanti et moram trahenti calcaria, ut cœpisti, addere volueris. Nihil enim mihi optatius evenire aut accidere potest, quam ut digna hujusmodi clarissimorum virorum, quorum virtutum nullus satis esse possit præco, litteris saluberrimisque consiliis ducar; utque idem mihi contingat, quod vel Blesillæ, Paulæ et Eustochio, quas divus ille (ut fertur) Hieronymus instituit, et suis concionibus habitis ad divinarum rerum cognitionem perduxit; vel quod mulieri illi ætate confectæ, cui divus Johannes epistolium quoddam hortatorium et vere theologicum conscripsit; vel quod Severi matri, quæ consilio Origenis usa est, ejusque monitis acquievit: quæ omnes non tantum sibi laudis et commodi ex corporis forma, generis nobilitate, et divitiarum copia comparaverunt, quantum gloriæ et felicitatis ex prudentissimorum virorum consiliis hauserrunt, eo quod non indignabantur homines illi tam singulari eruditione et admirabili pietate conspicui eas quasi manu ad optima quæque ducere, et quæ ad salutem æternam et futuræ vitæ felicitatem maximum haberent momentum suggerere. Quod ut tu mihi facere digneris, cum neque ingenio nec eruditione nec pietate infimus inter eos omnes haberi debeas, iterum atque iterum a te peto. Audacula tibi videar oportet, quæ tam audacter hoc efflagito; sed si consilii mei rationem respicere volueris, nempe quod ex pietatis tuæ penu ea depromere cupiam, quæ cum ad mores formandos tum ad fidem in Christo Servatore meo confirmandam conducere queant, hoc, quod facio, mihi vitio vertere nec pro tua humanitate poteris, nec pro tua prudentia volueris.

Ex libello illo veræ et non fucatæ religionis pleno, quem nuper ad patrem et me misisti, tanquam ex horto amœnissimo flores suavissimos quotidie colligo; et pater etiam, dum per gravissima negotia licet, in ejus lectione sedulo versatur: quem autem inde uterque reportabimus fructum, eo tibi et Deo propter te immortales gratias agere debemus. Non enim æquum esse putamus, ut per te tuique similes, quos non paucos hac in parte felicissima parit Germania, a Deo O. M. tot tantaque vere divina dona ingratis accipiamus animis. Solemus enim homines hominibus, ut par est, beneficiis beneficia compensare, et donorum collatorum memores nos præstare. Quanto magis igitur operam navare debemus divinæ bonitati, si non ex omni parte respondere, at saltem lætis animis, quæ confert, amplecti, et ex animo pro illis gratias agere!

Nunc ad laudes, quas mihi tribuunt tuæ literæ, venio, quas ut nec vindicare, ita nullo modo agnoscere debeo: sed quidquid mihi divina bonitas largita est, id omne acceptum illi refero, tanquam mearum rerum omnium, quæ virtutis aliquam speciem habent, auctori summo et soli; quem meo nomine roges velim, ornatissime Vir, assiduis tuis precibus, ut me hac in parte measque rationes omnes ita moderetur, ut tanta ejus benigni-

nitate non indigna reperiar. In animum induxerat illustrissimus pater meus ad tuam humanitatem scribere, pariterque gratias agere pro tuis præclaris susceptis laboribus et singulari illa humanitate, qua inductus es suo nomini quintam decadem inscribere ejusque auspiciis in lucem edere, nisi gravissimis regiæ Majestatis negotiis in ultimos Britanniae fines fuisset avocatus; sed ubi per publicas occupationes vacabit, quam diligentissime ad te scribere se velle affirmat. Postremo Hebraicari jam incipienti mihi, si viam et modum aliquem ostenderis, quem in hoc studiorum cursu tenere maxima cum utilitate debeam, me longe tibi devinctissimam reddideris. Vale, totius ecclesiae christianae summum decus et ornamentum, et te diu nobis suæque ecclesiae superstitem servet Deus Optimus Maximus.

Tuæ pietati deditissima,

JOANNA GRAIA.

## EPISTOLA V.

JANA GRAIA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

FACERE non possum, ni nimis ingrata, officii immemor et beneficiis tuis indigna videri velim, Vir ornatissime, quin in singulas res meritaque tua, quæ plurima fuerunt, gratias tibi ingentes agam. Quanquam mehercule et id cum pudore facio: neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, neque tot beneficia a te in me his prorsus indignam collata, tantummodo gratiarum actionem videntur desiderare, neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili orationis munere defungor. Hoc etiam nonnihil angit animum meum, cum ad literas, quas tanto viro darem, excogitandas quam parum idonea sim, mecum perpendo. Neque certe meis næniis puerilibusque nugis tuam gravitatem perturbare, aut tanta barbarie tuæ eloquentiæ obstrepere, vellem aut auderem; nisi et nullo me alio modo tibi gratificari posse scirem, et de tua solita satisque perspecta mihi humanitate haud dubitarem.

De literis autem, quas proxime abs te accepi, sic habeto. Posteaquam semel atque iterum (nam semel non videbatur satis) eas legissem, tantum fructus reportasse ex tuis præclaris et vere theologicis præceptis visa sum, quantum ex diuturna optimorum auctorum lectione vix eram assecuta. Suades ut veram sinceramque in Christo Servatore meo fidem amplectar. Tibi in hac parte, ὅσον ὁ Θεὸς δώσει, enitar satisfacere; sed donum Dei agnosco eam esse, et proinde tantum polliceri debeo, quantum Dominus impertierit. Neque tamen cum Apostolis orare desistam, ut eam mihi sua benignitate indes augere velit. Huic etiam eam, Deo juvante, ut jubes, adjungam vitæ puritatem, quam meæ, heu! nimium

infirmæ, vires præstare poterunt. Tu interea pro tua pietate in oratione tua mei quotidie facias mentionem rogo. Ad Hebraicæ linguæ studium eam ingrediar viam, quam tu fidelissime monstras. Vale, et Deus te in hac suscepta a te provincia tueatur et provehat æternum. 1552.

Tibi ad omnia pietatis officia paratissima,

JOANNA GRAIA.

## EPISTOLA VI.

JANA GRAIA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SERA officii recordatio reprehendi non debet, præsertim si nulla negligentia prætermissa est, Vir doctissime. Longe enim absum, pauci sunt tabellarii, audio autem sero; sed jam cum eum habeam *γραμματοφόρον*, cujus opere et mea tibi et tuæ mihi tradi solent litteræ, officio meo deesse non debui, quin ad te scribendo et verbis optarem optime et re haberem gratiam quam diligentissime. Tanta enim tua apud omnes auctoritas, tanta in prædicando, ut audio, gravitas, tantaque, ut qui te norunt referre solent, vitæ integritas, ut tuis non solummodo dictis, sed etiam vitæ moribus, tam peregrinæ et exteræ nationes, quam etiam ea quam ipse incolis patria, magis ad bene beateque vivendum incitentur: non enim tantummodo, ut Jacobus habet, evangelii et sacrorum Dei mandatorum ebuccinator et prædicator diligens, sed ejus etiam effector et operator verus es; eaque vita præstas, quæ verbis imperas, minime temetipsum fallens. Nec equidem his similis es, qui externam suam faciem in speculo considerant, et quamprimum discesserint, qualis ejus forma fuerit, oblivioni tradunt; sed et vera et sincera prædicas, et vivendi ratione aliis, ut id sequantur quod et jubes et facis, exemplo et *παραδείγματι* es.

Sed quid hæc ad tuam gravitatem scribo, cum tanta mea barbaries sit, ut nec digne tuam pietatem laudare, nec satis vitæ integritatem encomiis celebrare, nec, prout convenit, suspiciendam et admirandam doctrinam enarrare possit? Opus enim esset, ut, si prout veritas postulat te collaudarem, vel Demosthenis facundiam vel Ciceronis eloquentiam haberem: tanta enim tua sunt merita, ut cum et tempus satis longum, tum etiam ingenii acumen et sermonis elegantiam plusquam puerilem ad ea explicanda desiderent. Tantum enim in te sibi, ut apparet, placuit Deus, ut et te suo regno et huic mundo adaptaverit: in hoc enim terreno vitæ ergastulo ætatis cursum transigis, quasi mortuus esses; cum tamen vivis, ilque non solum primum Christo, sine quo nulla vita esse potest, et deinde tibi, sed etiam infinitis aliis, quos ut ad eam immortalitatem, quam ipse assecuturus es, posteaquam ex hac vita migraveris, diis volentibus per-

ducas, strenue laboras et assidue conaris: utque id tua pietas effectum reddat, quod cupit, Deum παντοκράτορα omnium rerum bonarum largitorem precari non cessabo; ejusque divinas aures, ut diutissime hac vita superstes sis, pulsare non desinam.

Hæc ad te audacius quam prudentius scripsi; sed tua in me beneficia tanta extiterunt, qui ad me tibi incognitam scribere, et quæ ad animum ornandum et mentem expoliendam necessaria essent suppeditare, dignatus es, ut merito negligentiae incusari et officii oblita videri possem, si omnimodo me tui tuorumque meritorum memorem haud præberem. Magnaque præterea mihi spes est, te huic meæ plusquam muliebri audaciæ, quæ virgo ad virum et indocta ad eruditionis patrem scribere audeam, ignoscere, et meæ barbariei, quæ te gravioribus rebus occupatum meis tricis, næniis, et puerilibus literis perturbare non dubitem, veniam dare velle; quod si a te impetravero, me multis nominibus tuæ pietati debere plurimum existimabo. Si quid enim hac in parte peccatum fuerit, mei erga te tuasque virtutes amoris abundantiae potius tribuendum est, quam vel audaciæ, quæ in nostrum sexum cadere nullo modo debet, vel temeritati, quæ τῇ τῆς κρίσεως δυνάμει valde adversari solet; splendor siquidem tuarum dotum ita mentis meæ aciem, vel cum tua lego, vel cum de te cogito, perstringit, ut non, quid meæ conveniat conditioni, sed quid tuæ debetur dignitati, in mentis meæ cognitionem veniat. Ceterum sic fluctuare animus solet, atque in diversas distrahi partes, dum quid mea ætas, sexus, et in litteris mediocritas, imo infantia potius postulat, mecum considero; quæ cum singula, tum universa multo magis a scribendi officio deterrent: contra autem cum tuarum virtutum præstantiam, famæ tuæ celebritatem et meritorum tuorum erga me magnitudinem intueor, superior inferiori cogitatio cedit, τὸ πρέπον μου dignitati tuæ; et plus apud me, quod tua postulant merita, quam quod alia suadent omnia, valere solet. Reliquum autem est, Vir clarissime, ut vehementer a te petam, meo nomine viro illi inclyto et eruditione, pietate, gravitateque antesignano Bibliandro, mihi tamen incognito, salutem ex animo dicere. Tantam enim ejus in nostra patria eruditionis famam audio, tamque illustre ejus nomen apud omnes ob singulares animi dotes a Deo illi concessas esse accipio, ut nolens volens hujusmodi viri, cælitus (ni fallor) nobis emissi, pietatem sinceritatemque amplecti, quæ paululum cognitionis ipsa consecuta sum, cogar, et ut diu hujusmodi ecclesiæ columnæ, quales vos estis, prospera sint valetudine Deum precor. Tuæ autem gravitati bene optare, ob humanitatem mihi ostensam gratias agere, et multum valere jubere, quamdiu spirare licuerit, non desinam. Vale, Vir doctissime.

Tuæ pietati deditissima,

JOANNA GRAIA.

## EPISTOLA VII.

CRANMERUS JOACHIMO VADIANO.

TANDEM a negotiis consiliisque publicis missionem vel verius respirationem nactus, et inter ceteros doctos viros, quorum epistolis responsa jam diu debueram, tibi quoque, Vadiane vir illustris doctissimeque, nunc demum vertente anno respondere incipiens, (utpote cujus literas superiore hyeme acceperim, una cum munere literario; quod genus quidem soleo vel inter pretiosissima numerare,) illud inprimis mecum reputare pudibundus oeccepi vererique, ne forte suspicionem aut etiam opinionem mihi aliquam sinistram apud animum tuum silentio meo tam diuturno contraxerim; quia sciam apud vulgus hominum fieri plerumque solere, cum hospes hospitem salutatur, ut in primo maxime aditu responsum sollicite expectent; quod si differatur, superbiam aliquam, vel neglectum sui, vel, ut minimum, oblivionem intervenire suspicantur; qualemque in primo illo accessu invenere, talem in universam reliquam vitam erga se fore præjudicant: cum qui cito respondet, libenter et gratanter id facere judicatur, cumque proinde humanum, facilem, gratumque interpretantur; contra, qui tarde, fastuosus, difficilis, et incivilibus ac inamœnis moribus præditus existimatur. Usque adeo bis facit quod cito facit, quicquid quis cito facit. Verum ego de tua neutiquam vulgari prudentia et humanitate meliora mihi polliceor, confidoque te hanc meam non spontaneam tarditatem aut cessationem, sed necessariam dilationem benigne accepturum, eamque non tam moribus quam negotiis meis imputaturum: quæ qualia et quanta fuerint, puto rumores ad vos usque jampridem pertulisse, et ego de eisdem nonnihil ad Grynæum meum, imo nostrum, scripsi; cum quo pro amicitie jure omnia tibi communia futura esse non ambigo. Ad illum igitur te remitto, siquid hac re offenderis, qui me tibi reddat excusatiorem.

Tuam erga me voluntatem et promptitudinem animi ad contrahendam mecum sanctiorem necessitudinem in literis tuis perspicio, et libens amplector osculorque. Virum enim dignum te judico, quem ego propter eximiam eruditionem, qua me quoque adjutum profecisse neutiquam dissimulavero, et propter morum probitatem, multorum gravissimorum virorum testimoniis comprobata, omni amore, favore, ac veneratione prosequar. Veruntamen ut animi mei sensum (sicuti inter bonos viros fieri oportet) ingenue tibi profitear, argumentum quod tractas in sex illis libris, quos mihi dono dederas, in totum mihi displicet; vellemque vigiliis tuas tantas feliciter collocasses, et mecum jucundæ amicitie melioribus, aut certe minus improbatas, auspiciis fuisses usus. Nam ego nisi certiora afferri video, quam hætenus videre potui, sententiæ illius vestræ nec

patronus nec astipulator esse volo. Et plane mihi vel ex eo maxime persuasum est, causam esse non bonam, quod eam viri tam ingeniosi, tam disertī, tamque omnibus artibus et disciplinis instructi, non videamini satis valide tueri ac sustinere. Vidi pleraque omnia, quæ vel ab *Æcolampadio* vel a *Zuinglio* scripta sunt et edita, didicique omnium hominum omnia cum delectu esse legenda. Et fortasse illud *D. Hieronymi* de *Origene* elogium in illos quoque non absurde aliquis detorsit, “Ubi bene, nemo melius,” &c. Nosti enim quod sequitur. Quatenus quidem papisticos et sophisticos errores et abusus indicare, convincere, corrigereque sunt conati, laudo et approbo. Atque utinam intra fines illos constitissent, neque fruges una cum zizaniis conculcassent, hoc est, veterum doctorum primorumque in ecclesia Christi scriptorum auctoritatem una violassent! Nam ut ingenia vestra quantumcunque versaveritis, mihi tamen certe nunquam approbaveritis, nec cuiquam, opinor, æquo lectori, veteres illos auctores in hac controversia pro vestra facere sententia. Fuistis nimirum in investigandis erroribus plus satis curiosi; et dum omnia purgare studetis, illic quoque errorem subesse putavistis, ubi nullus fuit: quando hic certe, si error est, jam inde a primordio ecclesiæ ab ipsis patribus et viris apostolicis nobis fuit propinatus. Quod quis pius sustinuerit vel audire, nedum credere? ut nequid interim dicam, quod bonus Dominus noster unice dilectam suam nunquam in tam pudenda cæcitate tandiu dereliquisset. Quamobrem quum hæc, quam tenemus, catholica fides de vera præsentia corporis tam apertis ac manifestis scripturis fuerit ecclesiæ ab initio promulgata, et eadem postea per primos ecclesiasticos scriptores fidelium auribus tam clare tamque studiose commendata; ne, quæso, ne mihi pergatis eam tam bene radicatam et suffultam velle amplius convellere aut subruere. Satis jam, satis tentatum est hactenus. Et nisi super firmam petram fuisset firmiter ædificata, jamdudum cum magnæ ruinæ fragore cecidisset. Dicitur non potest, quantum hæc tam cruenta controversia, cum per universum orbem christianum, tum maxime apud nos, bene currenti verbo evangelii obstiterit. Vobis ipsis affert ingens periculum, et ceteris omnibus præbet non dicendum offendiculum. Quocirca, si me audietis, hortor et suadeo, imo vos oro, obsecro, et visceribus Jesu Christi obtestor et adjuro, uti concordiam procedere et coire sinatis; in illam confirmandam totis viribus incumbatis; pacemque Dei tandem, quæ superat omnem sensum, ecclesiis permittatis, ut evangelicam doctrinam unam, sanam, puram, et cum primitivæ ecclesiæ disciplina consonam, junctis viribus quam maxime propagemus. Facile vel Turcas ad evangelii nostri obedientiam converterimus, modo intra nosmetipsos consentiamus, et pia quadam conjuratione conspiremus. At si ad hunc modum pergimus ad invicem contendere et commordere, timendum erit, ne (quod dicens abominor), juxta comminationem apostolicam, ad invicem consumamur.

Habes, optime Vadiane, meam de tota controversia illa nequiquam fictam sententiam, una cum admonitione libera ac fideli. Cui si obtemperaveris, non modo inter amicos, sed etiam vel inter amicissimos mihi nomen tuum ascripsero. Bene vale. [1537.]

T. CANTUARIENS.

*Illustri et erudito viro Joachimo Vadiano,  
consuli apud sanctum Gallum in Hel-  
vetia.*

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## EPISTOLA VIII.

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CRANMERUS WOLFGANGO CAPITONI.

LIBELLUM tuum, amice Capito, regiæ majestati, cui tu inscripseras, ipse manu mea porrexi. Accepit, ut mihi sane visus est, gratanter et libenter. Submonni quoque ut labores tuos respiceret. Annuit se visurum. Nec multo post tempore, Dominum Crumwellum privati sigilli custodem, qui ab intimis consiliis regi est, quique in his conficiendis, quæ hactenus circa religionis et cleri reformationem facta et transacta sunt, plus unus omnibus fecit, Harfordensis et ego, cum apud illum una essemus, una eum rogavimus ut regiam majestatem iterum tui admoneret: fecit, et tibi pro munere centum coronati deputantur, quos jussit et harum latorem secum delaturum. Scire adhuc desideras, cequid munus tuum gratum fuerit? Age, dicam non quæ ipse scio vera esse, sed quæ ab aliis, qui in aula nuperius quam ego fuerunt, accepi. Solet rex (ut est acerrimus et ad omnia vigilantissimus) libros hujusmodi sibi oblatos, præsertim quos ipse non sustinet legere, suorum alicui tradere legendos, a quo ipse postea discat quid in illis contentum fuerit. Deinde resumptos eosdem mox alteri cuiquam, qui sit a priore diversissimi judicii, obrudit examinandos. Ita cum ab ipsis omnia expiscatus fuerit, et quid laudent quidque vituperent sciverit ac satis expenderit, tum demum et ipse suam de eisdem palam profert sententiam. Sic et eum libello tuo actum fuisse intelligo; quodque, cum in illo multa valde approbaverit, fuerint etiam nonnulla quæ nullo pacto concoquere neque comprobare potuerit. Suspicor ea esse quæ de Missa adjunxeras. Habes quantum hactenus ego de libello illo potui vel præsens audire et cernere, vel absens ex aliorum relationibus excerpere atque colligere. De me hoc tibi persuadeto: te amo ex animo venerorque, et dignum judico cui ob insignem eruditionem cum pari morum probitate conjunctam omnes boni bene faciant. Atque utinam voluntati meæ erga te propensæ facultas responderet! tunc profecto, mi Capito, sentires, quanti te facio. Interim te rogo ut hoc munusculum a me boni consulas, parum quidem si ad merita tua respiciatur, sed pro-

fecto non contemnendum, si vel animus meus dantis, vel sumptus necessarii ac multiplices, quibus propemodum vel supra facultates oneror, rite consideretur. Quod superest, oro ut hunc amicum meum Thomam Tybaldum, qui hasce ad te perfert, mea causa quantum potes foveas et adjuves. Vale.

T. CANTUARIEN.

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EPISTOLA IX.

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CRANMERUS JOANNI A LASCO.

ADVENTUM tuum ad nos alterius cujusdam negotii subito interventu impeditum esse doleo: non enim dubito, quin de tua vocatione facile tibi satisfecissem, si coram tecum mihi potestas colloquendi fuisset. Sed quia hoc tempore venire non potuisti, scribis tamen te venturum esse posthac, si prius ex literis nostris intellexeris, qualis vocationis tuæ ratio apud nos futura sit: literis tecum agam, et quod coram copiosius fortassis dicturus eram, id per literas explicabo brevi. Cupimus nostris ecclesiis veram de Deo doctrinam proponere, nec volumus cothurnos facere aut ambiguitatibus ludere; sed, semota omni prudentia carnis, veram, perspicuam, sacrarum literarum normæ convenientem doctrinæ formam ad posteros transmittere; ut et apud omnes gentes exstet illustre testimonium de doctrina nostra, gravi doctorum et piorum auctoritate traditum, et universa posteritas normam habeat quam sequatur. Ad perficiendam rem tantam eruditorum hominum præsentia nobis opus esse judicavimus, qui, collatis nobiscum judiciis, doctrinæ controversias tollant, et integrum corpus veræ doctrinæ extruant. Accersivimus igitur et te et alios quosdam doctos viros; qui cum non gravatim ad nos venerint, ita ut nullum fere ex iis præter te et Melancthonem desideremus, summopere te rogamus, ut et ipse ad nos venias, et Melancthonem, si ullo modo fieri poterit, tecum adducas. Tertiam nunc epistolam ad Melancthonem mitto, qua eum hortor, ut ad nos veniat; quibus meis epistolis si tuæ adhortationes accesserint, non diffido eum persuaderi posse, ut toties iteratam vocationem sequatur. Nullas, ut arbitror, insidias hostium, nulla itinerum pericula pertimescit, quæ si qua sunt, minora tamen sunt iis, quibus nunc est. Adde, quod exigui temporis molestiis multorum annorum quietem sibi, reipublicæ vero utilitatem adferet æternam. Quod si ei commigrationem ad nos aut inutilem aut injucundam fore prospicerem, nemo certe me dissuaderet vehementius. Nunc vero, cum videam nihil ab eo aut ipsi aut reipublicæ posse fieri utilius, quam ut hoc tempore ad nos veniat, insto vehementius, teque hortor, ut omnem curam cogitationemque tuam in hoc unice convertas, ut Philippum nostrum plane nostrum facias. Qualis et tua et ipsius futura sit con-

ditio, paulo ante ostendi; ita tamen ostendi, ut experientia vestra potius quam prædicatione mea Angliam vobis placere cupiam. Bene et feliciter vale. Londini, die iv. Julii, MDXLVIII.

Tuæ præsentiae cupidiss.

T. CANTUARIENSIS.

*Illustri Viro D. Joanni a Lasco,  
amico suo carissimo, S.D.P.*

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## EPISTOLA X.

CRANMERUS ALBERTO HARDENBERG.

QUOD si noster Philippus videat ad quid vocetur, a quibus item hominibus, certe et ipsius et veræ religionis amantissimis, et quanto studio vocetur simul et exspectetur; profecto nescio an vocationem hanc negligere possit, præsertim cum nullam pene certam se vocationem illic habere videat, quam huic merito opponere queat. Si in simili vocatione deesse noluit sanctissimo illi seni Electori Coloniensi, sane ne nunc quidem illi licebit, in causa multo graviore, et magis etiam necessaria. Inviti fortasse sui illum dimittunt, et ipse quoque invitum suos dimittet hoc potissimum tempore: sed interim metuo ne illum omnes istie pro eo ac vellemus audiant; et ut audiant, non scio an tanto cum fructu illic nunc esse possit, quantum ex sua præsentia in Anglia nostra nunc haberi possit, qui tamen negligendus nobis non est, siquidem nobis Christi Domini gloriam vere et ex animo querendam esse putamus. Utinam semel aliquid statuat et nos de animo suo certiores faciat, aut ipse mox accurrat omnesque prævertat. De sumptu prospiciemus vel apud te, vel alibi, modo sciamus quantum et quo loco curari velit.

Cantabrigiæ, 23 Julii, 1548.

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## EPISTOLA XI.

CRANMERUS MARTINO BUCERO.

GRATIAM et pacem Dei in Christo. Legi tuas literas ad Joannem Halesium, in quibus tristissimos Germaniæ casus commemorans, te in tua urbe verbi ministerio vix diutius præesse posse scribis. Gemens igitur

prophetæ illud exclamavi, “Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui salvos facis sperantes in te a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ.” Nec dubito quin Deus hoc et similes piorum gemitus exauditurus sit; et veram doctrinam, quæ hactenus in vestris ecclesiis sincere propagata est, et conservaturus et defensurus sit adversus omnes diaboli et mundi furores. Interim, sævitibus fluctuum procellis, in portus confugiendum est iis, qui vela in altum tendere non possunt. Tibi igitur, mi Bucere, portus longe tutissimus erit nostrum regnum, in quo Dei beneficio semina veræ doctrinæ feliciter spargi cœperunt. Veni igitur ad nos, et te nobis operarium præsta in messe Domini. Non minus proderis catholicæ Dei ecclesiæ cum apud nos fueris, quam si pristinas sedes retineres. Adde, quod afflictæ patriæ vulnera absens melius sanare poteris, quam nunc possis præsens. Omni igitur semota cunctatione, quamprimum ad nos venias. Ostendemus nobis præsentia Buceri nihil gratius aut jucundius esse posse. Sed cave ne quid ex itinere incommodi accipias. Nosti quos habeas vitæ insectatores: eorum manibus ne te commiseris. Est istic mercator quidam Anglus Ricardus Hilles, vir pius et summa fidelitate præditus, cum quo de tota itineris ratione te conferre velim. Præterea Deum æternum, Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, toto pectore oro, ut in ira misericordiæ recordetur, et afflictæ ecclesiæ calamitates respiciat, et lucem veræ doctrinæ apud nos magis magisque accendat; apud vos vero jam multos annos præclare lucentem non extinguere patiatur. Is te quoque, mi Bucere, regat et servet, et incolumem ad nos traducat. Bene et feliciter vale. Londini, 2 Octob. anno 1548.

Tui ad nos accessus cupientissimus,

THOMAS CRANMERUS, Archiep. Cantuar.

## EPISTOLA XII.

CRANMERUS PHILIPPO MELANCTHONI.

VERISSIMA esse experimur, Melancthon doctissime, quæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus de cruce ecclesiæ suæ prædixit: “sed fidelis est Deus, qui non patietur suos tentari supra id quod possunt, sed faciet una cum tentatione proventum ut possimus sustinere.” Etsi enim odio Filii Dei diabolus horribilem tyrannidem exercet in membra Christi, tamen promisit Deus ecclesiam suam non interituram esse. Imo de ultimis temporibus diserte inquit: “Ego senescentem gestabo: ego feram: ego salvabo.” Et semper Deus aliquas politias voluit esse hospitia ecclesiarum, et ali-

quot gubernatores fovere studiosos doctrinæ cœlestis, ut Abdias pavit auditores Heliae, quos reges Israel undique pellebant. Quamobrem tibi, æterne Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ingentes ago gratias, quod insulam nostram non aliter quam arcam Noë e fluctibus eripuisti, nobisque tales dederis gubernatores, qui tui gloriam quærunt, et suas aededitionesque ecclesiæ et studiis patere cupiunt, ut olim viduæ Sareptanæ casa præbebat hospitium Heliae. Oroque Deum, ut nos regat, et colligat sibi inter nos perpetuam ecclesiam, non solum ex nostratibus, sed etiam ex peregrinis; id quod facere pro sua immensa misericordia jam incepit. Multi enim pii doctique viri, partim ex Italia, partim ex Germania, ad nos convenerunt, et plures quotidie exspectamus; cujus ecclesiæ chorum si ipse tua præsentia ornare et augere non gravaberis, haud scio qua ratione gloriam Dei magis illustrare poteris. Scio te sæpius optasse, ut pii et sapientes viri, communicato consilio et collatis sententiis, gravi auctoritate opus aliquod conderent, quod præcipuas materias ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ complecteretur, et veritatem ad posteros incorruptam transmitteret. Hoc nos sedulo pro virili conamur. Quare te rogamus, ut præsens cum præsentibus sententiam tuam et consilium communices, et ne animum ita obfirmes, ut tuis ipsius votis deesse aut tam manifestæ Dei vocationi repugnare videaris.

Plurima hoc loco recensere poteram, quæ te in nostram sententiam flecterent; sed ea omnia non capit epistolæ brevitatis. Proinde ex hoc tabellario, D. Joanne a Lasco, viro optimo, ea te cognoscere malim. Is enim mecum hosce aliquot menses conjunctissime et amantissime vixit, cui in his, quæ tibi meo nomine narrabit, fidem adhibeas oro. Dominus noster Jesus Christus, custos ecclesiæ, qui dixit, "Nemo rapiet oves meas de manibus meis," servet et defendat ministerium evangelii sui, et te ad ecclesiæ nostræ hospitium tuto deducat. Vale. Londini, 10. Februarii, 1549.

Tui ad nos accessus avidissimus,

THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro tum eruditione tum pietate  
clarissimo D. Philippo Melancthoni dentur hæc literæ.*

Nostri Germani, qui nobiscum sunt, rogant, ut adducas tecum Doctorem Albertum Hardenbergium, ut Jonas referet tibi nostro nomine.

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## EPISTOLA XIII.

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 CRANMERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. QUOD ad literas tuas Tiguri datas 24 Februarii post annum respondeo, imputabis partim occupationibus meis, partim indiligentiæ cuidam meæ in hoc officii genere, quam in me hæere ingenue confiteor. Sed quia præstat sero quam nunquam officium facere, nunc ad omnia accipies responsum.

Duas apud me causas agis, publicam et privatam. Quod ad publicam attinet, nempe ut consultor esse velim, ne regia majestas legatum ad concilium Tridentinum mitteret, non fuit opus me consultore ad dissuadendum ab eo, quod nunquam illi in mentem venit: sed potius consilium dandum esse duxi, ut quemadmodum adversarii nostri nunc Tridenti habent sua concilia ad errores confirmandos, ita ejus pietas auxilium suum præbere dignaretur, ut in Anglia aut alibi doctissimorum et optimorum virorum synodus convocaretur, in qua de puritate ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ et præcipue de consensu controversiæ sacramentariæ tractaretur. Ad quod institutum, quia reipublicæ christianæ utilissimum esse judicavit, animum majestatis illius admodum propensum esse sensi. Quare non est nobis committendum, ut ecclesiæ Dei in re tam ardua deesse velimus. Scripsi hac de re ad D. Philippum et ad D. Calvinum, oroque ut consultetis, qua ratione synodus hæc aut in Anglia aut alibi congregari commodissime possit.

Privata causa, de qua ad me scripsisti, fuit, ut controversiam inter D. Londinensem et D. Hoperum Gloucestrensem componerem, de qua nunc nimis serum est respondere: nam diu abhinc audisse te sat scio controversiam illam compositam et penitus sublatam fuisse. Et D. Hoperus ea est apud nos æstimatione, ut Wigorniensis episcopus jam sit designatus; et hoc tempore, quo comitia apud nos Londini congregantur, in ædibus meis mecum conjunctissime vivit. Dominus Jesus Spiritu suo sancto te gubernet et tueatur. Vale. Lambethi, 20 Martii, 1552.

Tuæ paternitatis studiosissimus,

THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximio Viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo,  
dentur hæc literæ.*

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## EPISTOLA XIV.

CRANMERUS JOANNI CALVINO.

S. P. UT nulla res ecclesias magis dissipat, quam hæreses et dissidia circa dogmata religionis, ita nihil efficacius ecclesias Dei congregat, et potentius ovile Christi munit, quam incorrupta evangelii doctrina et dogmatum consensus. Quare sæpius optavi atque etiamnum opto, ut docti et pii viri, qui alios antecellunt eruditione et judicio, in tutum aliquem locum convenirent, ubi communicato consilio et collatis sententiis capita omnia ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ tractarent, et non solum de rebus ipsis, sed etiam de formis loquendi, gravi auctoritate opus aliquod posteritati traderent. Adversarii nostri habent nunc Tridenti sua concilia, ut errores stabiliant; et nos piam synodum congregare negligemus, ut errores refutare, dogmata repurgare et propagare possimus? Illi *περὶ τῆς ἀρτολατρείας* (ut audio) decreta condunt: quare nos omnem lapidem movere debemus, non solum ut alios adversus hanc idololatriam muniamus, sed etiam ut ipsi in doctrina hujus sacramenti consentiamus. Quantum ecclesiam Dei labefactarint circa hoc unitatis sacramentum dissensiones et opinionum varietates, prudentiam tuam latere non potest: quæ etsi nunc alicubi sublata sint, tamen in hac doctrina consensionem optarem, non solum de rebus ipsis, sed etiam de verbis et loquendi formulis. Habes meum votum, de quo etiam scripsi ad D. Philippum et ad D. Bullingerum; oroque ut vos inter vos deliberetis, qua ratione synodus hæc congregari commodissime possit. Vale. Lambethi, 20 Mart. 1552.

Frater tuus in Christo carissimus,

T. CANTUARIENSIS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Th. Cranmerus Calvino.*

## EPISTOLA XV.

CRANMERUS PHILIPPO MELANCTHONI.

LEGIMUS in Actis Apostolorum, cum orta esset controversia, an ii qui ex gentibus conversi fuerant ad Deum, adigendi essent ad circumcisionem et observationem legis Mosaicæ, convenisse apostolos ac presbyteros ut dis-

picerent de hoc negotio, et, collatis inter se sententiis, decretum concilii sui epistola scripta edidisse. Hoc exemplum utinam et nos imitemur, in quorum ecclesiis evangelii doctrina restituta et repurgata est! Etsi autem omnes controversiæ in hoc mundo non possint dirimi, quia pars inimica veritati non adsentitur iudicio ecclesiæ; tamen optandum est ut veræ ecclesiæ membra de præcipuis ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ capitibus inter se consentirent.

Quantum autem ecclesiam dilacerarint dissensiones religionis, maxime in causa sacramentaria, prudentiam tuam latere non potest; quæ si antea compositæ fuissent, nunquam (opinor) Cæsar bellum vobis intulisset. Et dolendum sane est, sacramentum unitatis invidia diaboli factam esse escam dissidii, et veluti *μῆλον ἔριδος*. Quare optarem ut ii, qui alios antecellunt eruditione et iudicio, exemplo apostolorum congregarentur, et sententiam tum de aliis capitibus controversis, tum de hac controversia, mutuum exponerent, et consensum edito in publicum scripto testarentur. Sed fortasse dices: Idem et ego sæpissime optavi; verum hæc res sine principum ope ad effectum deduci non potest. Ego igitur hac de re cum regia majestate . . . , quæ Angliam suam vobis apertam esse vult, et ad hos pios conatus non solum locum tutum et quietem, verum etiam operam et auxilium suum, benignissime pollicetur. Scripsi etiam ad D. Calvinum et ad D. Bullingerum, eosque hortatus sum, ne operi tam necessario adeoque utili reipublicæ Christianæ deesse vellent. In proximis ad me literis scripsisti Areopagitas concilii Tridentini *περὶ τῆς ἀπολατρείας* decreta condere. Quare cum adversarii evangelii tanto studio conveniunt ad errores stabiliendos, non est nobis committendum, ut illi sint diligentiores ad confirmandam impietatem, quam nos ad piam doctrinam propagandam et illustrandam.

Amori meo erga D. Georgium Majorem, quem merita illius apud me pepererunt, magnam accessionem attulit commendatio tua; cui si qua in re gratificari potero, citius facultatem quam voluntatem mihi deesse experietur. Bene et feliciter vale. Lambethi, 27 Martii a. 1552.

Tui aliquando videndi cupidissimus,

T. CANTUARIENS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro et amico suo singulari D. Philippo Melancthoni dentur hæc literæ.*

## EPISTOLA XVI.

CRANMERUS BUCERI VIDUÆ.

S. P. Benevolentia singularis, qua virum tuum cum adhuc viveret sum prosecutus, post mortem ejus nequaquam est imminuta: siquidem egregia ejus pietas et insignis doctrina non momentaneos verum æternos fructus ecclesiæ attulit; quibus non tantum omnes pios, verum et me omnium maxime in perpetuum sibi devinxit. Quare a scribendo ad me ne ulla ratione patiaris te deterreri, si quid erit quod tibi aut rebus tuis adjumento esse possim. Nam literis tuis excitatus, et amici carissimi jucundam memoriam non absque voluptate mecum repetam, et tibi ejus viduæ propenso animo illa caritatis officia præstabo, quæ verbum Dei suadet impendenda, et pietati tuæ pro re nata exhibenda fuerint. Atque de eo quod mihi nuper significasti negotiis tuis expediendis opus esse, ut aliquo scripto certum ac testatum fieret summam illam centum marcarum, quam dono accepisti a majestate regia, cum hinc discederes, ad te ipsam proprie ac singulariter pertinere, literas ad tutores liberorum Buceri dedi; ex quibus aperte cognoscere poterunt, quænam fuerit ea de re serenissimi regis nostri voluntas. Mitto ad te exemplar literarum a dominis consiliariis ad D. Joannem Hales, quæstorem regię majestatis, (qui nunc opinor est Argentorati,) aut eo absente ad ejus vicarium, Anglice scriptarum, quæ clare testantur tibi a regia majestate centum marcas dono datas, idque post obitum mariti tui, quod literæ illæ ultimo Martii fuerunt scriptæ, quum maritus tuus præcipitato Februario ex hac vita decesserit. Deus qui fons est et pater universæ consolationis te consolari dignetur, et in utroque nomine cum tota familia servet.

Vale. Lambethi, xx<sup>mo</sup> Aprilis, a<sup>o</sup> 1552.

Tuus quantum potest

T. CANTUAR.

## EPISTOLA XVII.

CRANMERUS CONRADO HUBERTO ET ALIIS.

S. P. Quum nuper intellexerim ex literis quas vidua D. Buceri piæ memoriæ huc scripserat, ad facultates viri ejus jam defuncti partiendas inter liberos opus esse certa notitia seu fide quoad summam pecuniæ centum marcarum quæ donata est a regia majestate, an ad viduam pertineat an ad liberos; ideo ut res liquida fiat, et ambiguitas prorsus tollatur, affirmo

ac testor summam illam centum marcarum a serenissimo rege nostro post obitum D. Bucerī viduæ peculiariter fuisse donatam, ut ad ipsam proprie pertineret; ut ex literis quas domini consilarii ad quæstorem scripserunt manifeste liquet, quarum exemplar ad viduam D. Bucerī misi. Deus Spiritu sancto suo vos gubernet, et successum in laboribus vocationis vestræ vobis donet. Valet. Lambethi, xx<sup>mo</sup> Aprilis, 1552.

Vester ex animo,

T. CANTUARIENS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viris eruditione et pietate præstantibus D.  
Conrado Huberto verbi Dei ministro,  
D. Quintero Andernaco et D. Hulrico  
Chelio Medicinæ doctoribus, et ceteris  
tutoribus liberorum D. Bucerī dentur  
hæ literæ.*

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EPISTOLA XVIII.

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CRANMERUS PETRO MARTYRI.

Post plurimam in Christo Servatore nostro salutem. Quando tum deum necessariæ sunt literæ, quum aut non satis prudens est nuncius, aut rerum quas significare volumus ignarus, aut non fidus cui arcana credas; quumque mihi Dei benignitate sese obtulisset hic tabellarius, vir et prudentia (ut nosti) insigni, et qui rebus in credendis fidissimus sit, et nostrum utriusque amantissimus, et rerum nostratium scientissimus, e cujus ore quæ hic acta fuerint intelligas omnia; non necessarium existimavi ut prolixius ad te scriberem, præsertim quum scripturæ tot pericula damnaque afferre soleant. Illud tamen unum prætermittendum non censui, quod expertus didici, nunquam Deum splendidius illucescere, et clementiæ suæ, consolationis, aut roboris ac fortitudinis animi radios suorum mentibus clarius aut pressius infundere, quam in summis animi corporisque angoribus atque pressuris; ut tum vel maxime sese declaret suorum esse Deum, quum illos deseruisse prorsus videtur; tum erigere quum dejicere atque prosternere, tum glorificare quum confundere, tum denique vivificare quum occidere putetur. Ut cum Paulo dicere liceat, 'Quando infirmor tunc fortior sum, et si gloriari oportet, in infirmitatibus meis gloriabor, in carceribus, in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustiis pro Christo.' Faxit obsecro Deus, ut in finem perseveremus. Hodie nihil magis animum angit meum, quam quod hætenus M.A. nihil est responsum; ad

cujus astutias, præstigias, et insanias jamdudum non defuisset responsum, nisi mihi defuissent et libri et libertas. Præterquam tibi scripsi nemini, nec scire velim quenquam quod ad te scripserim: proinde nomine meo salutabis neminem.

THOMAS CRANMERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Hæc in manu Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.  
Scripsit hæc ex carcere ad D. Pet.  
Martyrem. M.A. significant Marc.  
Antonium, nimirum Wintoniensem.  
1555.*

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EPISTOLA. XIX.

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MILO COVERDALUS JOANNI CALVINO.

S. P. in Domino. Oblata occasione, virorum clarissime, non potui integritatem tuam non salutare. Ante triduum allatus est huc in mediis nundinis libellus quidam Britannicus, illum sacræ communionis ordinem, quem regia majestas (pro temporis adhuc ratione) instituit, complectens. Cujus equidem rei cum plures viderem percupidos, traduxi statim in linguam et Germanicam et Latinam. Atque adeo cum intelligerem pium hunc hominem vestratem esse, arbitrabar me tibi rem facturum haudquaquam ingratam, si humanitatem tuam hoc qualicumque munusculo donarem. Alteram enim traductionem Germanis datam, alteram, nempe Latinam, humanitati tuæ transmissam ex animo cupiebam. Tu si hanc felicitatis rationem et pietatis initium aliis significare volueris (prout nunc Dominus religionem suam in Anglia vult renatam), prelo hoc mei in te amoris pignus committere poteris facilius. Ego nunc post octo annorum exilium vocatus rediturus sum in Angliam. Vale, præceptor integerrime, et uxorem tuam de me et mea, cum Argentoratum ascendimus, optime meritam benigne saluta.

E Franckofordia, 26 Martii, 48.

MICHAEL (alias Milo) COVERDALUS,

INSCRIPTIO.

*Anglus.*

*Clarissimo viro D. Joanni Calvino,  
Præceptorì suo eximio Geneva,  
Coverdalu.*

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## EPISTOLA XX.

MILO COVERDALUS PAULO FAGIO.

PACEM et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto. Literas tuas, virorum integerrime, xxii. Augusti datas, ab uxore mea viii. hujus mensis accepi, vestri plurimum commiseratus, quos dira ista tyrannis tantopere exagitat. Scripta item tua heri reverendissimo Cantuariensi ostēdi, qui ut carissimum filium tuum (quem etiam modo Cantuariam misit ob sævientem hic pestem) suscepit suis porro sumptibus et pietate et literis educandum, ita calamitatem ecclesiarum vestrarum animadvertens, vicem revera vestram dolebat maxime: quare et te præsertim nobis adesse maluit, quam vel in Turciam abire vel in Ungariam. O mi præceptor, si tu alio quam ad nos aufugeris, cum tanta sit hominum ubique perfidia, quam frigebit donum illud præstantissimum, quod reposuit in te Deus Optimus Maximus! Si reverendissimus tot ecclesiæ pericula prævidisset, cujus ego responsum literis meis ad te inserebam, revera mea tibi scripta nunquam fuissent impedimento. Cogita igitur utrumque nostrum facti pœnitere, etiamsi nihil sit in illis literis scriptum, quod tum non ferebat occasio. Ego sane, mi præceptor, et tibi et ecclesiis nostris atque scholis, felicissimo ministerio tuo destitutis, non parum timeo. Proinde etsi principes nostri te nominatim, qui clares inter Germaniæ studiosiores, non vocent ob latentes forsā causas, ut antea scripsi; nos tamen, qui te satis novimus, per immortalem Deum te obsecramus, ut huc te conferas, ubi te gratisimum fore, atque adeo humanissime tractatum iri, ne dubites. Bene vale. Ex arce Regia, quam vocamus Windsor, xxi. Octobris, a. 1548.

Tnus ex animo,

M. COVERDALUS.

## EPISTOLA XXI.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

Non multos ante annos, cum in aula regis nostri aulicus aulice plus satis vixerim, ornatissime domine et frater in Christo dilectissime, tum fausto et felici omnium<sup>1</sup> mihi obtulerunt sese quædam opera D. Huldrici Zuinglii, eximii viri piæ memoriæ, et commentaria in Paulinas epistolas quæ tua humanitas felicissime universo orbi dextre innotuisti in perpetuo tui nominis monumentum duraturum. Ista egregia Dei dona universo mundo per vos exhibita negligere nolui, cum in ipsis præsertim de animæ meæ salute felicitateque perpetua serio agi videbam: omni itaque studio, et

[<sup>1</sup> Fors. *omine*; sed hoc et alia dat MS. ut hic exhibentur.]

veluti diligentia quadam superstitiosa, noctes atque dies operam vestris scriptis navare operæ pretium fore duxi; nec labor iste mihi unquam molestus fuit in ea re. Nam postquam excessi ex ephebis, et patris clementia liberius vivendi fuit potestas, cultu impio et quovis genere idololatriæ, majorum æmulatus impietatem, Deum prius cœperam blasphemare, quam quid Deus esset certe cognoveram: inde tamen Dei benignitate liberatus, quod Deo et vobis unice acceptum fero, jam nihil restat quod ad reliquum vitæ meæ et ultima fata spectat, quam ut Deum pura mente colam, sci-amque quid desit mihi in hoc corpore agenti, quandoquidem fallax est vitæ status, et nihil est omnis homo; et piis fratribus in Christo, impiis vero propter Christum inserviam: nam Christianum sibi esse natum non puto, neque sibi vivere debet; sed quicquid habet aut est, id omne non sibi tribuere debet, sed Deo auctori ferat acceptum, omnia sua bona omnibus existimet esse communia, prout postulet fratrum necessitas et inopia. Pudet supra modum profecto me, ista antea non præstitisse; sed velut brutum pecus, ut maxima pars hominum solet, affectibus servivi: sed melius est sero sapere quam nunquam sapere.

Propter meum erga vos amorem et reverentiam sæpius proposueram ad vos venire, licet adhuc semper impeditus, partim propter meam adversam valetudinem, partim quod fortunæ benignitatem habeo suspectam: nam pater, cui ego unicus sum filius et hæres, ita propter Christi religionem mihi adversatur, quod si illius consilio obtemperare noluerò, non patrem, sed sævum potius tyrannum posthac illum me habiturum scio. Brevi tamen, post mensem, in patriam descendam, ut honoribus, voluptatibus, et hujus mundi amicis valedicam; et ibi curabo, si fieri potest, ut aliquam saltem partem de meo jure per amicos habeam, quo apud vos Tiguri tenuiter vivam: et si Deo aliter visum fuerit, meque premi placet pauperie et egestate aut alio quovis modo, æquo animo feram, et potius eligam cum populo Dei exul affligi, quam temporariis peccati commodis frui: majores arbitror (Pauli verbis utor) divitias probrum Christi, quam Ægyptiorum thesauros: respectu habeo remunerationes; vitam spero sempiternam, non meis meritis sed Christi sanguine partam. Obsecro itaque te, O vir Dei, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut me in hoc itinere adjuves precationibus pro me ad Deum: timeo enim perfidos istos episcopos, et non frustra, quibus nihil magis est cordi, quam piorum hominum sanguinis effusio; quorum animos et ingenia sæpe ego sum expertus, et non sine magno vitæ periculo. Remediis igitur a Deo nobis datis contra illorum insidias et tyrannidem me munire cupio: supplicias vestræ ecclesiæ peto, ut ejus precibus adjutus solatium aliquod inde sentiam juxta Dei promissionem, qui semper adest omnibus qui illum invocant in veritate, a quo unice in omni periculo auxilium est petendum. Nam firmiter præsidium fidei oratione nihil potest esse: per eam Ezechias regem Assyriorum superavit, Elias ignem de cœlo evocavit, Josaphat admirabilem nactus fuit victoriam.

Sed longius non fluēt oratio, ne vestris piis et doctissimis auribus hisce literis tam crassa Minerva excultis offenderem.

Quæ nova fert Anglia, paucis accipe, carissime domine. Quantum ad religionem veram spectat, nusquam gentium plus viget idololatria: Papam trucidavit rex noster, sed non papatum; omnes monachos et moniales expulit, illorum monasteria diruit, omnia bona illorum in suum fiscum asportari jussit; ipsi tamen ad perpetuam castitatem regis imperio obligantur, etiam fragilis ille mulierum sexus: decem millia ad minus monialium habet Anglia, nulli tamen contrahendi matrimonium datur potestas. Missa impia, sacerdotum turpissimus cœlibatus, divorum invocatio, auricularis confessio, superstitiosa ciborum abstinentia, purgatorium, in majori pretio nunquam antea a populo habebantur, quam hoc tempore.

Fœdus quod ante duos annos initum fuit inter Cæsarem et regem nostrum, jamjam (per literas accepi) innovatur: vertat Deus omnia in sui nominis gloriam. Inter Gallos et Anglos nulla spes est pacis, sed cruentum bellum indies exspectamus.

Qui evangelio in Anglia maxime favent, in horas moriuntur: jam a duobus annis multi præclarissimi viri diem suum obierunt; D. Audleus, Cancellarius regni; Dux Suffolciæ; D. Baynton, primus a cubiculis reginæ; dominus Puneus, qui vicem regis gerebat in villa Bononiæ; D. Thomas Wyetus, universo orbi propter præclaras suas virtutes fere cognitus, vestræ et Christi religionis acerrimus defensor; doctor Butteus, medicus qui curam corporis regis semper habuit: omnes fuerunt a consiliis regis, et vere favēbant evangelio, et quantum potuerunt gloriam Dei promovebant. Peste et feбри jam cursum suum finierunt, ita quod terra est jam penitus relicta episcopis et iis qui Deum et omnem verum cultum contemnant.

Episcopus Wintoniensis et episcopus Westmonasterii regis nostri legati jam agunt cum Cæsare in Brabantia. Alter episcopus Dunelmensis, qui fuit missus in Picardiam ut ibi de pace inter Gallos et Anglos tractaret cum oratoribus regis Franciæ, est jam tamen in Angliam reversus infecta pace.

Res inter Scotos et Anglos adhuc anceps et dubia manet: illorum tamen præcipuas urbes et pagos Angli expugnaverunt; sed quæ devastatio patriæ nuper proxima æstate facta fuit per comitem de Hartfordia, horresco referens. Regina Scotiæ una cum cardinali latitant in montibus, et hujusmodi habent castra quæ expugnari non possunt.

Colloquium Ratisbonense, quatenus per literas D. Buceri intelligo, est suspensum; res ita esse citius credo, atque Philippus Melanethon nondum ad eos venit neque est venturus. Et Bucerus, ut audio, celerius nostra opinione ad nos est venturus: adhuc nihil certi habemus; si quid erit certi, faciam tuam humanitatem statim certiore, et uberiores exspectato literas si nostra nova illas expostulent. Comes Palatinus nuper evangelium in tota sua provincia prædicari curavit; sed quantum ad eucharistiam

spectat, descendit (ut est in proverbiiis) ab equis in asinos: nam ex papismo incidit Lutheranismum, qui pejus sentit in ea re omnibus papistis; et magis accedunt ad veritatem, qui panis substantiam in sacramento destruunt, et illius loco corpus Christi constituunt, quam qui cum pane in pane et sub pane naturale corpus Christi esse dicunt, tamen nullum locum occupare. Deus tandem, spero, dabit ei meliorem mentem.

D. Ricardus Anglus cum sua pia uxore plurimum te in Christo salutant: habet jam in suis ædibus duas sorores ex nobili familia natas; junior, cui nomen est Anna, veræ religionis amantissima, perpetuam tibi preceatur felicitatem, et vestræ ecclesiæ precibus sese commendat, quam spero brevi videbis. Eximios viros D. Bibliandrum, D. Pellicanum, cum ceteris piis fratribus plurimum meo nomine jubebis salvere. Vale, doctissime et pie domine, et me inter eos annumerare precor ut patiare, qui vestræ religionis majestati vere et ex animo favent. Argentorati, 27 die Januarii.

Tuus quantus quantus est,

JOANNES HOPERUS,

*Anglus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro doctissimo, omni religione et pietate  
prædito, domino Henrico Bullingero,  
sanctæ ecclesiæ Tigurinæ antistiti  
optime merito, dentur æe.*

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EPISTOLA XXII.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

Si liceret propter vestra negotia, vestram sententiam et judicium scire velim: credo certe non licere pio homini interesse missis et hujusmodi cultibus impiis in papismo; quædam tamen sunt argumenta quæ animum aliquantum urgent, et ad tempus suspensum tenent.

De ea re plura scripsit D. Calvinus, sed argumentis quæ possunt opponi vix ut mihi videtur satisfacit: unum aut alterum eruditioni vestræ proponam.

De Naaman Syro; licet fas non est privatam personam trahere in generale exemplum, ad hoc propositum plurimum spectat; nam propheta dixit, Vade in pace. Hanc particulam qui Hebraicæ linguæ sunt ignari interpretantur ac si propheta dixisset, Si velis reverti, tuo periculo fiat; factum tamen non probo. Illam interpretationem Hebraica vox non patitur, me iudice; nam *לֵךְ לְשָׁלוֹם* vade in pace, jubentis et confirmantis est particula, et ideo permisit illum in domo Rimmon verum Deum colere, spe

lucrandi regem Syriæ et ceteros ad Deum verum: et si recte hunc locum interpretor, cum hoc propheta pio homini permisit, et idem permittere debemus nos.

Tempore Eliæ, quum de Deo fuit conquestus se solum veræ religionis cultorem esse relictum, 7000 fuisse relictos certior factus fuit divino admōitu. Certe si tantus hominum numerus non interfuisset impiorum sacrīs, unus aut alter fuisset prophetæ Dei cognitus: nec video quis potest ire inficias, quum isti pii homines, de quibus Deus consolatur mæstum suum servum, aperte et publice cum majore impiorum multitudine in idolorum templis sæpe fuerunt, sinceram tamen et castam religionem de unico Deo in corde servabant. Nullum argumentum magis me movet isto.

Eadem ratione qua Deus idololatriam prohibet, tali ratione adulterium, stuprum, et cetera vitia prohibet; nec unum magis damnat quam reliquum: sed propter unum nemo patriam relinquere tenetur, quomodo dicunt, nec propter alterum.

Ista non scribo, ornatissime vir, ut vestram sententiam sciam, sed semel cognita absque omni fūco et simulatione Deo dante diligentissime sequar: nec ego de hac re dubito; piis hominibus tamen nondum satis in fide instructis satisfacere cupio. Dominus Jesus servet te diu incolumem. Amen.

Salutabis, quæso, uxorem vestram meo nomine, et alterum Anglum fratrem meum in Christo ac amicum qui vobiscum habitat Tiguri, Dominum Burcherum.

Tuus ad omnia paratissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS, *Anglus.*

## EPISTOLA XXIII.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. ARGENTORATI anno jam fere lapso, præstantissime domine atque in Christo colendissime, literas tuas æque doctas ac pias recepi, quibus mihi persuadere omnino voluisti verum cultum Dei cum externa idololatria nullam conjunctionem recipere; ideo consultius atque magis pium esse existimaveras jacturam patriæ et fortunæ pro Christo sustinere quam impiis missis interesse. Id consilii veneror et colo: in eandem sententiam lubens descendo. Tuæ dominationi meritas gratias referre nequeo: sed rogo ut is qui omnia in omnibus potest, et qui vera fide invocatus propter Filium suum Jesum Christum vult ultra quam credi potest, abundanter ut sua clementia et pietas sit merces tua atque remuneratio. De hoc non dubito, quin eris, hoc caduco plasmate soluto, æternus amicus Dei. In-

terim dum hoc vescaris ævo, serva tuas ecclesias, libera lupis et mercenariis, collige populum Dei, et gregem illius misere dissipatum ad Christum verum et unicum pastorem nostrum revoca; certa illud bonum certamen, reposita est tibi corona justitiæ, quam accipies in illo die a justo iudice.

De longo et periculosissimo itinere meo in Angliam viva voce coram præstantiam tuam alloquar: multa passus in terra, bis vincula et catenas sustinui; Dei clementia, magna tamen fortunæ jactura, mirabiliter liberatus, in mari per tres menses ab hostibus et undis misere vexatus; sed nondum finis: quod hujus calamitosæ vitæ restat, precor ut sit ad gloriam nominis Dei et ad ædificationem ecclesiæ suæ. Ex flammis et aqua liberatus in Martem veni: nihil video præter interitum omnis pietatis et religionis: hostis Dei interficiat (si fieri possibile sit ut fides Petri pereat) omne os sonans Christum et matrem cum filiis, hoc est universam ecclesiam; sed Dominus respiciet populum suum, non dubito, et non permittet crudelis hostis tyrannidem grassari quo voluerit. Interim convertamur ex animo et vere ad Dominum, et haud dubie suscipiet lacrymas nostras. Sed, proh dolor, optime Domine! in summo periculo in summa securitate stertimus, et ideo non mirum est si iram Dei et nostræ impietatis onera crudeliter sentiamus. Emendemus igitur, ne graviora nobis immittat, scilicet ut fiamus post hanc vitam æterni hostes Dei; ut tempus postulat, patienter feramus fortunam quam nostra peccata meruerunt: nam propter iniquitatem corripit filios hominum.

Quæ læta heri accepimus ex Argentina, iste nuncius dominationem tuam certiore faciet. In Anglia erit religionis mutatio, et rex suscipiet Christi evangelium, si in hoc pestilentissimo bello Cæsar fuerit victus: si evangelium cladem sustinuerit, tunc retinebit impias suas missas, pro quibus hac æstate quatuor pios et nobiles viros combussit. Jam rex noster tenet in carcere Londini ducem Norfolkicæ atque filium illius majorem natu et hæredem: dicunt patrem et filium conspirasse mortem regis et principis nostri; horrendum facinus, si veræ sint meæ literæ. Uxor mea officiosissime tuam dominationem cum omnibus ceteris piis et doctis viris apud vos salutatur. Brevi invisemus vos, Deo dante. Dominus de Valys et uxor illius cum tota sua familia precantur vobis omnia læta. In ædibus illius est juvenis quidam pius et doctus, quem mecum Tigurum deducam: rogo propter Christum, si fieri potest, ut habeat aliquam lectionem in aliqua classe vestræ scholæ. Est studiosus et diligens: non recusabit tristissimos labores, modo exiguum invenerit conditionem, qua sese sustentare poterit: erit utilis ecclesiæ Dei: propter Christum sis memor illius, et si fieri possit, rescribat mihi tua dominatio: tuis literis nihil mihi veniet illius et ad utilitatem ecclesiæ suæ. Amen. Saluta meo nomine Dominum Bibliandrum, Pellicanum, Gualterum et reliquos omnes. Vestræ ecclesiæ precibus sollicite me commendo. Parce, precor, calamo nimium properanti.

Rogo dominationem tuam ut nomine meo et uxoris meæ salutes piam matronam Falkner, quæ nobiscum venit Basileam Argentina, quam ipsa reliquit virginem, sed jam cum consensu parentum eam duxi in uxorem.

Tuæ præstantiæ addictissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Piæ ecclesiæ Tigurinæ ministrorum  
præfecto, Domino Henrico Bul-  
lingero, peritissimo ac vigilantis-  
simo præsuli, domino suo in  
Christo observandissimo.*

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EPISTOLA XXIV.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

ORDO pugnae inter Scotos et Anglos in Scotia 10 die mensis Decembris [Sept.] 4 milliariibus a metropoli, quæ vulgariter Edinboraghe vocatur.

Dominus Grey, Anglorum regis locum tenens in villa Bononiæ, in isto prælio primus dux equitum Anglorum, extincto majorum bombardarum impetu, primam aciem Scotorum cum equitibus adoriebatur, ut ordinem inturbaret: frustratus sua spe coactus est retrocedere, cæsis 48 equitibus. Comes de Warwicke, qui sagittarios duxerat, animadvertens equitum vires inclinare, cum 4000 sagittariis extemplo ac subito illam partem Scotorum exercitus oppugnavit, ubi majores bombardæ et belli apparatus essent. Telorum ictu ita Scotos molestavit, ut a bombardarum custodia coacti sunt discedere: quibus potitus, bombardarum globulis ac sagittariorum telis coegit universum Scotorum exercitum a loco in quo prius erat discedere, ubi non tantum a facie et a tergo hostes habebat, sed etiam solem adversum illorum oculos radiis verberantem. Quod cum videret D. Grey, a latere cum equitibus iterum magno impetu tendit cum clamore ac sonitu magno, clamantes, "Scoti fugiunt, Scoti fugiunt." Scoti equitum viribus inferiores ordinem belli minime servare valebant, quo perturbato fugam sibi optabant: in qua ceciderunt 15000, et capti sunt 2000, inter quos et Dominus Huntley, primus cancellarius regni Scotiæ. Eo die naves Angli appulerunt in varios portus Scotorum, ac ceperunt omnes naves quæ vel ad mercaturam vel navale bellum erant idoneæ; ceteras combusserunt. Regina, audito hoc infelici nuncio, obtulit sese Protectori ad quas condiciones ipse optaret. Protector acceptis sex nobilibus, qui pro fide reginæ sunt obsides, relictis copiis in 5 locis regni Scotiæ, ne in illius absentia

seditio oriretur, reversus est Londinum, ubi brevi expectatur synodus, in qua hæc discordia, si Deus velit, dirimetur. Hæc vera sunt; nam qui ad me scripserit interfuit bello, et exhaustam vidit pugnam.

Tuæ præstantiæ semper studiosissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

## EPISTOLA XXV.

JOANNES HOPERUS MARTINO BUCERO.

S. P. PRIDIE quam has literas scripsi, D. Pellicanum conveni, quem tuo nomine ac jussu salutavi: is recepit hospitio viduam D. Matthiæ, piam ac probam mulierem, ex quo intellexi te per illam ad me dedisse literas, ac jussit, si aliquid ad te rescriberem, in crastinum facerem; nam eo die vidua a nobis esset discessura. Nolui igitur ut ad vos sine meis literis rediret, ne pia tua epistola indignum me existimares, quam non sine summo desiderio ac animi voluptate legi. Bene dicis: in hoc cognoscuntur omnes, quod Christi discipuli sumus, si dilexerimus nos mutuo. Diligamus igitur non ore, non lingua, sed opere et veritate. Nam dilectio testimonium certissimum est justificationis nostræ et cœlestis sigillum acceptationis nostræ in Christo Jesu, ut Joannes dicit: "Omnis qui diligit ex Deo natus est, et cognoscit Deum; qui non diligit non novit, quoniam Deus caritas est." Siquidem gustavimus quod benignus sit Dominus, abjiciamus opera tenebrarum, induentes arma lucis, tanquam in die composite ambulantes, non contentione et æmulatione, sed induentes Dominum Jesum Christum; ut fratrum infirmitates spiritu mansuetudinis instaureremus, vel patienter feramus. Exulet malitia, omnis dolus, simulationes ac invidentiæ; nam modo nati sumus, lac illud animi, quod dolum nescit, ut appetamus et per illud subolescamus. Mi domine, te oro in Christo Jesu, ne nimium tribuas invidis ac maledicis calumniatoribus. Non ignoras, quod obtrectatio invidiæ semper solet lacerare plerosque, obtrectatores multa fingere, et fraternam caritatem invidia et obtrectatione impediri. Valeant qui inter te et istos homines dissidium volunt. Hoc tibi polliceor, quod amici ac cum honore sæpius mentionem tui faciunt. Et quanquam a tua sententia in causa *εὐχαριστίας* dissentiant, uti et ego, non tamen a christiana caritate dissident, multo minus hostiliter odiunt; sed suis precibus et te et quos Dominus tibi in sua ecclesia commendavit sollicitè adjuvant, ut tu vicissim pro illis facias maxime sperant. Ne sitis igitur propter Christum, qui suo ipsius sanguine omnes inimicitias, infernum, et peccatum in cruce perlitavit, contentione et æmulatione discordes, ut ne amplius litigetis lingua, neque aures præbeas iis, quibus nihil abest nisi res

et virtus. Componatur dissidium auctoritate verbi. Nemo mordicus suam sententiam defendat: recurramus potius ad viam veritatis, et humiliter nostra errata agnoscamus, quam semper male currere et non pœnitere, ne errasse videamur. Meminerimus ad amicitiam et concordiam esse conditos, ut hic in tristissimo seculo mutuis officiis aliorum miseras sublevemus, et in futuro sempiterna felicitate cum Christo conregnemus. Quis enim est furor? quæ amentia aut insania, ut illum hic odio prosequamur, qui si in Christo diem suum obierit, transit a morte ad vitam, (quo etiam ego duce Christo post has tenebras evolare spero,) cum quibus perpetua caritate, perenni gaudio conglutinabimur?

Rogo, mi domine, ne propter Lutherum aliquid dicas vel scribas contra caritatem aut pietatem, et urgeas conscientias hominum verbis illius in sacra cœna. Quamvis lubenter cum gratiarum actione agnosco bona Dei in homine jam mortuo, tamen non carebat suis vitiis. Hoc non dico in contumeliam defuncti hominis, quia scio quod nullus vivus est ἀνύμων; omnes egentes sumus gratia Dei. Posteaquam incaluit conflictio de cœna cum Zuinglio et Ecolampadio, multis locis scripturæ vim intulit, ut sunt isti: "Ascendit, ut adimpleret omnia." "Ego sum vobiscum usque ad consummationem seculi:" et, "Nos sumus caro de carne ejus, et os de ossibus ejus;" ut corporalem præsentiam corporis Christi in pane staueret: quam perperam, status locorum indicat. Illos locos ad stabiliendam suam sententiam non esse efficaces facile omnibus probarem, si hoc nostrum tempus non potius consolatione quam disputatione indigeret. Quibus calumniis et convitiis etiam mortuos proscidit, nemo ignorat. Christus aliam doctrinam docuit suos. Increpavit Jacobum et Joannem, qui volebant ignem de cœlo cadere, ut consumeret Samaritanos; et jussit inimicis benefacere et bonum precari maledicentibus. Cujus spiritu, bone domine, fecit ut tanta ira in ministros verbi Dei accenderetur, judicet qui novit abscondita cordium. De morte tamen illius ministri hujus ecclesiæ omnes dolerant, non ac si adversarium aut obtrectatorem, sed socium potius ac consortem gloriosi laboris amiserant. Hæc mihi humanitatis et caritatis magna sunt et vera indicia. Hæc non scribo in contumeliam doctissimi, sed ut nemo juret in verba illius, ac si quicquid ille scripserit esset Apollinis oraculum aut Sibyllæ folium.

Scribis, colende domine, te non posse credere sacramenta nuda esse signa. Absit ut Christianus ineruditissimus crederet. Sacra cœna non est nudum signum, nec mihi in ea ullo modo supernaturali vel celesti exhibeatur verum ac naturale corpus Christi corporaliter: tamen religiose ac omni honore veneror et colo institutionem Christi propter alios fines; quod sit signum voluntatis Dei erga me et externum testimonium additum promissioni gratiæ: non quod per aliquod sacramentum applicetur mihi illa promissio, sed quod per illud promissio prius per fidem mihi applicata confirmetur. Sic ecclesia Dei baptismo publice

cum recipit, qui prius erat receptus per gratiam. Sic Abraham, inquit Paulus, accepit *σημείον περιτομῆς σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστία*: hoc est, testimonium quo Deus testatus est, eum receptum esse in gratiam; non quod per sacramentum esset recipiendus, sed in ea potius confirmandus. Sic sacra cœna est testimonium gratiæ et mysterium redemptionis nostræ, in qua testatur Deus nobis donata beneficia Christi: non ut ibi applicetur remissio peccatorum, quæ in fidelibus omnem usum sacramentorum præcedere debeat; nec ut exhibeatur cum pane verum corpus Christi, quod in cœlis est et non in terris; sed ut confirmet illam fidem quam habeo in morte et passione illius corporis vivi, mortui, et resuscitati. Et minister dat quod est in sua potestate, nempe panem et vinum, et non corpus Christi; nec aliter in cœna exhibetur a ministro, et comeditur a recipienti, quam in verbo prædicato, lecto, vel cogitato. Et comedere corpus Christi nihil est quam credere, ut ipsemet docuit, Joann. 6. Oportet igitur in fide adferre Christum ad sacramenta, et non quærere illum ibi. Et sic promissio gratiæ fide accipitur, sic etiam sacramenta, cujus rei sunt testimonia et sigilla. Alii multi sunt fines, sed is est præcipuus. Qui sic utuntur sacramentis non faciunt ea nuda signa. Sic Joannes Baptista dicebat, se aqua baptizare, et qui<sup>1</sup> post illum venturus erat, qui baptizaret Spiritu Sancto. Habuit in manu sua aquam, per quam in credentibus confirmabatur remissio peccatorum; sed non habuit in manu Spiritum Sanctum, ut omnibus baptizatis daret remissionem peccatorum: nam multos hypocritas baptizavit. Ex istis ergo sensibilibus fides docet insensibilia et invisibilia cognoscere. Hæc pio animo suscipias quæso. Non disputationis gratia scribo, sed ut apud te testarer, quod sacramenta nobis non sunt nuda signa. Nam si fides in animo recipientis perluceat, sponsus sponsæ suberratur<sup>2</sup>, ut nemo separet quod Deus conjunxit.

Quod de Calvino scribis, non recte intelligo. Ego nunquam in illum vel Pharellum cogitavi calamum movere, quamvis illius commentarii in Epistolam Corinthiorum priorem valde mihi displicuerunt. In Interim scripsissem meas cogitationes, nisi pro certo nobis fuisset dictum te hoc facturum; quod ut facias vehementer oro, qui habes dona Dei magna et insignia, et mille modis ad hanc rem magis idoneus es quam ego, qui sero ac cursim adhuc Græcas literas attigi. Dominus Jesus servet te semper ad gloriam nominis illius corpore et anima! Uxor mea te salutat. Tiguri, 19 Junii, 1548.

Tui amantissimus,

JO. HOPERUS.

LOCO INSCRIPTIONIS.

*Exemplar literarum ad D. M. Bucero,*  
*ad verbum.*

[<sup>1</sup> Et qui. *Atqui?*]

[<sup>2</sup> Sic MS.]

## EPISTOLA XXVI.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. Pl. Salvi et incolumes Dei clementia, colendissime domine ac compater, venimus Basileam 27 Martii circa horam decimam, et cras mane, si nautis fas sit credere, hinc solvemus: ut sumptibus igitur parcam, expedio aurigam cum curru et equis. Cras vesperi dominus civis vester omnia spero sua denuo salva ac illæsa recipiet. Quod longius in itinere suo incommodo et meis magnis impensis quam putaverat moram veximus, itineris asperitati imputari oportet, et non segnitiae meae vel equorum lassitudini. Huic optimo civi meo nomine referas gratias quam maximas rogo, vel hoc humanitatis officium meo nomine ac precibus injungas tui ac mei amantissimo D. Gualtero; nam is, ni fallor, vel affinitate vel sanguine domino equorum est junctus. Novi hic nihil adhuc nobis refertur, nisi quod pro certo asserunt, qui jam veniunt ab Argentina, missam nondum a civibus esse admissam. Hanc ob causam episcopus urbis non irascitur, sed insania et furore quodam furit, et instituit colloquium in sua civitate duobus milliariibus ab Argentina; et omnes qui hic me convenerunt amicitiae causa, dicunt illum parturire monstrum aliquod horrendum; sed faciet abortum, spero. Accipies etiam ab isto viro lintheamen unum, pannum unum, et pulvinar unum cum maximis gratiis: praeterea omnia quae mutuo accepimus in expeditionem itineris nostri Basileam usque remittimus. Raptim Basileae. (1549.)

Intra triduum plura accipies Deo volente. Remittimus lagenam: ad quem pertineat, ignoramus. Posce, quæso, ab hospite nostro, et ne graveris (omnia onera tuis humeris audacter impono) hoc mei causa suscipere.

Tui devinctissimus,

JO. HOPERUS.

P. S. Salutamus quam officiosissime caram tuam conjugem cum tua familia tota; D. Theodorum, D. Pellicanum, D. Gualterum, D. Butlerum, cum aliis omnibus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo Viro ac D. D. Henrico Bullingero, pietiss. ecclesiae Tigurinae antistiti vigilantissimo, domino ac compatri suo, omnibus nominibus optime merito. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XXVII.

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 JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. Gratiam et pacem a Domino. Obtempero jussui tuo D. ac compater colendissime, quod de itineris nostri progressu facio te semper certiorum. Argentinam venimus 29 die mensis Martii, omnes salvi et incolumes, Dei beneficio et gratia: hic nobis sistendum opinor ad tertium diem Aprilis, ut nos adjungamus bonis ac probis comitibus, qui ad nundinas jam proficiscuntur. Obstat itineri etiam aliqua ex parte filiolarum nostrarum Rahelis morositas: crescunt dentes, et aeris afflatus duplicant nascentis morbi molestias. Quae feruntur de Hedione, credo non esse vera. 30 die Martii interfui lectioni illius, quae erat ex x<sup>o</sup> capite ad Romanos. Candide satis de dignitate verbi Dei et aperte multa dixit, et admonuit suos auditores, ut ab Interimeti lenociniis diligentissime caverent. Nimum terrore et metu, non odio, puto esse commissum, quicquid commissum. Non deest ei pietas, sed adversum Caesarem nimium extimescit. Eodem die interfui concioni vespertinae: inter cetera concionata<sup>1</sup> (quod aegre audieram) magno stomacho insulse invehebat in Suvermeros. Dominus ei ignoscat, et det ei mentem meliorem. Paulus Fagius discessit ante adventum nostrum. Bucerus credo hac nocte discedet, quo nescio adhuc. Vocatus est in Angliam, in Poloniam, et in Saxoniam. Excepit me heri convivio, ubi inveni Jo. Sturmium, Sapidum, Christophorum Monteum. Valde grata illis erat Helvetiorum concordia, quam Dominus semper ratam ac firmam velit esse precor. Ego, uxor, Rahel, Joanna tuam caritatem, ac totius familiae tuae incolumitatem, ac omnium aliorum vestrae ecclesiae pientissimorum ministrorum salutem, Deo Opt. Max. sedulo nostris precibus commendamus, quos omnes vere et ex animo salutamus. Vale, vir praestantissime ac mihi semper colendissime. Argentinam ultimo Martii.

Tui obsequentissimus,

JO. HOPERUS.

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 EPISTOLA XXVIII.

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 JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. Spero, optime domine et compater, literas quas ad te in itinere dederim esse redditas, ex quibus intellexisse te cursum et progressum

[<sup>1</sup> Sic MS. Qu. concionator?]

nostrum Argentinam usque. Inde solvimus secundo die Aprilis omnes prospera ac optima valetudine Dei munificentia et gratia. Primus dies navigationis Argentina felix erat, et vento et flumine utebamur secundo. Secundo die etiam non minus affuit nobis Deus. Hujus diei noctem duximus in pago quodam prope Spiram, ubi eodem die in prandio fuere treceni<sup>2</sup> sexaginta quatuor Hispanorum, omnes equites, qui ascenderunt versus ducatum Vuritinburgensem, ita stimulati fame ut nec carnes nec pisces hospitibus pro nobis reliquerunt: tenuiter nos viximus illorum reliquis satiati. Apud illos nullus est ciborum delectus nec dierum ratio, pro quibus tanta Christianorum sanguinis copia insania papistarum effunditur. Tertius dies navigationis læta omnia habuit, quartus periculosior. Usi sumus adverso vento, fluctibus altis, imperitis et securis nautis; ita quod bis fuimus expositi magnis periculis, et nisi terram appulissemus, quod magna difficultate factum fuit, actum fuisset de vita nostra. Hoc contigit ad medium miliare a Moguntia: pedites venimus omnes in civitatem salvi et incolumes. Altera navis, quæ nos comitabatur, graviora est passa: merces multæ aquis contaminatæ; nauclerus impetu tempestatis agitatus cum voluisset ancoram demittere, tibiam implicavit fune, qui ancoræ pondus sustinuit, ita ut jam graviter se sentit fuisse læsum. Moguntia divertimus ad aureum cygnum, ubi invenimus sex mercatores, qui venerunt ex Leodiocensi civitate. Ii narraverunt nobis Cæsarem cum filio suo Philippo agere jam Bruxellæ in magno triumpho et gloria. Referunt catum illum malum Landgravium detentum esse captivum prope Gandavum. Rogitabam an Cæsar præpararet ascensum denuo in superiorem Germaniam. Dicebant [se] nihil ea de re famæ apud illos spargi. Interrogabam de civitatibus Locustribus. Dicebant Cæsarem suas copias omnes hac æstate in illas ducturum. Stet victoria penes illos, qui maxime ecclesiam Christi optant incolumem. Deum precemur, et suos eripiet a tentationibus. Id futurum fore spem alo, modo sancta concordia (quæ sola Cæsaris vires franget) conglutinantur. Res Saxonica dubiæ sunt ac variæ et, ut fertur hic, in maximo discrimine positæ propter discordias intestinas; quod si non separantur<sup>3</sup>, peribunt mutuis vulneribus.

De Anglia nihil habeo quod scribam, nisi quod misere ac magno cum periculo obnoxia est cruento bello, nullo ex latere tuta. Gallus et Scoti aperti sunt hostes. Latet tertius utroque potentior: prodest illum temporis opportunitas, metuo. Sæpe enixe vos oravi, ut interponeretis vos medium inter Gallum et Anglum; et jam iterum atque iterum idem supplex propter Christum, pacis reconciliatorem, oro et obsecro. Mementote mercedis vestræ, quam pollicitus est, qui mentiri nescit: "Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur." Ne deterreat vos regii nominis majestas aut alterius tituli fumus. Præterea res et conditio regis ac regni Angliæ aliter jam se habet quam olim: frater vester est, eundem Deum

[<sup>2</sup> MS. *treremi*.][<sup>3</sup> Sic MS. *Forsan, quæ—sedantur*.]

et, spero, eodem modo ut vos colunt. Quod si sic pergant et nullas admittant æquas condiciones, unus aut alter illorum succumbat oportet brevi. Excuditur jam nova moneta in Anglia ex auro præstantiori quam sub rege mortuo; sed quod augetur in uno, diminuitur in altero: diminuitur de pondere justo in coronatis quarta pars fere. De panno, quem vobis sum pollicitus, non ero immemor, sed mittam quam cito fieri possit.

Dum hæc scriberem, reddite sunt mihi tuæ literæ, colendissime domine et compater, quas dederis 26 Martii. Nihil accipio vere lubentius, quam ea quæ tuam sospitatem testantur; quam Dominus omnipotens, cœli ac terræ conditor, diu faciat salvam et incolumem. Utinam unum verbum scripsisses de pia matrona, commatre nostra, uxore D. Bibliandri. Spero in Domino Jesu illam feliciter peperisse: sin minus, vehementer dolerem. Jam scriberem ad D. compatrem meum Bibliandrum, si alicujus rei argumentum mihi suppeditaret occasionem scribendi. Cum venero inferius, plura ad te scribam. Interim vale, et ut semper valeas concedat indulgentissimus Pater cœlestis in sanguine Filii sui Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi; et memineris, optime compater, ut strenue pergas, ut facis, in sancta et periculosa tua palæstra. Si vel minima suspicio de tua constantia cogitationes meas molestaret, adderem currenti equo calcaria. Sed novi te intus et in cute, et minime dubito, quin meam expectationem multis nominibus superabis. Hoc mihi de te ex animo polliceor, quod tamquam bonus pastor pones animam tuam pro ovibus tuis. Idem mihi persuasi de docto et vigilantî confratre nostro D. Gualtero. Dicant, extenuent, excusent ut velint alii, qui veniente lupo oves dilaniandas furibus ac latronibus permiserunt; nisi pœnitentiam egerint, in illo die, cum venerit verus pastor ut segreget oves ab hœdis, mercenariorum pœnas luent miserrime. Pro tua in nos pietate et singulari benevolentia, cum ad te venerit meus manuaris, quod describat mihi memorialia concionum tuarum, urgeas illum, ut diligenter scribat non solum in Epistola ad Romanos, sed in Esaia et sic in aliis prophetis, ut distans ego et alios adjuvem donis Dei in vos colloceatis. Idem meo nomine exorabis dominos ac fratres meos D. Gualterum ac doctissimum Theodorum, viros mihi junctissimos [et] colendissimos. Reliqui satis pecuniæ Tiguri; liberaliter pensabo illorum operam, modo ipsi meas preces non spreverint. Rogavi, ut in hac re morem mihi gererent et omnem adhiberent diligentiam, ut conciones et lectiones meis impensis describerent. Tu tantum admone, pie compater. Ultro non peto: satis alias oneris humeris tuis incumbit. De civilitate hospitem ad hanc usque civitatem ab Argentina nihil scribam: sunt Scythæ barbari durique et inhumani Getæ. Iterum vale. Uxor mea, filia, Stumphius, Joanna et Martinus jubent te, uti et ego, cum tua cara sponsa et tota familia salvere; etiam D. Bibliandrum, D. Gualterum, D. Pellicanum, cum suis familiis, optimos viros et maxime de nobis meritos. Præterea commenda-

mus Deo omnipotenti sanctam vestram ecclesiam et rempublicam et prudentissimum consulem Lavaterum, ut vos defendat ab hostibus nominis sui. Moguntiae raptim, 8 Aprilis, 1549.

Tuus mente et corpore,

JO. HOPERUS.

P. S. Sleidanus, Argentoratensis, scripsit librum Historiarum ad regem nostrum. Doctor Andernacus, medicus etiam Argentoratensis, de medicina aliquod opusculum de Græco in Latinum transtulit, et dedicavit episcopo Cantuariensi. Vides quomodo pergunt strenue ad lucrum omnes. Dubio procul, si nullum immineret illis periculum, et rex et regnum nostrum careret illorum gratia et suffragiis. Audio, quod uxor Bernardini incedit jam in Anglia vestitu et habitu tanquam nobilis Galla. Sed plura brevi de ea sciam, et tu scies. Rogo ut officiose salutes dominum Mengensensem concionatorem ac hospitem et hospitam meam Zinchiam.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo Viro ac Domino, Domino  
Henrico Bullingero, pientissimæ  
ecclesiæ Tigurinae pastori vigi-  
lantissimo.*

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EPISTOLA XXIX.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et vitæ innocentiam a Domino. Si vales, colendissime domine et compater, cum sponsa tua cara et tota liberorum turba felicissima, bene est, et nos divina clementia omnes recte valemus. Spero te omnes nostras literas accepisse, quæ de itineris nostri successu te certiores in omnibus fecerunt Moguntiam usque. Venimus Coloniam undecimo die Aprilis, nihil adversæ fortunæ navigando usi, nisi vento contrario et tempestatum procellis; appulimus feliciter tamen. 8<sup>o</sup> Aprilis aliæ duæ naves passæ sunt graviora, nempe naufragium, et homines omnes quos veherent aquis obruti. In bacchanalibus proxime præteritis duæ aliæ naves hic Coloniae idem infortunium sustinuerunt: in una fuerunt 28 homines, in altera 12. Nullus vivus evaserat ex aquis exceptis duobus nautis. De rebus Angliæ nihil habeo, quod scribam, nisi quod Christi Domini nostri evangelium indies altius agit ibi radices. Admiralis migravit ad superos. Plexus erat capite et postea divisus in 4 partes: quanta cum difficultate mortem sustinuit, D. Joannes Utenhovius, qui hasce literas tibi defert, viva voce rem omnem aperiet. Cum ad vos venerit, excipite illum cum pristina vestra humanitate, quam erga omnes peregrinos exhibere Helvetica terra ultro consuevit. Vir est præclarus genere ac virtutibus, candidissimus in vera religione, et ab omni sectarum pernicie alienissimus, mihi et uxori meæ

longe carissimus ac longa consuetudine necessitudineque devinctissimus, præterea D. Joanni à Lasco familiarissimus. Non opus est ut illum vobis commendem pluribus. Satis illum commendabunt omnibus piis ac doctis suæ præclaræ virtutes et spectabilis doctrina: nostro suasu ad vos venit, ut audiat sacras conciones et lectiones theologicas, et videat usum sacrae cœnæ qui apud vos ut est simplicissimus, sic et purissimus. Divertet apud D. Butlerum Anglum, veterem suum amicum. Quantum est passus ob Christi evangelium a Cæsare, non attinet impræsentiarum quicquam scribere. Dominus vos omnes servet, ecclesiam vestram et rempublicam. Uxor mea, filiola, Stumphius, Martinus et Joanna, tuam præstantiam, totam tuam familiam cum omnibus aliis piis viris vestrae ecclesiae officiose salutant.

Coloniae, 14 Aprilis, (1549).

Tuæ præstantiæ studiosissimus,

JO. HOPERUS.

P. S. Mitto ad te compendium doctrinae de eucharistia, quod tibi perplacet scio. Vide ut is videat et ineat amicitiam cum D. Gualtero, D. Pellicano, D. Gesnero, et aliis. Scriberem communes literas ad totum cœtum doctorum hominum Tiguri, si vacaret, in gratias istius boni fratris.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præclarissimo Viro ac Domino, D.  
Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiae pi-  
entissimæ præsuli vigilantissimo.*

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EPISTOLA XXX.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. GRATIAM et vitæ innocentiam a Domino. Quam clementer haectenus adfuit nobis Deus, et iter nostrum prosperum fecit, colendissime domine et compater, ex literis nostris Dietikonæ, Basileæ, Argentinae, Moguntiae, et Coloniae Agrippinae factis te intellexisse speramus. Quas Coloniae scripsi, accipies per D. Joannem Utenhovium, virum præclarum et integrum, Gandensem, natum claris parentibus. Illum suscipite amanter, enixe precamur: præterea si contingat aliqua mentio sacrae cœnæ Domini, admonete, docete illum diligenter; nihil invenietis tractabilius, nec promptius ad discendum. Nos 14 Aprilis relictæ Colonia iter versus Antverpiam per Campaniam Brabantinam, sterilem et arenosam, instituimus; 18 ejusdem venimus omnes Dei gratia salvi et incolumes Antverpiam: 20 die precibus oratoris regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem nunc agit, compulsus Bruxellam me contuli una cum Joanne Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem et miserias aulae;

præterea servitutum bonorum civium Bruxellensium, qui jam Hispanorum imperium, latrocinium ac furtum, violationem filiarum, uxorum impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditissimæ gentis ferre coguntur, ut statum ac conditionem suæ patriæ altius consideraret, ardentius pro illo oraret, et diligentius suos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautiore redderet. Cæsarem non vidimus, qui raro cubiculum suum egreditur, nec filium, qui Pascha suum egit extra civitatem in monasterio quodam. Ducem Saxonie Joannes Stumphius vidit per fenestram. Ego bis fui in ædibus illius valde humaniter acceptus a suis germanis, qui ei adhuc inserviunt ad numerum 30. Voluit dux bis vel ter me admittere ad colloquium, sed impedivit semper primi capitanei Hispanorum præsentia. Vivit constanter in sua fide, et valet quantum ad corporis valetudinem spectat; de liberatione illius nulla penitus effulget spes, nisi (quod absit!) religionem suam mutet, et male speret de verbo Dei. Catus Landgravius captivus detinetur Auldenardi, septem miliaribus a Gandavo, homo omnibus numeris miser et inconstans: nunc omnem obedientiam Cæsari ac fidem pollicetur, missam ac cetera impia sacra obviis ulnis amplectitur; nunc Cæsarem cum suo interdecreto execratur ac detestatur. Dominus misereatur illius! misere affligitur et meritas pœnas perfidiæ suæ jam luit. Vidimus præterea Lazarum Suendie, proditorem illum quem nostis.

De Brandeburgensi ac aliis Germanis Hispanorum mancipiis nihil opus est quod scriberem. Legatus Papæ per totam quadragesimam in sua aula est concionatus; quam impie, non scribam. Hoc tamen pro certo scio, non bene convenire inter Papam et Cæsarem, nec inter Gallum et Cæsarem. Uterque valde sibi timet a Cæsare. Cæsar vicissim a fulmine Papæ maxime timet. Jam agitur serio inter illos, an concilium generale Tridenti an Bononiæ sit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat, ac jubet ut Cæsar consentiat de Bononia; is renuit, negat, ac pernegat omnibus modis, et potius dicit se omnes amicitias cum Papa dissuere quam illum locum (Coloniam scilicet) admittere. Quid monstri in hoc ex parte Papæ lateat, facile divinare liceat; diffidit regno suo valde: nam hoc didici ab oratore nostro, quod si Cæsaris confessor esset mediocriter pius, esset maxima spes quod brevi in cognitionem Christi induceretur; nam aperte mihi retulit et Cæsarem et consiliarios suos omnes regi, impelli, duci et trahi per confessorem, qui omnia Papæ suasu et consilio agit. Et facile credo; nam ante 7 menses, cum Cæsar adhuc erat in superiori Germania, fuit derelictus a suo confessore, quod crudelius noluit sævire in pios viros, et in integrum papatum restituere. Cæsar obtulit ei episcopatum in Hispania ad 20 millia coronatorum per annum; neglexit Cæsaris liberalitatem et Cæsarem ipsum hisce verbis: "Ecclesiæ Christi me totum debeo, sed non tibi nec dono tuo, nisi ecclesiæ mavis majori studio inservire."

Jam de Cæsaris animo erga Helvetiam: omnes in hoc consentiunt illum vestræ libertati hostiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem ut rumpat inter vos concordiam; si hac via res non succedat,

omnia aget pollicitationibus : cavete igitur ne lasset vos inani spe. Denique absque dubio vos aggredietur hostili manu, non ut sic vincat, vel multos ex suis exponat periculo, sed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuo vos diligatis : Deum timete, sancte vivite, strenuo pugnate, et exspectate victoriam a Deo qui proculdubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putant vobis non imminere periculum ; sed sitis semper parati, et absit procul omnis securitas, ne obruat inopinatos. Adhuc Cæsar bene scit se non posse pro voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi sæpius (ut accepi a viris fide dignis) aliquid mutasse in religione, quam si Germanis promisisset liberam maxime fuisse in re illius. Aiunt Cæsarem brevi profecturum Gandavum, et a Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam vel ascensurum versus Spiram. Copias militum habet prope Bremam et civitates maritimas, sed otiosas : nihil proficiunt, nec a civibus multum timentur ; indices magis ac magis civitates suas muniunt, et comœatum habent ad quinque annos, nec multum Cæsaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones a suis Cæsar jam exigit, credo te non ignorare ; dicam tamen tristem ac deplorandam orationem quam effudit pia mulier hospita nostra in Campania. “ Si,” inquit, “ ferre potuerim in sinu meo magnam ac jam mihi molestam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem et per stipem victum quærerem ; nam Cæsaris et reginæ exactores labores sudoris nostri exantlant.” Hac ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant. Concessa est regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetia unum. Heri 25 Aprilis invitatus ad prandium a quodam cive Antverpensi, qui optime novit Helvetiam, et sæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum exposuit merces suas, is mihi retulit se frequenter vidisse in aula Cæsaris, ex eo quod Cæsar superiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, publicos ministros civitatis Lucernanæ ; nam bene novit illos ex colore vestium : metuendum est ne arcana patriæ per hujusmodi patefiant, vel aliquid majus malum lateat.

Primo Maii agent Bruxellæ novum triumphum in gratiam principis Hispaniæ. De priore audivisti per D. Joannem Utenhovium, spero ; sed quod non vidit portas et columnas novas extructas in civitate, scies quod in prima porta sit columna cui inscribitur, “ Beati qui ejus parent imperio.”

Quis genus Austriadum, quis stirpem Cæsaris altam  
Herculei vere generis esse negat ?

Ex altera parte :

Alcidem jactant nugæ et fictitia monstra :  
Caroleos ausus fortia gesta probant.

In porta secunda :

Sancta fides merito collaudat vosque patresque,  
Auxilio quorum cæpit et aucta fides.

Ex alia parte :

Se ter felicem hoc fausto tempore clamat,  
Prole quod Augusta vindice tuta manet.

Tertia porta imaginem habet Herculis navigantis cum suis columnis,

cui utrinque virilis statua apponitur. Prior inquit, Perge: Altera, Veni. Carmina sunt hæc:

Adsit Caroleo cælestis palma labori,  
Et maneat soli gloria prima Deo.

Item:

Fida lacessiti cunctatio restituat rem,  
Christicolamque fidem provehat ulterius.

Antverpiæ aquila est depicta expansis alis, sub cujus pedibus hæc impia sacerorum est applicatio subscripta: "Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos."

Primo Maii in triumpho Bruxellæ certabant primi hastis in equis princeps Hispaniæ et filius ducis de Arschot Brabantini: nescio quo fato quave negligentia galea principis male firmata non potuit sustinere ictum teli filii de Arschot, ita quod princeps fuit læsus bis in facie; semel in mento, secundo in fronte; sed nihil erit ex vulneribus periculi. Cæsar tamen timore percussus distulit certamen inceptum in octavum diem sequentem. De Frisia orientali audio admiserit interdecretum Cæsaris: si res ita se habeat, redibit in Angliam brevi D. à Lasco, cujus absentiam vehementer doleo, præsertim cum Petrus Martyr et Bernardinus mordicus defendunt Lutheranismum, et jam adest etiam tertius qui nullum non movebit lapidem ut locum obtineat: is est Bucerus. Angli omnes, ut audio, recte sentiunt de eo argumento. Si ad nos brevi non venerit D. à Lasco, mittam ei literas tuas cum scripto. Sed si Deus velit, optarem ut coram homines convenirem. Mansimus hic ad 14 dies, ut commodius hinc in Angliam trajiceremus cum docto et perito nauta Anglo, qui hic agit et onera expectat: sed metuo ne ventus mutet se in contrarium; tunc et tempus et impensas perdemus frustra.

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## EPISTOLA XXXI.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

VOLUI ad aliquot dies consulere viribus uxoris et filioliæ nostræ, quæ ut ex itineris labore utcumque fuerunt dissipata, ita jam ex otio easdem mediocriter rursus congregaverunt. Accipies cum istis literis pannum unum pro caligis meliorem quam prius a me emisti, eodem tamen pretio vel minori. Continet (æstimo) 20 ulnas Tigurinas ad minus: si plures vel minores contineat, hoc per proximas literas mihi significabis, quas mittas quæso ad Ricardum Hilles, veterem nostrum amicum; tunc spero bona fide mihi restituentur. Dividatur iste pannus inter D. Consulem et te: misissem secundum, si hic venalem invenissem. Quamprimum venero Londinum, mittam volente Deo non pejorem nec majori pretio. Omnes hic qui pannos ex Anglia transportant, vendunt pro lucro, et difficulter hunc pannum inveni. Multa millia habent, sed non vendunt nisi iis qui 10 vel 20 integros una emunt, ne ordinem pannorum confundant, ut

meliores, mediocres, ac pejores adjuvent sese mutuo in pretio et distractione. Vel si tu tibi hunc pannum, vel D. Consul sibi servet; alteri vestrum qui caret mittam secundum. Hunc emi 40 solidis in albo, hoc est sex ducatis; ducatus facit 40 stuferos Brabantinos; 40 stuferi Brabantini conficiunt 24 baziones Constantienses; pro tinctura panni dedi 3 solidos Brabantinos, qui constituunt 28 baziones Constantienses et parum plus: pro vectura Argentinam usque nescio adhuc quid sim daturus; sed subducta ratione omnium impensarum habebitis ulnam Tigurinam pro 10 batziis Tigurinis; si sint 20 ulnae, faciunt vigesies decem batz, vigesies decem constituunt ducentos batzios, ducenti batzii faciunt 8 coronatos Gallicos solares, quod est pretium integri panni. Cum venero Londinum, forte mittam ad vos minori pretio; interim æqui bonique consulite meam operam, quam tibi ut patri ac domino maxime colendissimo debeo, debeboque dum vixero. Velim ut iste pannus partiretur inter D. Consulem et te, ut cum misero secundum, pares sitis in panni præstantia et pretii æqualitate. Et si posthac pro vestibus vel caligis placeat uti panno Anglicano (idem dices meo nomine D. ac fratri nostro Gualtero), meam operam vobis lubentissime semper impendam. Et vos ut me amatis, videte, ut qui meis impensis scribunt, diligentissime vestrarum concionum memorialia accipiant; si ipsi non parcant laboribus, ego vicissim non parcam pecunia. Pecuniam pro panno isto servate apud vos, donec per literas te certiore fecero, in quem usum ea utar. Salutant tuam caritatem, uxorem tuam et totam tuam familiam, uxor mea et qui mecum sunt omnes, et nostro nomine omnium precaberis salutem D. Gualtero, D. Pellicano vero Israelitæ, ac omnibus aliis doctis ac amantissimis fratribus. Non gravaberis præterea summa reverentia ac honore meo nomine officiosissime D. Consulem salutare, cui omnia prospera et reipublicæ Tigurinæ summis votis opto. Dominus servet te suo Spiritu diu salvum, pium, et incolumem, et defendas ovile Christi lupis ac mercenariis usque ad adventum gloriæ Dei! Antverpiæ, 3 Maii, 1549.

Tuus mente et corpore semper,

JO. HOPERUS.

P.S. Curabis alias literas quas ad te mitto, quibus destinantur, quæso. Post Pascha uxor mea scripsit matri, quæ agit ab Antverpia 15 milliaribus. Nuntius invenit patrem mortuum; mater accepit literas ac dedit fratri uxoris meæ legendas, qui statim projecit illas non lectas in ignem. Vides verba Christi vera esse: Frater persequetur fratrem propter verbum Dei.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Serco Christi D. Henrico Bullingero,  
ecclesie Tigurinæ pietissimæ  
præsuli vigilantissimo, ac domino  
suo in primis colendissimo.*

## EPISTOLA XXXII.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. IGNOSCAS brevitati literarum, amantissime domine et compater : intelliges per D. Butlerum fratrem nostrum, quibus rebus impediior, et cum quibus intra biduum certare oportet in causa repudii. In commentariis meis, quæ in decalogum proxime scripserim, parem potestatem et viro et mulieri propter adulterium fecerim, si omnino velint ea libertate uti, de qua Christus in evangelio ecclesiæ suæ copiam fecerit, ubi fides conjugalis adulterio dissolvatur. Adversarii mei viro permittunt causa stupri divortium facere et alteri nubere, sed mulieri non item. In proximis tuis literis ut me diligas unico verbo vel patrocineris vel errorem corrigas velim. Omnes recte valemus. Joannem Stumphium Oxoniam misi per multos honestos viros commendatum, maxime per Trehernum tui valde studiosum. Cantuariensis, cum redderem tuas literas, non dignatus est vel de tua humanitate vel de pientissima vestra ecclesia verbulum facere. Bucerus omnia apud illum potest, quem episcopus regiæ lectioni publicæ Cantabrigiæ præficiet. D. à Lasco abest, quod male habet omnibus piis. Cras per certum ac probum amicum mittam ei tuas literas cum libro et scriptis. Expectabis longiores literas, Deo favente, intra 14 dies, cum quibus pannum etiam accipies. Uxor mea semper tui mentionem facit in suis precibus, et jubet te cum cara tua conjuge et tota tua familia salvare : etiam filiola nostra Rachel in spiritu idem precatur cum Martino et Joanna. Tu, colendissime domine, nostro omnium nomine D. Gualterum, D. Pellicanum, D. Gesnerum et omnes alios salutabis. Londini, ultimo Maii (1549.)

Tui amantissimus perpetuo,

JO. HOPERUS.

## EPISTOLA XXXIII.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. QUAM gratæ mihi fuere tuæ literæ, colendissime domine et compater, tui ingentis erga nos amoris certissimum pignus, dici non potest : ut idem semper facias vehementer oro ; nihil nobis lætius evenire queat, quam de tua sospitate vestræque ecclesiæ ac reipublicæ incolumitate sæpius audire : tu vicissim per me semper eris certior factus de nostro ac ecclesiæ nostræ statu. Magna, magna inquam, dilectissime domine et compater, est messis, sed operarii pauci : extrudat indulgentissimus Pater operarios in messem. Talis est malitia et impietas episcoporum, quod pii ac docti viri, qui libenter operam suam navarent in messe Domini, per illos

impediuntur; nec ipsi concionantur, nec aliis permittunt concionandi munus: hanc ob causam sunt hic aliqui qui legunt et profitentur pro publica lectione sacras scripturas; duo in templo divi Pauli, qui quater in hebdomada legunt. Ego etiam pro mea tenuitate, fratrum meorum ignorantie misertus, bis in die publice lego tam frequenti auditorio ut templum auditores capere non potest. Illuc confluunt Anabaptistæ, qui mihi multum facessunt negotii de incarnatione Domini; negant omnino Christum secundum carnem originem duxisse ex Maria Virgine. Volunt hominem Deo reconciliatum esse sine peccato, et liberum ab omni concupiscentiæ macula, et nihil hæere in natura quod est veteris Adami; et talem hominem regeneratum dicunt non posse peccare. Addunt, qui post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum peccant, illis est adempta omnis spes veniæ. Urgent fatalem necessitatem, et Deum citra et præter voluntatem suam quam nobis patefecit in scripturis aliam habere voluntatem, qua necessitate quadam omnia agit. Quanquam non possum illorum pertinaciæ satisfacere, Dominus tamen per verbum suum os illorum ocludit; et populus magis ac magis detestatur illorum hæreses. Quam periculose nostra Anglia hujusmodi hæresibus sit afflicta, Deus solus scit; ego revera propter cordis mœstitiam tuæ pietati significare non possum: sunt qui negant hominem alia anima esse præditum quam bovina et mortali. Proh dolor! non tantum olim mortuæ ac sepultæ hæreses apud nos reviviscunt, sed novæ indies nascuntur: sunt tales libertini et nebulones, qui in suis conventiculis audent non tantum negare Christum esse Messiam et Salvatorem mundi, sed etiam vocant illud benedictum Semen nebulonem et seductorem mundi. Ex altera parte magna pars regni ita adhæret papisticæ factioni, quod Deum et legitimum magistratum penitus contemnunt; ita quod valde nobis metuendum est a seditione et intestina commotione. Dominus compescat irrequieta corda et destruat consilia Achitophelis: tu, mi venerande pater, fac ut nostrum regem ac consiliarios regni una cum nostra ecclesia Deo in tuis precibus commendes.

Ego adhuc parentes non vidi; brevi sum visurus, si Dominus voluerit: hactenus non licebat tui quod in horas exspecto mea vasa cum libris et aliis necessariis, quæ Antverpiæ servant propter ventum parum secundum; tui quod nuper in mea patria orta fuit diaboli instinctu ac hominum malitia commotio populi contra magistratum satis periculosa, nec adhuc omnino sedata. Non solum hujusmodi tumultus fiunt in mea patria, sed fere per totum regnum; populus mira tyrannide a nobilibus jacet oppressus: rogemus omnes ut tumultus occasiones pie tollantur, et populus compescatur ad gloriam nominis Dei. Plus satis misera est nostræ reipublicæ conditio; exspectamus tamen eventum secundum, ut horum aliquando meminisse juvabit. Cum venero ad meos, emam tibi ac domino consuli alterum pannum quem pollicitus eram, (hic non emerem tuo pretio;) præterea alium pro D. Joanne Butlero.

Bucerus est cum Cantuariensi tanquam alter Scipio et individuus comes; etiam Paulus Fagius, et Petrus Alexander olim reginæ Mariæ sorori Cæsaris a concione: intra 14 dies plura scies volente Deo. Nostro omnium nomine D. uxorem tuam cum tota tua familia, D. Gualterum cum sua, D. Pellicanum cum sua, ac omnes alios vestræ ecclesiæ jubebis salvere plurimum. Utinam haberes nostram linguam, etiam dominus Gualterus haberet ad sex menses! non dubitarem quin Deus converteret multa corda ad cognitionem sui. Feliciter vale. Londini, 25 Junii.

Mitto hic exemplar panni quod prope vos vel in Suevia hujusmodi conficitur: scies hoc per uxorem domini Musculi. Rogabis D. Butlerum ut ad me mittat pro 4 vel 5 florenis, et quanti vendatur ulna. Ego sæpius dolui meum a vobis discessum; nam Dominus aperuit mihi oculos, ut videam quam gravis et periculosa sit ecclesiasticis conditio: illam tamen volente Deo patienter feram, quamdiu liceat pia conscientia.

Tuus in perpetuum devinctissimus,

JO. HOPERUS.

P. S. Martinus noster optimus juvenis tuam præstantiam plurimum salutatur. Non dedignaberis nostro nomine prudentissimum consulem, dominum nostrum omnibus nominibus colendissimum, salutare. Spero vos accepisse unum pannum; secundum etiam brevi accipietis.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo Viro ac Domino, Domino  
Henrico Bullingero, Domino suo semper  
colendissimo, Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA XXXIV.

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JOANNES HOPERUS JOANNI STUMPHIO.

S. P. Accipies per hunc tabellarium, carissime frater, libros tuos omnes, quos diu ac anxie exspectasti, non dubito. Cui Argentinæ nostra commendavi, satis negligenter meæ exspectationi hac in re satisfecit. De vectura ne sis sollicitus; aurigis et nautis satisfeci. Si pecunia fueris destitutus, hoc mihi per literas significare possis singulis hebdomadis: necessitati tuæ nunquam deero. Cogor hic Londini et in familia domini Protectoris hære, donec res fiant tranquilliores: ideo admonco, ut certo scias, quo destinabis literas tuas. A discessu tuo binas accepi literas a D. Bullingero, ex quibus intellexi rem Helvetiorum incolumem ac prosperam ut olim manere. Nuper tamen ad nos ex Germania literæ venere, quæ testantur quinque pagos fœderis ac juramenti religionem cum Gallorum

rege contra Anglos inivisse; civitates evangelicas omnes istud fœdus pie ac fortiter contempsisse. Tu mihi, frater Joannes, pro tua erga patriam caritate tuos apud Dominum sedulo ac jugiter piis precibus adjuvabis, et qui inceptit in Tigurinis pium opus, perficiet. Vale, et meo nomine uxorem D. Petri Martyris cum suo famulo officiose salutabis; etiam Joannem ab Ulmis cum Hesso qui nuper ad vos commigravit. Salutarem D. Garbrandum veterem meum amicum, sed<sup>1</sup> toties salutavi et nunquam resalutatus, ut nescio an æquo animo suscipiat a me salutari. Londini, 1 Augusti, raptim.

Tuus semper ad quidque paratus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

P. S. Accipies etiam 3 indusia: quartum adhuc latet inter nostra suppellectilia quæ nondum disposuimus: mittam tibi sequenti hebdomada.

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## EPISTOLA XXXV.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. FAVOR ac benevolentia Dei tecum. Si adhuc meas literas cum duobus pannis integris, unum pro te, alterum pro D. Butlero, non acceperis, brevi accipies, domine ac pater colendissime. Diutius detinentur Antverpiæ propter tincturam. Salva tamen omnia ad vos Dei gratia pervenient. Non est quod mireris, hactenus te pannum non<sup>2</sup> accepisse; tam arduis ac perpetuis negotiis, ex quo Angliam intraveram, sum oppressus, ut nunquam nec patriam nec parentes invisere licuit. Jam mutata est facies, et conditio rerum Anglorum aliqua ex parte mutatur. Dominus meus, qui primas erat ac protector, agit jam captivus in Turri Londinensi cum multis aliis, ut melius intelliges per literas, quas habes in itinere. Metuimus valde mutationem religionis, sed adhuc nihil mutatur. Adjuvate nos in Χριστῷ vestris precibus. Rex vivit ac valet elementia Dei, eruditissimus ac prudentissimus puer ac princeps. Papistæ sperant ac acriter contendunt pro suo regno. Episcopus Londinensis, infensissimus hostis evangelii, jam vivit in carcere, ac depositus ab episcopatu suo. Hoc factum erat, dum res et fortuna ducis Somersetensis rectius haberent quam jam habent. Cum isto episcopo acris ac periculosa mihi fuit pugna, tum publice ex suggestu per vices ad crucem Pauli, tum coram consiliariis regis. Si fuerit denuo restitutus suo muneri ac episcopali functioni, ego restituar patriæ ac Patri cœlesti, nihil dubito. Ante 14 dies silentium erat omnibus lectoribus ac concionatoribus mandatum ac injunctum. Sed hoc duravit ad 7 dies tantum: jam denuo facta est eis copia docendi. Ego singulis diebus lego publice in frequentissimo auditorio Londini, et per

[<sup>1</sup> MS. si.]

[<sup>2</sup> Non deest in MS.]

vices habeo Joannem et Danielelem. Psalmos legebam, dum ducis fortuna ferebat, in aula regis: sed jam sepulta jacet illa lectio.

Mi colendissime domine, pro tuo erga Christum et me amore vide ut tua memorialia in Esaïam describantur, et ad me bona fide mittantur; nam valde indigeo tua opera: etiam alia omnia, quæ habes in aliis prophetis vel in novo testamento. Scio omnia esse pura, docta, ac sancta. Ego satisfaciam laboribus scribæ vel manuarii. Etiam idem peto a domino Gualtero et a D. compatre nostro Bibliandro in lectionibus suis, haud dubie sanctis, piis ac doctissimis. Disputationem Petri Martyris cum papistis Oxoniæ de causa eucharistiæ accipies cum panno. Joannes Stumphius valet ac honeste se gerit: dices parentibus ejus quod non deero unquam ei, si qua in re mea opera indigeat. Joannes ab Ulmis etiam valet. Bene facies, si scribas ei, ut diligenter studeat ac maneat domi: metuo, ne sæpius currendo inter Oxoniam et Londinum faciat jacturam non tantum temporis, sed et pecuniæ. Utere tua prudentia ea in re. Raptim. Salutabis omnes meos bonos dominos ac præceptores; amicos præterea omnes ac conjuges piissimas omnium nostrorum nomine.

Rogo, ut ames ac salutes optimum virum D. Butlerum, cui jam non licet aliquid literarum scribere; et roga illum, ut meo nomine det viduæ defuncti Zinkii duos florenos. Tu etiam dices afflictæ viduæ, quod dum vivimus erimus memores illius pietatis erga nos præstitæ.

Londini, 7 Novembris, 1549.

Tuæ præstantiæ studiosissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino suo longe colendissimo, D.  
Henrico Bullingero, D. suo  
peramantissimo.*

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## EPISTOLA XXXVI.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

QUOD tam raras ex me, colendissime domine et compater, recipis literas, temporis nostri calamitati ac rerum nostrarum vicissitudini ascribas quæso, potius quam tuæ omnino mirificæ clementiæ ac humanitatis oblivioni, quæ procul a me et ratio et caritas et jubent et mandant. Magnus ceperat nos timor, magnus metus mentes piorum invaserat, qualem successum Christi religio adhuc herbescens in Anglia esset acceptura post lapsum ducis Somersetiæ, qui adhuc captivus in Turri Londinensi detinetur. Quid de eo futurum sit, nihil habemus adhuc certi. Speramus quod ejus vitæ parceretur. Concedat hoc Deus ad gloriam nominis illius et utilitatem

ecclesiæ: quamvis multa videmus ei imminere pericula, meliora speramus ac credimus. Credimus quidem facile quod optamus. De religione nihil apud nos mutatur, nec posthac mutari debere speramus. Quamvis periculose undique jactatur navis, Deus tamen providus temonem tenet, et plures in consiliis regiæ majestatis fautores verbi sui suscitatur, qui strenue ac intrepide partes Christi defendunt. Episcopus Cantuariensis recte intelligit negotium Christi de cœna, et mei jam est valde studiosus. Habet articulos aliquot religionis, quibus omnes concionatores et lectores sacræ theologiæ subscribere coguntur, (alioqui non conceditur illis docendi facultas,) ubi pure et religiose ac Helvetice sentit de eucharistia. Nihil majus in homine desideramus, quam masculinum ac fortem animum. Fortunis suis (ut ceteri episcopi hic omnes) nimium pertimescit. Sunt sex vel septem episcopi hic, qui tam dextre ac pie causam Christi intelligunt quantum ad cœnæ causam attinet, ut nihil in illis desiderari potest; et quod suas ecclesias ad normam verbi Dei non reformant, metus tantum bonorum prohibet. Altaria hic in multis ecclesiis facta sunt aræ. Usus cœnæ Domini publicus procul abest a forma et institutione Domini: licet sub utraque specie ministratur, tamen aliquibus in locis ter in die celebratur cœna. Ubi olim mane celebrabant missam apostolorum, habent communionem apostolorum; ubi missam D. Virginis, habent communionem quam vocant communionem Virginis; ubi altam vel summam missam, jam summam communionem, sic vocant. Vestes illas ac lumina ad altaria servant adhuc; cantant semper in templis horas ac alios hymnos qui ad cœnam spectant, tamen nostra lingua. Et ne pereat papatus: sacrificuli etsi Latinum idioma abrogare cogantur, tonum eundem ac musicam semper diligentissime observant, quem hæcenus in papatu solebant. Quantis periculis ac molestiis hic versamur per hujusmodi homines, Deus scit.

Excusabis me apud D. Consulem de panno, et etiam apud D. Butlerum. Lapsi sunt tres menses quod itineri illos commiserim, sed Antverpiæ detinentur. Brevi tamen ad vos, favente Deo, deportabuntur, et forte priusquam ad vos istæ pervenerint. Jam veni a lectione; ideo rogo clementer interpreteris literarum mearum breviter. Bis in die cogor ad lectionem publicam. Cras et perendie (sit ad gloriam Dei)<sup>1</sup> absolvam sextum caput Joannis: cœnæque sanctum Joannem tractavimus. Pro alia lectione, tanquam nostro seculo aptissimum argumentum, Daniele doceo, et jam versor in 3<sup>o</sup> animali 7<sup>o</sup> capitis; in cujus argumenti enucleationem non parum emolumenti suppeditant tua in Daniele dictata ac memorialia.

Colendissime domine, pro tua immensa in me pietate cures omnia tua memorialia, maxime in Esaiam, omni festinatione describi, et ad me mitti curabis diligentissime. Ego impensas plene persolvam: nescis quam mirabiliter promovent gloriam Dei. Si quid possim et mea tenuitas ecclesiæ Christi sit usui, fateor fateorque dum vixero, sub sacri nominis adju-

[<sup>1</sup> Aliter interpungitur MS.]

vamine, tibi ac dominis meis et fratribus Tigurinis debeo; quos semper servet Deus incolumes propter semetipsum. Præterea si quid habes quod cito prelo committas, id dedicabis regi nostro optimo principi Edwardo 6°. Hac de re etiam monebis dominum Bibliandrum, nostrum communem compatrem, ac D. Gualterum, viros doctissimos. Si meis votis hac in parte satisfaciatis, non parum promovebitis gloriam Dei. Credite mihi, Angli omnes, qui a papistica tyrannide et fuco Romano sunt liberi, recte de cœna sentiunt. Aliæ sunt rationes variæ quæ me monent, ut hoc a vobis impetrem, quas impræsentiarum propter itineris periculum sileo. Vivite, pugnete cum antiquo illo serpente. Ecce merces vestra copiosa est in cœlis.

D. Bibliandrum cum sua, D. Gualterum cum sua, D. Pellicanum cum sua, fidelissimum nostrum dominum Butlerum cum sua, ceterosque omnes Tigurinos mihi semper colendissimos, salutabis. Dices domino Gesnero optimo meo amico, quod habet in itinere lexicon Wallicum, et quædam scripta ex lingua Cornubica, vulgariter Cornwall.

Tuus nunc et in seculum,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

P.S. Uxor mea et tua filiola Rachel cum Martino et Joanna etiam tuam præstantiam cum domina et commatre nostra, uxore tua, et dominum Bibliandrum cum uxore, compatres nostros carissimos, cum ceteris omnibus jubent salvere.

Rachel est felicissima memoria prædita, ac facillime retinet omnia quæ ei dicuntur, et præ omnibus linguis Latinam melius intelligit.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Generoso viro ac fidissimo amico D.*

*Joanni Butlero<sup>2</sup>, Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA XXXVII.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. QUAS ad te, colendissime domine et compater, binas literas a festo Joannis Baptistæ misi, interceptas vel perditas, ut ex tuis intelligo, vehementer doleo: quod si ad tuam præstantiam pervenissent, nec nostri status nostrique erga te amoris fuisses nescius. Hoc tamen mihi omnibus modis persuasissimum habeo, tali nos necessitudinis vinculo conjunctos, quod nec literarum jactura<sup>3</sup> in itinere nec ipsarum intermissio<sup>3</sup> delere valeat. Sed posthac (volente Deo) taciturnitatis crimen literarum seduli-

[<sup>2</sup> Inscriptæ sunt hæ literæ Joanni Butlero, sed ex contextu patet eas revera Bullingero fuisse dedicatas.—Not. MS.]

[<sup>3</sup> *Jacturam, intermissionem, MS.*]

tate compensabo. Quod sciam, etiam literæ uxoris meæ ad D. conjugem tuam ac conjugem compatriis nostri D. Bibliandri, commatres nostras longe carissimas, non sunt redditæ: ex illis saltem et nostri et regni conditionem uterque intellexissetis. Sed quia et officium et operam jam polliceor hac in parte diligentior, quam hactenus omisimus, tuæ humanitatis erit benigne condonare. Quam justam excusationem laborum meorum gravitas ac periculum apud te, colendissime domine, mererentur, jam non dicam, sed ad ea quæ mandas descendam. Primum, quod me attinet, paucis accipe. Ex quo in Angliam venimus, nec patriam nec parentes vidi propter crebras ac periculosas turbas illic excitatas religionis ergo; et adhuc (Deus meliora det) res sedate ac placide non componuntur. Vivit adhuc pater ignarus veræ religionis, quem spero tandem gratia Dei meliora docebit. Hic Londini egi sacrarum literarum interpretem, et aliquando in aula regis jussu ducis Somersetiæ. In civitate absolvi Epistolam ad Titum, et ex Joanne fere 7 capita: (in aula sanctum Davidem interpretabar:) sed quam periculose sextum caput, Deus novit. In Daniele versor etiam jam circa finem 7 capitum. Per vices volui sextum caput Joannis proponere et 7 Danielis, ut populus ex uno vere Christum, ex altero vere Antichristum dignosceret. Hæc de me dicta sunt. Uxor mea, tui (ut tuæ caritati quod debet persolvat) in precibus suis memor, vivit ac valet, non ut olim Tiguri in Helvetia; sed ut fert aer Anglicus et cœli nostri ἀκολασία. Rachel nostra crescit utrinque, corpore et animo. Anglicanum, Germanicum, Gallicum et Latinum idioma mediocriter intelligit, præ ceteris tamen Latinum.

Dum hæc scriberem (quinto nimirum Februarii, quo tuas ultimas acceperim), vocaverat me episcopus Cantuariensis. Is mihi regis ac consiliariorum nomine injunxit, ut quadragesima sequenti coram rege (qui jam agit Londini, et non migrabit alio ante Pascha) concionatorem verbi Dei agam semel in septimana. Aperiat Dominus cor et os, ut cogitem et loquar quæ promoveant illius regnum. Eligam mihi (puto) argumentum valde commodum, quod singulorum officia pulchre perstringat, nempe Jonam Prophetam. Tu, venerande compater, fac ut, quamprimum liceat, rescribas et admoncas diligenter, quæ tibi videntur commodiora dicenda in tam frequenti auditorio. Magnum sit oportet coram rege: nam in civitate ad lectionem meam talis est concursus, qualem templum sæpius non admittit.

Jam quid agitur in Anglia. Episcopus Cantuariensis, Roffensis, Eliensis, Davidensis, Lincolnensis et Bathoniensis, Christi partibus favent, et, quod sciam, jam ipsi pure intelligunt causam eucharistiæ. Contuli libere cum omnibus istis ea de re, et nihil reperi nisi pura et sancta. Cantuariensis, qui primas tenet a consiliis regis, lectoribus et concionatoribus copiam legendi et concionandi facit; prius tamen subscribunt singuli aliquot articulis, quos ad te (si possum) aliquando mittam, inter quos unus est de eucharistia, qui plane verus et Helveticus est. Marchio de Dorcestria, Comes de Warwick, ac major pars consiliariorum regis adjuvant

quantum possunt causam Christi. Rex noster talis qualem totus orbis non vidit pro sua ætate. Dominus servet illum. Soror illius, quam rex defunctus acceperat ab Anna regina, eo zelo et religione Christi ardet. Non tantum scit, quænam sit vera religio, verum tantum Latinis et Græcis profecerit, quod æquissimis argumentis ac ingenio felicissimo defendere eam valeat; et paucos adversarios oppugnat, quos non evertit. Populus tamen multorum capitum bellua recalcitrat, partim ignorantia, partim lenociniis episcoporum et sacrificulorum malitia et impietate fascinatus. Hæc in Anglia aguntur. De statu sic accipe. Sexto Octobris fugerat rex cum protectore ab aula, quam vulgariter dicimus Hampton-court, ad aliud castrum, nostra lingua vocatum Winsor, eam ob causam, quod ceteri a consiliis Londini in rationem illius animadvertere (ut æquum erat) constituerant. Utrinque magnæ copię. Ego quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, nullius partis esse volui. In fuga regis aderant Dux Somersetiæ avunculus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, conterallus aulæ, et alii a secretis cubiculis regis. Ceteri omnes nobiles ac potentiores vires conjunxerant consiliariis, qui Londini hanc causam egerunt: composita tamen res erat absque sanguine clementia Dei. 14 Octobris Dux Somersetiæ cum aliis ducebatur ad Turrim Londinensem, unde adhuc non exierat. Vesperi vel cras liberabitur per gratiam Dei.

Quod ad vos redit Dryander, mittite metum; sibi consultit, nec nostra plurimum curat, dempto lucro.

Dominus Coxus et literas et munus tuum honorificentissime accepit; putassem te ab eo hactenus responsum accepisse. Episcopus Cantuariensis nec literas tuas nec literarium munus multum curaverat, ut verum dicam. Sed jam, ut spero, D. Bullingerus et Cantuariensis idem sapiunt. Sin secus sit, brevi audies.

De Marchione Dorcestriæ quod scribis, quod habes prelo idoneum fac, rogo, ut ei dedices. Est pius, bonus, fortis et præclarus in causa Christi. Non parum promovebis gloriam Dei, si illum et alios tuis scriptis stimules. Mihi crede, honorifice (ut bene meritus es) apud omnes doctos et pios Anglos fama refert. Horriditatem literarum boni accipe. Post aliquot plura audies. Londini, 5 Febr., 1550.

Tuus in perpetuum,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

P.S. Admonebis D. Gualterum, D. Bibliandrum ac alios Tigurinos si quid habent ad imprimendum de religione, quod vel regi nostro, optimo puero ac doctissimo, vel alteri ex nobilibus dedicent. Tibi, doctissime compater ac omnibus modis colendissime præceptor, mando ac præcipio, ut aliquid ad me mittas impressum regi nostro. Curabo ut ad suas manus labor tuus perveniat, nec munus oratione nostra carebit.

Harum literarum nemini mentionem facias quæso. Scriberem D. Bib-

liandro, ut decet, D. Butlero, sed non vacat, Deus scit. Precor omnia felicia omnibus. Post triduum plura scribam.

De Interim et aliis post paucos dies audies. Jam exhibit Dux Somersetiæ Turrin, et intrabunt multi alii, quos jam non licet nominare.

## INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximio viro D. Bullingero. Cito,  
cito, cito. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XXXVIII.

## JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et vitæ innocentiam a Domino. Ut literarum intermissionis crimen (de quo merito in proximis tuis literis graviter mecum es expostulatus, domine colendissime ac compater longe amantissime,) si non omnino purgem, extenuem tamen; en tertias meas literas a fine Januarii mensis per postam ad te mitti curavi. Spero et illas te accepisse, et istas accepturum quanta cum festinatione qua fieri potest. Res nostras privatas ac regni hujus nova ac sortem pluribus ipsis tuæ præstantiæ significaverim. Sed ne incuria vel potius perfidia tabellarii, ut sæpius ac frequenter hactenus utrinque contigit, literæ nostræ in itinere perirent, operæ pretium duco paucis præcipua capita illarum repetere. De me et meis, quos nosti, scripsi nos omnes prospere valere. Uxor tamen, ut solebat, est debilis et valetudinaria, mortis tamen nihil gratia Dei est periculi. Rachel optima valetudine Dei clementia est prædita; crescit corpore et ingenio, et optimam spem profert felicissimæ memoriæ futuræ. Nullam linguam æque intelligit nisi Latinam. Ego adhuc nunquam fui in patria, unde fui natus: partim seditiois ac tumultus illic periculum, partim regis mandatum ut hic Londini Christi regnum promoverem, prohibuit; nec adhuc vel ad unum milliare (nisi bene comitatus) ab urbe discedere licet. In hoc tamen me consolet: negotium quod faustis ac arduis auspiciis inceperam a Deo indies magis magisque benedicitur, et satis amplum ac gloriosum incrementum dedit Deus semini a Paulo et Petro jactato. Non incassum rigamus et plantamus: nomen Dei semper sit benedictum. Sed jam creatus est novus episcopus Londinensis, pius et doctus vir; modo honores non mutant postea mores. Ipse, spero, destruet altaria Baal, quemadmodum antea fecit in suo templo, cum esset Roffensis episcopus. Vix dici potest, amantissime compater, quantis laboribus ac periculis laboramus et contendimus, ut expectoretur idolum missæ. Non parum conatibus nostris obstat, quod forma, quam senatus vel parlamentum (ut

vulgo dicimus) toto regno præscripsit, sit tam manca ac dubia, etiam aliqua in parte plane impia. Illam ante 4 menses misi ad D. Butlerum nostrum. Tantum eo libro offendor, nec sine gravi causa, ut si non corrigatur, nec possum nec volo cum ecclesia in usu cœnæ fieri particeps. Multa altaria in hac urbe, ex quo huc veni, sunt destructa. Incipiebam epistolam ad Titum, qua finita docui Joannis evangelium, et jam versor in octavo capite. In sexto capite, quod dedit Deus, libere proponebam auditorio de cœna Domini ad spatium trium mensium, et singulis diebus semel vel bis docui; nec Deus abfuit nostræ operæ. Mirabile ac frequentissimum comitabatur nos agmen populi, et Deus cum illis; nam corda illorum aperuit, ut intenderent iis quæ a nobis dicebantur. Sed ingens odium, nec minus periculum, ex sexto capite contraxi. Stat tamen melior causa; et hac quadragesima clare et aperte coram rege et principibus regni idem argumentum tractavi. In civitate ista opponit se nostræ sententiæ pro publica concione unus eximiæ eruditionis ac vitæ sanctimoniam, cui nomen est Cromeus, doctor theologiæ, D. Butlero probe cognitus.

Feria sexta ante Pascha concionabitur episcopus Westchestriæ, et sententiam suam proferet de cœna, invocatione sanctorum, et auctoritate scripturarum. Deus det ut pure doceat. Nos omnes pie in una sententia de omnibus articulis coram rege convenimus hac quadragesima; quid erit factum statim in feriis Paschatis, tibi scribam. Episcopus Wintoniensis, Londinensis, Worcesteriensis detinentur in carcere, et mordicus patrocinantur doctrinæ papisticæ. Wintoniensis, qui in Turri Londinensi agit captivus, obtulit se et provocavit ante mensem ad disputationem: promisit sibi dubio procul victoriam gloriosam, quam si non fuisset consecutus, submitteret se legibus et regi, ut in illum crudeliter animadverterent. Custos carceris prius acceperat conditionem. Dictus erat dies: episcopus cum pro certo accepisset me illam provinciam non delectaturum, sed constanter etiam periculo vitæ optimæ causæ adesse, mutavit sententiam et dixit, si rex ipsum liberum a carcere faceret, disputationem sustineret, fretus Dei auxilio, quod etiam victoriam reportaret. Quid tandem erit factum nescio. Interim rogemus, ut Deus nobis adsit, ut intrepide illius gloriam promoveamus.

Est nuper editus liber per episcopos hic pro institutione et inauguratione episcoporum ac ministrorum ecclesiæ, quem ad D. Butlerum misi, ut intelligas illorum fraudes ac ingenia, qua astutia antichristi regnum adjuvent, maxime in forma jurandi, contra quam formam pro publica lectione coram rege et proceribus totius regni multa protuli. Quam ob causam non parvas inimicitias contraxi. Quarto die a lectione accusatus eram per Cantuariensem apud regis consiliarios. Comparebam. Gravia in me dixerit Cantuariensis, quod formam juramenti spreveram. Rogabam ut iudices æquis auribus audirent, qua auctoritate hoc feceram. Diu ac acriter inter episcopos et me agitabatur quæstio; sed in fine catastrophe et exitus fuit ad gloriam Dei. Si sequens ætas non ferveat

tumultibus, speramus multa bona in ecclesia nostra: nam pax inter nos et Gallos est composita; quibus conditionibus mihi adhuc non constat. Tantum rogo Deum Optimum Maximumque ne sub nomine pacis bellum lateat. Cæsar pridie quam has literas tuæ præstantiæ dedi dono misit regi nostro duos equos præstantissimos Hispanicos. Eodem die Germanus Lutheranus misit ad Checum regis præceptorem librum, nuper qui prodiit in lucem contra Anabaptistas et Sacramentarios; eundem librum dedit regi lectum, sed nullo modo regi placuit nec ipsius præceptoribus, hoc est Coco et Checo. Ii duo cum rege pie intelligunt eucharistiæ causam. D. Bucerus jam periculose decumbit Cantabrigiæ. Pro lectione tractat epistolam ad Ephesios, pro concione diebus festis sextum caput Joannis. D. Valerandus admonuit illum per literas ne turbas moveret in negotio eucharistiæ: respondebat se nihil docturum contra sententiam Petri Martyris, quam ad te manu scriptam misi sub medium mensis Januarii.

De Interim (scis quid dicam) adhuc, nullis precibus impetrare potuerim, ut prelo committerem; sed ante paucos dies ob quædam negotia forte regem conveniam, cui dabo ut legat. Crede mihi, colendissime compater, tantam eruditionem cum pietate conjunctam et ingenii indolem ad mille annos nunquam vidisti in orbe. Si vixerit et his virtutibus adolescat, erit terrori omnibus principibus mundi. Ipsemet sua manu accipit omnes conciones quas audit, et illarum rationem post prandium ab iis qui secum student diligentissime repetit. Multi juvenes et pueri, qui ejus studii sunt socii, bene et fideliter in timore Dei et bonis literis instituuntur. D. Coxus non amplius regem docet. Eleemosynarius semper manet tui valde studiosus, et ingentes habuit gratias tibi pro munere, ut antea sæpe dixi. Cantuariensis accepit, ut nosti. Jam tamen mihi, quod sciam, favet. Marchio de Dorcestria tuam præstantiam plurime salutatur. Optarem ut quod proxime sis prelo commissurus, vel regi vel ei dedices. Præterea, si quid D. Bibliander, optimus ac doctissimus compater noster, vel D. Gualterus, doctus ac fidissimus minister Christi, sint aliquid edituri, dedicent etiam vel regi vel duci Somersediæ, avunculo regis, domino meo, (qui jam vivit Sionæ octo milliaribus ab urbe Londinensi, ac valet; sed non adhuc est ex concilio regis; brevi erit, non dubito,) vel marchioni de Dorcestria, vel comiti de Warwick, fidelissimo ac intrepido militi Christi. Is jam decumbit, sed nullum, spero, imminet ei vitæ periculum: nisi ipse meis partibus in causa Christi astitisset, actum de me fuisset ante quinque menses, cum dux Somersediæ periclitaret. Trehernus valet. Puto te ab illo literas nuper accepisse. Dictata tua in Esaiam, quæ Christophoro Halesio commendabas, non sunt mihi reddita. Parandum est hominis infortunio; nam cum ex Caletto in Angliam trajecerit, in mari periclitatus est per Gallos, ita quod onera navis in mare projiciebant. Rogo qua fieri potest festinatione ut omnia rescribantur, non tantum in Esaiam, sed in libros Regum; et ego et prece et pretio labori-

bus scriptoris satisfaciam. Pro panno, quem audio tuam præstantiam accepisse, nihil ad me mittas; sed, ut me amas, ex pretio panni curabis mihi describi quæ jam a te peto, et cetera quæ posthac sum petiturus, donec a me plura cognoscas. Sed de hac re tuam præstantiam admonitam esse cupio, ut cum ad me posthac scripseris, includas tuas literas ad me in literis vel Ricardi Hilles vel Joannis Stumphii: alioqui vix vel nunquam ad manus meas pervenient; talis est invidia et odium hominum, ut si viderint ex superscriptione ad me esse datas, sibi servant. Ideo oportet, nisi fidus contingat tabellarius, ea suppressere quæ alioqui non essent tacenda. Tanta est hodie ingenii hominum pernicies, ut nihil æquo ac dextro animo interpretari poterint. Fac me certiolem quot literas a calendis Januarii a me accepisti. Non id peto, quasi vel tuæ præstantiæ vel mihi aliquod periculum ex jactura literarum immineret, (flocci facio in cujuscunque manus inciderint;) sed ut postea fidelitatem melius habeam exploratam. Si consolatorias pro tua eruditione et pietate literas aliquando ad regem nostrum mittas, fac ut facias quam citissime, et ad comitem de Warwick, et marchioni Dorcestriæ: crede mihi, gratissimo animo acciperent; ad me mittas, et ego bona fide in manus illorum dabo.

Jam D. Consul alium pannum accipiet bonum, ut spero, solito pretio, nempe 10 batzionibus Tigurinis ulnam. D. Butlerus etiam unum accipiet, partim album, partim nigrum. Habemus tibi ingentes gratias pro munere, quod tuæ Racheli miseras. Ego vicissim in Christo tibi polliceor, tui liberi omnes, dum vixero, erunt mihi pro meis, si qua in re illis usui esse potero.

Joannes Stumphius agit semper honeste ac studiose Oxoniæ. Posses si placet in literis tuis admovere ei stimulos, qui illum incitent, ut egregie in incepto suo pergat. Si qua re indigeat, semper ei adero. Non est quod parentes ejus sint solliciti quacunque de re. Illos meo et uxoris meæ nomine salutabis. Uxor mea plurimum nostro Joanni Stumphio favet. Joannes ab Ulmis etiam valet, et studiose, ut audio, incumbit suo studio. Is a marchione Dorcestriæ splendide ac honorifice est adjutus ad 30 coronatos per annum. D. uxorem tuam cum tota tua familia, D. Bibliandrum cum sua, D. Gualterum cum sua, D. Pellicanum cum sua, D. Ottonem cum sua, D. Frisium cum sua, D. Sebastianum cum sua, nostrorum omnium nomine salutabis quam officiosissime. Martinus Mieronius tuam præstantiam cum omnibus aliis Tiguri jubet officiose salutari. D. Hallerum, Bernensis ecclesiæ ministrum fidissimum, ac D. Musculum ex animo salutamus. Ubi literas ad D. Ambrosium Blaurerum et ad D. Thomam ipsius fratrem miseris, utrumque nostro nomine salutabis. Dominus Jesus servet vestram ecclesiam et rempublicam, ut in pace, timore, et sanctitate vivatis omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ. Dies ac noctes vestri sumus memores in precibus nostris, ut Deus suo Sancto Spiritu regat, muniat ac defendat adversus diaboli ac mundi insidias. Sitis etiam nostri memores ac laboris

nostri in vinea Domini; vestrarum precium subsidio gloriosius tropæum in ecclesia Dei de hostibus nostris constituemus. Excepta Tigurina ecclesia, et quæ cum illa in religione consentiunt, nusquam in orbe purius docetur verbum quam in Angliâ.

Rescribas statim lineam unam aut alteram quæso. Donec a te aliquid accepero, putabo et hasce in itinere perire. Si semper roges D. Burcherum ut tuas literas per postam mittat, ego solvam impensas. D. Consulem in visceribus Jesu Christi religiose ac omni officio virum Dei jubeo salvare. Detinetur in carcere hic Tigurinus quidam, (nomen ei est Valentinus Warmulus;) ni fallor, sanguine junctus D. Othoni, ministro Tigurinæ ecclesiæ. Causas incarcerationis certas adhuc non scio: sive vim intulit mulieri, sive cum consensu ea fuit potita, me latet; hujus generis intentatur contra illum crimen. Præterea de aliqua minima summa pecuniæ furto ablata accusatur. Hodie mittam ad carcerem, ut plura sciam per D. Utenhovium. Rogo ut brevi significes, si sit Tigurinus an non. Si legi possit satisfieri pecunia, per tuam præstantiam admonitus illam lubenter exponam, modo Tiguri denuo mihi persolvetur. Vale, colendissime domine, et nos semper amato. Londini, 27 Martii, 1550. Die Mercurii proxime sequenti absolvam, Deo dante, Jonam prophetam coram rege.

Tuus perpetuo,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

P.S. D. Utenhovius tuam dignitatem officiose salutatur, qui vos omnes sedulis precibus apud Deum absque dubio adjuvat. Si scires, quoties mihi gratias egerit, quod miserim illum Tigurum, admirareris.

Unum est, quod abs te petam, fidissime amice, ut hisce lectis ad D. Cælium Secundum, qui agit Basileæ, scribas, et me apud illum excuses, quod jam ei non scribo. Scripsi hactenus et illum certiozem feci de omnibus rebus, quas meæ fidei commendaverat; nec illius unquam fui immemor, ut in feriis Paschatis per me cognosceret. Tentavi in gratiam hominis, quod postea scies. Illum precaberis, ut pergat in instituto, nec metuat. Deus vivit, a quo prospere, quod optet, assequetur. Viduam et hospitam nostram nostro nomine salutes, et si indigeat, non erimus immemores, quomodo in nostra peregrinatione pie nos tractaverit.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præclarissimo Viro ac doctissimo D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ pietiss. archiepiscopo fideliss. ac compatri suo colendiss. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XXXIX.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S.D. QUAS ad me dedisti literas 13 Martii, Londini accepi ultimo Aprilis, ex quibus pristinum ac paternum tuum erga me amorem probe intellexi. Partim, quod vos vestraque ecclesia pristinam valetudinem et gloriam consequimini, gaudio afficiebar; quod literæ nostræ, tam crebre et diligenter conscriptæ, in itinere periere, dolenter fero: posthac diligentius nuntii probitatem perquiram. D. Butlerum tam raras ex me accepisse literas etiam admirari nequeo satis. De sororio suo scripsi sæpius, qui ut jam honestum locum in aula regis nostri occupat, ita et Christi causam honestissime in aula propugnat; nec est eo hac in causa ferventior, nec qui aliis verbum Dei ardentius impertit. Est unus ex quatuor œconomis regiæ familiæ. Uxor ejus defuncta ante annum ad cœlos migravit, quæ erat soror D. Butleri; et jam nupsit alteri piæ et religiosæ virgini, honesto loco et parentibus natæ. Is officiose jubet D. Butlerum salvere, et ei se totum pollicetur, si qua in re eo uti voluerit.

Hæc D. Butlero significabis. Jam redeam ad cursum et tenorem prioris tuæ epistolæ, ut per partes singulis respondeam. Primo de me et meis sic accipito: prospera valetudine valemus omnes. In feriis Pentecostes facta est mihi facultas invisendi patriam ac parentes ad 14 dies. Patrem inveni superstitem, et si non amicum, tamen non hostem evangelii reperi: avunculum præterea vivum et Dei partibus faventem inveni, patriam; si multitudinem spectes, promptam ac docilem. Rogandus est Deus, ut operarios extrudat in messem suam. Reversus Londinum ad diem decimum quartum, regio mandato cras vel perendie in Cantiam et Essexiam proficiscor ad D. Cancellarium regni, qui jam varias ob causas ruri agit. Ea pars maxime totius nostri regni anabaptistico furore molestatur. Adsit Dominus ut bonam operam ibi navemus. A Paschate finitis concionibus, quas D. Ponetus die Veneris et ego die Mercurii coram rege cum consiliariis quadragesima habuimus, placuit regiæ majestati et concilio, ut episcopatum Roffensem Poneto, et Glocestrensem mihi, detulerint. Meum multis rationibus impulsus detrectabam, tum propter juramenti foedam et impiam formam, quam singuli qui episcopalis muneris functionem subire voluerint, admittere coguntur, tum propter Aaronicas illas vestes, quibus adhuc in ea vocatione utuntur non tantum in sacramentorum usu, sed etiam in publicis precibus uti solent. Hæc omnia ad aures regis pervenerunt, et scire voluit, cur in tam pia et sancta vocatione Deo inservire renuerem. Intellexit causas, quas hactenus scripsi, me omnino ab ea abducere. Die ascensionis proxime lapso fui vocatus, ut coram toto concilio rationem redderem, an juste et legitime regium munus declinarem.

Res quæstionibus serio agitabatur. Tandem propter Dei gloriam exitus quem ego et pii omnes optabamus disputationi nostræ contigit, sed non per me solum, sed per Dei gratiam et consiliariorum animi promptitudinem et amorem erga Deum et nascentis ecclesiæ puritatem et candorem. Sed dices, exitum adhuc non habeo cognitum. Talis erat, quod liberum me servabunt ab omni superstitionis labe et juramenti impostura. Hac conditione injunctam mihi operam in me recipiebam. Succurrite mihi misero vestris precibus, ut Dei gloriam sedulo et vere quæram, ne pereat grex ille pusillus, pro quo Christus mortuus est. De me non multa in præsentiarum exarabo, nisi ut intelligat tua præstantia, me jam versari in decimo capite D. Joannis pro lectione in novo Testamento, et in quarto capite Zachariæ pro lectione in veteri Testamento. Danielem absolvi, Jonam præterea et suum interpretem Naum. Sic pergam, ut possum: possum quidem omnia per Christum, qui me confortat. Nisi adfuisset mihi illius benevolentia, retrospectissem sæpius ex quo inceperim ab aratro. Minime cogitasset tantis ac tam duris molestiis obnoxium fuisse concionandi munus.

Consensionem Calvini et vestram de cœna, literas quibus strena ad filiolum tuam Rachelem (sic illam voco, nam tui et tuæ mei sunt) fuit inclusa, accepi et ad singulas respondi. Librum tuum regiæ majestati destinatum una cum tuis literis me præsentate obtulit marquio de Northampton, vir strenuus in causa Christi. Egomet obtulissem, nisi nostris legibus esset cautum, ne quis vel literas vel quid aliud, quod ex peregrinis deferatur, regi afferat, nisi prius consilarii fiant conscii; et has leges nemo violare audeat, donec rex ad constantis ætatis gravitatem pervenerit. Sed quod literas et librum tuum attinet, gratissimo et humanissimo animo acceperit, nec sine ingentibus gratiis: nam et de tua humanitate et incolumitate ecclesiæ vestræ diligentissime est percontatus; præterea jussit D. marquionem in argumentum gratitudinis regium munus tibi destinare. Cum hoc intellexeram, rogavi marquionem, ut illius Majestati tuo nomine gratias ageret, et quod satis argumenti illius gratitudinis haberes, si ipse rex strenue ac pie in vinea Christi operam suam navaret; præterea te nunquam solere quicquam muneris a quoquam accipere: postremo sancitum esse vestris legibus municipalibus munera et principum et aliorum omnium recusare: sed si quid per literas suas vel per meas placeret commendare, hoc vobis esse gratissimum. Tunc rex jussit, ut omnibus nominibus te illius nomine salutarem et gratias agerem, deprecans ut illius memores sitis in vestris precibus et ipsum et regnum suum Deo commendaretis. Eodem animo et D. Coxus tua acceperit, quem per multas hebdomadas, aliis seriis negotiis impeditus, invisere non potui. Comites et marquiones omnes tuo nomine jussi officiose salutari resalutant omnes. Comes de Warwick jam diu ægrotavit, sed revaluit gratia Dei, et aderit in concilio die Mercurii proxime sequenti. Anglia non potest eo carere, ut verum fatear: sanctissimum organum et audacissimum est verbi Dei.

Dominus confortet illum. Multos alios optimos consiliarios habemus, duces Somersediae, marquionem de Northampton et de Dorcestria. Cantuariensis multum (an totum nescio) Lutheranismi remisit, infirmior quam optarem, nec audet suam sententiam, metuo, in omnibus asserere. Quod consulis in proximis tuis literis, ut episcopos mihi amicos facerem; nisi omnibus modis id tentarem, modo id fiat salva et integra conscientia, graviter peccarem, et, ut verum fatear, sunt sex vel septem qui omnino cupiunt et optant gloriam Dei promovere. Illos veneror et colo ex animo.

Jam ut postulationibus meis pie concesseris, obnixè te oro. Si a D. Froscovo omnia opera Zuinglii, tui, D. Bibliandri, D. Pellicani, D. Gualteri, D. Cœolampadii, D. Gesneri in Bibliotheca sua et de Avibus, de quibus jam scribit (ut fama refert), mihi possis comparare typographico pretio, hoc est, eo pretio quo vendit bibliopolis in albis, faceres mihi rem valde gratam, et ubi animum illius intellexero, curabo ut habeat pecuniam in nudinis Franckfordiensibus proximis, nec libros petam nisi prius soluto pretio. Peto etiam, ut meo nomine D. Cœlium Secundum salutes officiose, cujus perpetuo, ex quo huc migraveram, memor fuerim, quamvis hoc ei per literas non significaverim; et per proximas tuas literas mihi scriberes, qualemnam conditionem Basileæ habeat: hominem scio profunde doctum, quem mihi lubenter adjungerem, ubi episcopatus mei conditionem probe intellexerim. Cum hujus conditionis bona ad ædificationem ecclesiæ et puerorum educationem contulit antiquitas, utrumque restitutum per me optarem, quod fieri nulla ratione poterit, nisi piorum ac doctorum virorum præsidio fuero adjutus. De hac re lubenter audirem et obtemperarem tuo consilio. Ideo quamprimum fieri potest per literas tuas postulata mea remittas; nam scio te sapientem et mei amantem, præterea multum in posterum prospicientem. Non dubito quin olim pannum ad D. Consulem et ad D. Butlerum ad vos pervenisse. Rogo ut quam cito mihi describantur memorialia tua in Esaïam, in libros Regum, et ab initio 13 capitis epistolam ad Romanos ad finem. Satisfaciam manuario, nec humanitatis D. Halleri futurus sum immemor, quod antea tot labores in Esaïam pro me sustinuerit. Habes hic quomodo dedices librum tuum marquioni de Dorcestria: ubi rediero post 14 dies a D. cancellario, mittam stilum D. comitis de Warwick et marquionis de Northampton; tunc plura et certiora accipies. Interim rogo Dominum, ut te cum tota tua familia et ecclesia prospere vivat<sup>1</sup>: et gratulor tibi ac filiabus tuis tam felix ac sanctum, spero, conjugium. Uxor mea et Rachel omnia leta vobis omnibus in Christo precantur. Excusabis me apud D. Butlerum, D. Bibliandrum, D. Pellicanum, D. Gualterum, quod nihil jam ad illos scribo. Hic fidus nuntius causas graves reddet. Tu, colendissime domine et compater amantissime, æqui bonique consulas, quæ properante calamo jam scripsi. Intra paucos dies plura scribam. Literas tuas optatissimas

[<sup>1</sup> Sic MS. Forsan servet.]

dulcissimasque ex 17 Maii scriptas accepi Junii 25, quibus proximis meis literis respondebo. Vive et vale in Christo diu et sancte. Londini, 29 Junii, 1550.

Tuæ pietatis studiosissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Insigni pietate et doctrina viro D. Henrico Bullingero, piētissimæ ecclesiæ Tigurinae antistiti, domino ac compatri suo longe carissimo.*

EPISTOLA XL.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et pacem a Domino. Non solum tuæ pietati scio, compater colendissime, meum displicere tam diuturnum silentium, verum mihi ipse eo nomine valde displiceo. Sed ubi mea negotia intellexeris, illorum difficultate ac magnitudine facile ad ignoscendum inducaris, et me ipsum ab ingratitude ignominia erga te tam carum amicum liberem. Quamquam, ut tuæ ac D. Joannis Butleri, fratris et singularis amici, literæ testantur, omnes ex Anglia, qui ad vos proficiscebantur, inanes et varios<sup>1</sup> sine meis literis dimiserim, tamen sæpius ad te scripsi: sed quod in itinere vel interceptæ vel perditæ fuerint, tabellariorum negligentiam, quæ<sup>2</sup> non tantum labores meos verum etiam amici mei optimi expectationem fefellit, accusem. Etsi tamen rariores ad te dederim quam ingens tua in me benevolentia promeruerit literas, id non oblivione tui factum est<sup>3</sup>, doctissime compater, sed difficultate negotiorum meorum ac magnitudine: annum lapsum magnis, perpetuis, ac arduis negotiis laborabam, ut per alios absque dubio accepisti. Graviter agitabatur vestiaria quæstio inter Londinensem episcopum et me, quod vehementer mihi semper displicuit. Ego enim illarum usum in ecclesia, ni fallar, merito reprehendebam, et illas tolli penitus ex ecclesia contendebam: ille vero instabat et illarum usum asserebat pertinacissime. Sed quia Dominus huic controversiæ finem imposuit, non puto opere pretium infelicitis tragædiæ sepulcrum violare. Posthac, etiam si occupationes meæ non interquierint, in scribendo ad te officio meo satisfaciam, nec a me ad vos proficiscentes inanes ullos dimittam. Fretus jam tua qua præditus es ad ignoscendum facilitate, taciturnitatem meam diutius excusare intermitto. Mea familia tota, ut et tua speramus, valet; et ut utraque diu valeat, Deum assidue interpellamus. Prole tamen nulla nos auctos scias, ex quo sanctum vestrum consortium reliquimus. Si filiolum nostram Rachelem nobis conservet, ut Filium suum Jesum Christum am-

[<sup>1</sup> Vacuos?]

[<sup>2</sup> MS. qui.]

[<sup>3</sup> MS. esse.]

plectatur et promoveat, in senili ætate nostris votis abundanter satisfactum esse putamus, quamquam plures nobis non contingerent. Ipsa a matre sæpius audit commendari plurimum locum et patriam ubi nascebatur; et magna diligentia et cura instructa in fide, quam olim per tuam caritatem et uxorem D. Bibliandri ecclesiæ Christi promittebat, graviter de me conqueritur, quod tam sanctam ecclesiam et fidos Christi ministros crebrius literis non salutabam. Jam, tanquam reverentiæ et honoris pignus, pannum unum integrum mittit, unam medietatem tuæ pietati, alteram uxori D. Bibliandri; ex animo gratias agens Patri cœlesti, quod vobis testibus in illius sacræ ecclesiæ societatem fuerit accepta. Si ita tibi visum fuerit, ut filii tui studii causa Angliam videant, non est quod multum sis sollicitus, quo pretio hic vivant: ego illorum curam in me suscipiam, et id faciam bono et hilari animo.

Scripta tua, quæ mecum ex Tiguro ferebam, (scis quid volo,) nunquam potui impetrare ut excuderentur; non quod piis et doctis viris minus placent, (perplacent quidem omnibus quibus legenda dederim,) sed temporis calamitas, seu potius hominum metus, qui gloriæ Dei sua consilia anteferunt, impedivit. Multi docti et summo loco habiti lectionem cupiebant illius libri, quibus ut debui feceram potestatem; et jam est penes D. Cecillum, regię majestati primarium secretarium, virum summa eruditione et pietate præditum, Deique Evangelio maxime faventem. Ceteros tuos libros, quos regię majestati miseras, summa diligentia tradidi marchioni de Northampton, magno cubiculario totius Angliæ, ut ipse regi tuo nomine exhiberet, quod fecit diligenter et libenter; per quem rex semper jussit te resalutari cum ingentibus gratis: nec dubito, quin tui rex semper futurus sit memor. Tu vicissim, rogo, ut soles, bene currentem commendes, et ad perseverantiam tuis literis semper exhortari digneris. Literas etiam tuas diligenter rex legit, et legendo magno desiderio earum lectione afficitur. Ideo ne putes operam tuam male collocatam, quamquam responsum illarum non accipis. D. Cantuariensis, tui profecto valde amantissimus, cum ultimas tuas literas acceperim in adibus illius, et de illis illum certiore fecerim, vix lacrymas continere potuit, dum animum tuum erga regem et regnum, et ecclesiæ vestræ perseverantiam in hisce tristissimis temporibus intellexit. Honorificentissime et te et summam tuam eruditionem commendabat. Neminem habes, scio, ex omnibus tuis carissimis, qui anxius eo et avidius in Christo diligit. Scio et certus sum, illum te ex animo amare. Contuli cum illo et rogabam, ut Italum, de quo scribebas, adjuvaret apud regem: pollicitus est omnem suam operam, et ne dubites. Si Deus optimus et elementissimus nos liberet semel ab ista difficili et dura tyrannide adversariorum Christi, qua undique periculose \* \* 4 omnibus piis et doctis viris erit pro nostra tenuitate prospectum. Rogabas ut agerem cum D. à Lasco pro octodecim coronis, quos mutuo Italo cuidam

[<sup>1</sup> Deest aliquid.]

contulisti: feci quod jusseras, sed an adhuc tibi sit satisfactum ignoro. Scio quod libenter nemini vis esse oneri, (quamquam quod tu onus, tui honorem judicent;) ita tua præclarissima dona a Deo accepta reipublicæ profuerunt, et maxime Christi ecclesiæ, quod tibi nostra omnia debemus, ut experieris quod voles.

Postquam has literas incepti, uxor mea et quinque alii ex meis concionatoribus et domesticis inciderunt in novum nostri sudoris genus, et periculose ad viginti quatuor horas laborabant: egomet ex eodem morbo jamjam utenque convalui. Rogate Dominum, ut nostri misereatur, et ut expectemus semper in timore Dei diem mortis. Severissima est hujus morbi lues in Anglia, et, quod est præstantissimum ultionis divinæ indicium, homines subitanea morte corripiuntur. Ad festum Michaelis proxime futurum, ubi mea negotia parum interquieverint, de meis rebus exactius plura cognosces. Uxor etiam et reliqui ægrotantes per gratiam Dei periculum morbi evasere.

Totam vestram ecclesiam et rempublicam Deo commendamus, maxime reverendissimum patrem D. Pellicanum. D. Rodolphum Gualterum, duos generos tuos, D. Gesnerum, cum suis uxoribus; omnes alios, qui vobiscum Christi religionem colunt; sororem nostram uxorem tuam cum tota tua familia, D. Bibliandrum cum uxore et totam familiam, vere et ex animo in Christo salvos esse precamur. D. Consulem Dominus etiam servet.

Dominum Cœlium Secundum in tuis literis nostro nomine salutes rogamus quantum potes, potes autem quantum vis. Age cum D. Joanne Butlero nostro, ut in Angliam redeat: potest esse multis nominibus usui reipublicæ et ecclesiæ. Nosti, quod patriæ sumus nati et non nobis ipsis: quod si res secus haberet, non fungerer episcopi munere. Saltem rogabis, ut semel nos in Anglia invisat, et per nos intelliget, qua via et ratione sibi et suis commode prospici possit. Dominus Jesus servet te diu ad gloriam sui nominis. Gloucestræ, calendas Augusti, 1551.

Tui, ut olim et diu, frater et compater amantissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS,  
*Gloucestræ ecclesiæ Epis.*

P.S. Dedi huic studioso, qui literas meas ad te adfert, et socio suo, Tigurinis, quadraginta quinque coronas Anglicas mutuo. Si placet ut æquo pretio pro illis libros Tiguri impressos, maxime qui tua opera continent, ad me mittatis, faceretis mihi rem gratam. Si Tigurini, qui huc studii gratia migrent, mea opera indigeant, illis pro mea tenuitate adero. Pro tuis ad me libris et literis summas ac æternas habeo gratias.

Ubi e periculis fluctibus fuero emersus, colendissime ac doctissime compater, proprium nuntium, per quem mea omnia intelliges, mittam. Quod tuarum literarum, quas sæpius deosculor, nullam facio mentionem, nulla admiratione ducaris, precor: nec tui nec tuorum in me beneficiorum

possem esse immemor. Qua de re et quomodo inter episcopos et me tam atrox lis et contentiosa incepta fuit, olim intelliges. Consentio ut dimicatio piorum hominum arbitrio componatur. In paucis causam ac campum litis expediam. Usus peculiarium vestium papisticarum in ministerio ecclesiæ magnum hic tumultum peperit. Solus D. à Lasco ex omnibus peregrinis, qui aliqua auctoritate valent, a meis partibus stetit. Vale. Precor Deum, ut diu et prospere valeas, valeantque in Χριστῷ omnes Tigurini. Amen. Quod possum scripsi: scis quid volo.

Totus tuus,

si tamen suus, et merito quidem.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Henrico Bullingero, Viro  
doctissimo dentur, D. D.*

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EPISTOLA XLI.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. Si accepisses literas quas sub finem Augusti et mense Septembris ad te dederim, colendissime compater, tuæ quas accepi Gloucestris 22 Octobris, datæ Tiguri 29 Augusti, non fuissent tam plenæ querularum. Spero te jam certiorum factum, quo animo et spiritu erga te sum præditus. Nihil respondebo, quo me apud te excusem, quamvis habeo (te etiam iudice) gravia et honesta, quæ apud te valerent. Sed alias intelliges, quæ adhuc reticere oportet. Tu et tua omnia non displicent nec Deo nec regi nostro, sed perplacent; et eo nomine utrique es gratus. Mihi dicis displicere, sed dicis tantum, scio; absit quod mihi sordescerent tua. Neminem habeo te cariorem in Christo inter omnes doctos sub cælo, et merito: multis nominibus per te et tua fui et sum adjutus. Si Deo placuerit, et qua in re tibi usui esse potero, et memorem et gratum tibi et tuis habebis paratissimum. Habeo ingentes gratias quod dignaris cum literis tuas pias et doctas cogitationes, quas pro concionibus populo concinnas, ad me mittere; quamquam ex quo Tigurum reliqui, præter utiles et egregias tuas Decades manu scripti nihil accepi, nisi in Esaïam ad 40 caput et in epistolam ad Romanos. Cetera tua cupio, et scribæ satisfaciam abunde. Quæ restant in Esaïam nondum vidi: me miseret infidelitatis hominum, quibus gravia et honesta subinde commendamus. Sed hoc tibi inprimis persuasum esse volo: si singulis mensibus ad te posthac non scripsero, cogita vel ægritudinem vel mortem in causa esse. Nescis omnino, quod alte percellunt animum meum querelæ tuæ. Neminem habes in Christo, scio, tui magis amantem. Quod superest, ubi Londinum venero, curabo, ut possim, literas regis, quibus suum animum erga te testetur, mitti; et

curam pii Itali, qui duram exilii necessitatem sustinet, sedulo sublevare per regiam majestatem conabor; si quid possim, ei dubio procul meipsum debeo. De sumptibus in mittendis literis Argentina ne sis sollicitus: lubens illos sustinebo. Utinam ad me venissent omnia, quæ hactenus misisti vel dehinc missurus es! Valde doleo jacturam literarum in itinere mearum. Sed Deum et homines semper spectabant ut debebant: eo minus animum exeruciant.

Quod de obitu D. D. Martyris spargebatur, vanum Dei gratia et fallax fuit; vivit et valet, statque fortiter in acie Domini pius et fortis miles. Si quid habeat, quod prelo committeret, scio quod ad vos mitteret. De annotationibus in Genesin, nondum decrevit publice edere: molitur aliquid in epistolam ad Romanos. Pro mea virili curabo, ne quid ex scriptis illius intercidat. Interim ut facis, facias semper ad Christi gloriam. Sunt mihi et omnibus, quibus Dei cultus verus est cordi, summopere grata. Te vero in his conatibus laborare vehementer, odium et invidiam complicitium diaboli et antichristi subire non dubito; sed felicia sunt pericula, quæ cum tanta Dei gloria conjunguntur. De meis laboribus, qui sunt exigui et tenues in Christi vinea, intelliges per Joannem Rodulphum, juvenem probum et pium, quem suscipias redeuntem paterne, quæso, et fac illum etiam tibi a me commendatum: tuo favore prosequaris: modeste, pie et studiose hic se gessit, ut postea intelliges, si placuerit, literis omnium doctorum et piorum qui student Oxoniæ; et, ut verum fatear, difficulter ejus abitum patior. Redeat, si magistratui Tigurino et tibi placuerit, ad nos ad annum unum et alterum, et partem impensarum in me suscipiam. Cum hinc discederent duo Tigurini, dedi quadraginta quinque coronatos Anglicos mutuo; si mihi satisfacient in libris Tiguri impressis, bene erit satisfactum. Inter ceteros opto biblia in magno volumine.

Quibus quam magnis et perpetuis negotiis obruor, coram ex nuntio isto intermeante disces. Parce rudi et minimum<sup>1</sup> properanti calamo, rogo. Saluta D. conjugem tuam cum tota tua familia, D. Bibliandrum cum sua, D. Gualterum cum sua, D. Pellicanum cum sua, D. Butlerum conterraneum meum cum sua, et quæso ex me dicas, illum non tantum sibi et amicis esse natum, sed etiam patria partem vendicat. Optarem ut saltem semel nos inviseret, et fortassis non pœniteret illum itineris. D. Consuli, toti senatui et reipublicæ vestræ, Dominus Jesus semper adsit, et protegat ecclesiam suam semper. Raptim, ut vides, Gloucestricæ, 27 Octobris, 1551.

Tui ut debeo semper studiosissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS,

*Gloucestricæ Episcopus.*

P.S. Rogo memineris meo nomine ut salutes D. Gesnerum et magistrum Ottonem, optimos et doctos viros, quos plurimum in Christo diligo.

[<sup>1</sup> Fors. *nimum.*]

Et si placeret D. Gesnero aliquando ad nos venire, curarem probos comites qui flumina, pisces, animalia quæ apud nos habentur, ei significant. Cetera quæ tibi communicarem differo. Iterum vale, et ut diu Christo valeamus preceris.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo Viro D. Henrico Bullingero, compatri suo colendiss.*

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## EPISTOLA XLII.

JOANNES HOPERUS JOANNI STUMPHIO.

S. D. Revertitur filius tuus ex peregrinatione faustus et incolumis, spero, eum ut dimiseris. Suscipe redeuntem paterne, quæso. Ejus discessum conabar propter anni et temporis longitudinem impedire, sed voluit omnino se itineri una cum reliquis Anglis qui ad nos studii gratia confluunt committere. Honestè, pie, et studiose se gessit, et si contingat huc redire, inveniet me patronum. Fac ut semper timeat Deum, cui te commendo: et nomine meo uxori tuæ salutem dicito.

Glocestriæ, 27 Oct., 1551.

Tui et omnium Tigurinorum amatissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS,  
*Glocestriæ Episcopus.*

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## EPISTOLA XLIII.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. D. Ricardus Hilles Anglus ante mensem pollicitus se bona fide meas literas ad te mittere: si accepisti, bene est; si non, spero te accepturum. Rogo ne imputes literarum intermissionem vel ingratitudei vel oblivioni, sed seriis et gravibus negotiis quibus distrahor perpetuo, et aliis causis quas supprimo, donec tempus aspiret, quo liberius literis tecum agere possem. Scio quod responsum tuarum petitionum, quas plurimum per literas petieras, exspectas. Exspecta paulisper; sat cito<sup>2</sup>, si sat bene, quod optas obtinebis. Si Decades, quas a te pii multi singulis nundinis expectant, præsto paratas habeas, rogo ut duci Northumbriæ illas dedices: te vehementer amat, et Christi gloriam promovet diligenter. D. Martyrem 20 hujus Februarii Oxonii febrî decumbentem reliqui. Dominus adsit

illi, et restituat sanitati. Uxor illius 16 hujus mensis migravit ad Dominum. Uxor mea et tota familia mea tuam præstantiam salutatur. Meo ac illius nomine tuam salutabis, et omnia bona filiis et filiabus tuis precamur. Saluta D. Consulem, D. Bibliandrum, D. Gualterum, D. Pellicanum, cum suis conjugibus, D. Butlerum cum sua. Londini, ultimo Februarii, 1553.

Tui semper studiosissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS,

*Wigorniensis et Gloucestriensis Episcopus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
pientissimæ ecclesiæ Tigurinae antis-  
titi vigilantissimo, et compatri suo  
amantissimo.*

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EPISTOLA XLIV.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. Solebas, compater carissime, graviter de me conqueri, quod tam raras scripserim ad te literas, et merito. Sed jam per annum unum plures ad te scripsi, et nullas a te recipere potuerim. Scio statum nostri regni tibi non esse ignotum. Rex noster propter nostra peccata fati concessit, non sine magno ecclesiæ nostræ periculo. Successit ei soror ejus, Maria nomine, cui Deus semper adsit suo Sancto Spiritu, ut regnet et regat omnia ad gloriam nominis sui. Altaria passim in regno denuo eriguntur, privatæ missæ multis in locis crebro fiunt: jacet verus Dei cultus, vera invocatio, rectus sacramentorum usus; divina conculcantur solo, humana prævalent. Deus propter suum Filium unicum Jesum Christum adsit ecclesiæ suæ. Omnes pii concionatores in extremo versantur periculo; qui carceris squalorem adhuc non senserunt, exspectant in horas. Interea publica auctoritate omnibus interdicitur ne concionentur. In eorum loca constituuntur hostes evangelii, qui e suggestu humana et non divina populo proponunt. Jam in solo Deo confidimus; illum enixe oramus ut nos consoletur et corroboret ad quævis subeunda pro gloria nominis sui. Raptim ex carcere Londini, 3 Septembris, 1553.

Saluta carissimam conjugem tuam, dominum Bibliandrum cum sua, D. Pellicanum cum sua, D. Gualterum cum sua, et omnes alios pios fratres, contreraneum nostrum D. Butlerum cum sua.

Totus tuus,

JOANNES HOPERUS,

*Wigorn. et Glouc. Episcopus.*

## EPISTOLA XLV.

JOANNIS HOPERUS JOANNI A LASCO.

S. D. Non opus est ut multis tuæ præstantiæ hunc nobilem commendem: puto illum et tibi et ceteris omnibus piis, qui nuper ex Anglia migrastis, esse cognitum. Tantum peto ut tuis auxiliis non destituatur, si opus hisce habuerit. Ex eo nostra omnia intelliges, et quo in loco ecclesiæ status fuerit: calamitose et misere. Dominus vultu suo placido benigne nos respiciat, et vires adversariorum debilitet! Fremunt et insultant indies magis magisque. Sed aderit tandem qui nunc nobis dormire videtur, et hostes suos prosternet. Si hac in vita misericordiæ Parens hanc gratiam nobis fecerit, laudetur nomen illius sanctum: sin secus, fiat voluntas illius. Jubet ipse ut pro gloria nominis illius moriamur. Det ipse quod jubet, et duriora, si velit, jubeat. Raptim et furtim ex carcere, jam qui arctior et durior quam cum tua præstantia a nobis abierit. Sed hæc et quæ ventura sunt duriora, Deo adjuvante, parati sumus subire. Saluta D. Martinum, pium et veterem amicum, nobilem virum D. Utenhovium, cum ceteris fratribus omnibus; et rogo ut me et concaptivos meos in Christo Jesu Patri summo cœlesti religiose commendetis, ut nostra morte illius gloria mundo spurcissimo magis magisque illucescat. Ex carcere, xxv Novembris, CI<sup>O</sup>I<sup>O</sup>LIII.

Tuæ præstantiæ memoratissimus apud Deum,

JO. HOPERUS, *Glocestr. episcopus.*

## EPISTOLA XLVI.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. Nonus jam agitur mensis, compater colendissime, quod carceris squalorem sustinui. Interim tamen per pios viros ad te literas scripsi plurimas, ut qui hinc abierunt religionis christianæ causa, mearum literarum obventu tuam pietatem et ceteros doctos omnes vestræ ecclesiæ erga illos miseros et calamitosos homines propensos ac clementes permoverem. Scripsi brevi ut potui, quia ut volui non licuit, nec jam licet; quod furtim scribo, ut nosti captivorum esse miseriam. Tu tamen nullas ad me literas vel brevissimas rescripsisti, quod sciam. Eo nomine doleo plurimum. Nosti, ni fallor, quanti te facio. Semper patris ac præceptoris colendissimi loco te habui. Ex omnibus tui studiosissimis me nunquam cariorem invenisti: nec<sup>1</sup> ego, ut verum tester, amicum candidiorem sum unquam assecutus. Qui hactenus a morte pientissimi regis ad te literas ex me detulerunt, amici ac fratres fuere carissimi; sed qui istas

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *Hæc.*]

ad te defert est D. Jacobus Haddonus, non solum amicus et frater in Χριστῷ carissimus, sed etiam quem omnibus modis semper ob eximiam eruditionem et virtutem colui. Neque in Anglia quemquam mihi videor aut candidiore erga Deum pietate præditum cognovisse, aut ab omni caducarum rerum, quas stulti homines admirantur, cupiditate remotiorem. Illum tuæ pietati officiosissime commendo. Saluta nomine meo uxorem tuam carissimam, liberos et totam tuam familiam, D. Gualterum, D. Pellicanum, et omnes ecclesiæ vestræ ministros, D. Lavaterum consulem et totam vestram civitatem. Scriberem apertius, si auderem; sed sæpius per amicos sum deceptus. Ex carcere, 23 Maii, 1554.

Brevi, nisi Dominus hostium nostrorum tyrannidem compescat, migrabimus in sanguine Christi ad cælum.

Tui ut hætenus et olim semper studiosissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro D. D. Henrico Bullingero,  
sacratissimæ ecclesiæ Tigurinae  
antistiti.*

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## EPISTOLA XLVII.

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JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. SPERO, compater carissime, te accepisse priores meas literas, quas hætenus ex carcere piis viris, qui hinc ad vos migraverint, dedi reddendas: ut per illas solitam tuam humanitatem deprecabar erga meos conterrancos, sic per istas tantundem erga hunc tabellionem, Guidonem meum, evangelii laboris consortem meum fidelissimum. Neminem mecum habui Christi gregis tam studiosum, nec qui æquiore animo perpetuos labores sustinuit: illum tanquam socium omnium laborum meorum in vinea Christi tuæ caritati et omnibus piis vestræ ecclesiæ commendo, a quo nostram conditionem utcumque intelliges. Scriberem aliis piis viris, qui Χριστῷ vobiscum militant, in ejus favorem; sed obstat carceris custos quominus fiat. Difficuler has breves e carcere curare potui, unde intelligas nos in magno vitæ discrimine versari. Adjuvate nos vestris precibus apud Deum. Nos vestrum non sumus immemores. Saluto D. conjugem tuam, totam tuam familiam, ac ceteros omnes quos nosti. Ex carcere, 29 Maii, 1554.

Tui ut debeo amantissimus,

JOANNES HOPERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo viro D. D. Henrico  
Bullingero, Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XLVIII.

JOANNES HOPERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et pacem a Domino. Literas tuas, compater carissime, datas Tiguri 10 Octobris, 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi per jucundæ, quia plenæ consolationis; ex quibus animum, amorem, et pietatem tuam erga me pristinam facile intellexi. Habeo tibi gratias immortales, quod hisce temporibus difficillimis nostri non te capit oblivio. Semper te ob eximias tuas virtutes et præclara Dei in te dona præ ceteris amavi: et quod a me (uti scribis) hactenus per annum integrum nullas acceperis literas, hoc accidit non quia non scripserim, sed quas scripseram parum candidis reddendas commisi. Nec omnes quas ad me miseris accepi, sed vel incuria tabellarii perire, vel invidia malorum fuerunt interceptæ. Idem accidit et literis et libello domini Theodori: nam de concione Domini in monte, quam mihi destinavit, nihil intellexi usque ad aliquot dies post mortem sanctissimi regis nostri Edouardi, et id quidem in confinibus Valliæ in bibliotheca pii cujusdam viri, quem ecclesiis quibusdam decanum constitui. Sed quas nunc scripsisti omnibus conceptivis meis fratribus legendas curabo mitti.

Incolumitatem ac constantiam vestræ ecclesiæ vobis omnibus gratulor; et Deum precor, propter Filium suum Jesum Christum, illam contra tyrannidem antichristi semper muniat ac defendat. Apud nos in integrum vulnus quod accepit sanatum est, et pro capite ecclesiæ denuo habetur qui membrum ecclesiæ Christi non est. Ab aliis res nostras et statum reipublicæ intelliges. Versamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus jam per sesquiannum ferme. Indies hostes evangelii magis ac magis negotium facessunt: in carcere seorsim servamur, et omnium ignominiarum fastidio afficimur. Mortem quotidie minitantur, quam nihili facimus; ferrum et flammam in Christo Jesu fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus, et certi sumus quod animas nostras deposituri sumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos vestris precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat usque in finem. Domini sumus: faciat quod videatur bonum in oculis suis. Rogo, ut subinde digneris literis tuis uxorem meam, modestissimam ac piam mulierem, consolari et exhortari, ut studiose liberos nostros, Rachelam filiolum tuam, optimæ indolis adolescentulam, ac filium Danielem pie educat in cognitione et timore Dei. Præterea tuæ pietati jam mitto duos libellos legendos, judicandos, et corrigendos, si quæ occurrant cum verbo Dei parum convenientia. Uni<sup>1</sup> titulum feci, Hyperaspismus de vera doctrina et usu cænæ Domini: quem senatui Anglico dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publice in curia parlamenti adversariis nostris respondeamus. Alteri titulum feci, Syntagma de falsa religione dignoscenda et fugienda.

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *Cui.*]

Et rogo, ut quam citissime fieri possit imprimantur. Illic apud omnes pios et doctos uterque liber est approbatus. Scripsi præterea multas literas alias ad episcopos, ut libros in parlamento promoverent; et illas imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam inique et injuste nobiscum agitur: non opus est ut multa hac de re scribam. Ex ipsis libellis et literis facile intelliges quid volo. Et si Froscoverus vester aliis gravioribus libris impediatur imprimendis, rogo ut Basileam mittat ad D. Oporinum, qui valde caste imprimit, et omnia nitide in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, scio, modo libelli tuis literis ad se veniunt commendati: quod ut facias vehementer oro. Nihil est quod mihi metuatis, quasi propter libellos atrocius et severius hostes evangelii sævient. Habeo salutis meæ fidissimum custodem et propugnatorem Patrem nostrum cœlestem per Christum Jesum, cui meipsum totum commendavi. Illius fidei ac tutelæ meipsum commendo: si dies meos elongaverit, faxit ut sint ad gloriam nominis sui; sin huic brevi et flagitiosæ vitæ finem voluit, æque duco: fiat voluntas illius. Quia furtim scribo, breviores et perturbatiores literas tuæ præstantiæ facio, quas boni consule quæso. Raptim ex carcere, 11 Decembris, 1554.

Saluta mihi officiose castam tuam conjugem cum tota tua familia domi et foris, ac alios omnes, ut nosti.

Tuæ præstantiæ ut debeo studiosissimus,

J. HOPERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo viro domino Henrico  
Bullingero, compatri suo longe  
carissimo. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA XLIX.

ANNA HOPERA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

ACCEPI literas tuas, vir christianissime, quibus veluti in speculo, quantum pro nobis sis sollicitus, conspexi. Etsi vero me tuæ tam singulari in nos amicitie gratiis persolvendis longe imparem agnosco, agere tamen non desistam immortales, Deum ac Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi precata ex animo, ut quod hac in parte præstare non possum, abundantissime penset. Causam vinclorum domini Hoperi tantisper per me non scies, donec illi tuas literas communicavero, quod nunc minime licet: abiit enim mox, ubi solutus fuit, in suum episcopatum. Non dubito quin ipsemet tuo desiderio sit satisfactorius, postquam illud compertum habuerit; atque id quidem mihi valde commodius videtur, quam si eo inconsulto hoc tentarem. Quia vero percontaris quomodo Rachel filia mea adolescat, officii mei esse judicavi nonnihil de illa scribere. Inprimis scito illam esse

Anglici idiomatis peritam, tresque jam menses effluxisse, ex quibus formulam actionis gratiarum edocta, decem præcepta, orationem Dominicam, symbolum apostolicum, una cum primo atque secundo Davidis psalmo memoria tenet. Jam quia fere omnium literarum characteres agnoscit, instituitur in catechismo. Si Germanice scribere scirem, manum calamo admoverem frequentius. Verum si filium tuum in Angliam venire contingeret, major dabitur copia cum scribendi, tum paternum tuum in nos animum, quem pluris facio quam locupletissimos auri vel argenti thesauros, aliqua ex parte pensandi. De Hibernia nihil habeo quod scribam, præterquam quod Gallorum regem classem aliquam, qua illam invaderet submitteretque suo sceptro, instruxisse dicunt, sed cujusdam fidelis Galli diligentia illius consilia detecta sunt. Mitto tibi nummulum aureum, in quo regis Anglorum effigies satis eleganter descripta est, pro pignore quod ad Rachel legasti, propter quod ipsa quoque suo puerili eloquio gratias agit, ac te plurimum salutat. Obtestor te ut dominum Hoperum quo suos labores temperet permoncas: nam quotidie quatuor vel ad minimum tres conciones habet; vereor autem ne immaturæ plus satis vigiliæ morbum illi conciliabunt, quo et doctore et doctrina orbentur complures divini verbi animæ admodum esurientes, quarum nota est esuries ex crebra ipsius audiendi propensione. Plurimum nos hic divexat turbarum timor; nam periculo est, ne proxime ingentes tumultus excitentur propter annonæ ceterarumque rerum caritatem, quamquam frumenti atque aliorum ingens sit copia; sed in quos rejicienda sit culpa, ipse me melius nosti. Misi literas tuas domino Hopero, quibus cum responderit, curabo ut tibi reddantur literæ suæ. Vale. Saluta dominum Bibliandrum et ejus conjugem, dominum Gualterum, dominum Pellicanum, una cum ipsorum uxoribus, dominum Zuinglium, et ejus uxorem, ad quam etiam mitto nummulum aureum regia effigie inscriptum. Londini, 3<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis.

Tui observantissima,

ANNE DE TSERCLAS dict. HOPERA.

P. S. Salutatur te Joanna ancilla mea, ejusque maritus Gallorum ecclesiæ minister. Si ad dominum Hoperum vel ad me scripseris, omni diligentia literas tuas obsignari cura; nam curiosuli quidam solent illas aperire ac perlegere, si quo pacto eas aperire possint.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro doctrina ac pietate insigni, domino  
Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinorum ec-  
clesiæ pastori vigilantissimo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA L.

ANNA HOPERA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. D. Quo tempore tabellarius hujus nobiscum præsens fuit, duo propemodum in causa fuere quominus ad te rescriberem: unum, propterea quod lingua Germanica animi mei sensum exprimere non valeo; alterum, quia tot tantisque urgentibus negotiis implicita obruebar, ut vix suppeteret mihi otium. Ipse tamen amor, quo te prosequor ardentissime, a meis negotiis paulisper integram me abstraxit, ac eisdem penitus usque in aliud tempus supersedere coegit. Tum denique ad currentis calami assiduam commercium quam jucundissime memet accinxi, ut hac industria abjectissimis meis literulis animo tuo utcumque satisfacere possem. Te enim cum primis amo, diligo, exosculor; gratias quoque ago maximas, qui et elegantissimas et benignas literas ad me dare sis dignatus, cum hactenus in scribendo negligentior ac remissior fui. Sed accepta tua epistola omnem mihi excussit inertiam, quamquam hoc tempore non sinunt negotia: tamen omnia quæ ad te scribere decrevi, huic Mercurio evolvi, et quæso ei adhibeas fidem, quum pingere amplius prohibet tempus. Merito autem plango tuam absentiam, qui mihi extitisti amicus præstantissimus (imo dicam patronus), et adeo tuis beneficiis me tibi devinxisti: etiamsi vitam oppigneravero, minus bona, pares tibi referre gratias nequeo. Ideo cum vita et bona non respondeant referre gratias, licet tamen habere. O utinam aut distantia horum locorum tanto intervallo corpora nostra non disjunxerit, ut liceret nobis ea familiaritate uti, qua antea usi sumus! Spero tamen brevi te Angliam visurum; quod si præstare voluisses, me tunc fortunatissimam dicam, cui jam diu desiderata præsentia rursus frui liceat. Quæso, mi pater, meo nomine uxorem tuam, mei matrem, plurima impartias salute, et salvere jubeas alios meos amicos una salute omnes. Gloucestræ, 27 Octobris, 1551. Vale.

Rachel est optima valetudine (sint Deo gratiæ), et salutat te et tuam uxorem, quæritque tuam benedictionem, et precatur, ut in benedictione tua dignetur illi Deus benedicere.

Vostre parfaict amie a jamais hobligeë,

ANNE HOPERA.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præclarissimo viro D. Henrico  
Bullingero, ecclesie Tiguri-  
nae episcopo.*

## EPISTOLA LI.

ANNA HOPERA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. AGNOVI ex literis quas nuper ad me scripsisti, compater venerande, solitam benevolentiam erga me tuam; qui te tam sollicitum de me ostendis, ut si pater esses, nihil amplius sperare possem. Ac sane bis gratæ fuerunt hæ literæ: tum quod me abs te non negligi videbam, tum quod eo tempore Deus me in hanc calamitatem conjecerat, in qua non solum communem ecclesiæ sortem lugere cogerer, sed meam quoque privatam. His geminis arietibus percussa mens muliebris, quidni statim collapsura fuisse videatur? Sed adfuit mihi Spiritus Domini, qui excitavit suos prophetas ad consolandum me: in quibus tu fuisti unus, cujus literis fui cum primis recreata. Dominus Jesus rependat tibi suam benedictionem! Namque post acceptas et lectas illas cœpi adjuvante Deo paulatim memet erigere adversus tantum calamitatum pondus: atque hætenus me quantum possum verbo Dei fulcio, sæpe tuas literas relegens, ut huic pigræ carni calcar addam. Facies itaque tua pietate dignum, si me frequentioribus literis pergas hunc in modum jam utcumque abs te excitatam sustentare. Quod enim istic me esse exoptare significas, gratiam habeo, neque ego usquam alibi malim. Sed cum me Deus jussu domini mariti mei et amicorum consilio ex Anglia tandem exegisset, salvamque Antverpiam adduxisset, nacta ego opportunitatem sodalitiæ utcumque commodi cognatæ meæ Francofordiam accessi, ubi jam per Dei misericordiam senatus ecclesiæ peregrinæ libertatem concessit ad universum ministerium ecclesiasticum tam verbi quam sacramentorum. Quo factum ut hic libentius hæserim conductis ædibus privatis, donec videam quid Dominus Deus domino marito meo faxit. De quo cum nihil hætenus audiverim, non parum anxia sum. Sed tamen scio illum Deo curæ esse. Itaque in Dei mei providentia acquiesco: et quamvis grave sit hoc viduitatis onus, attamen quantum possum me consolor precibus et verbo Dei. Rogo te per Christum, ut me quoque tuis adjuves et precibus et literis. Saluta, obsecro, quam officiosissime carissimam comatrem meam, uxorem tuam, cum tota familia. Salutem opto domino Bibliandro, D. Pellicano, D. Gualtero, D. Sebastiano ludimagistro, et omnibus fratribus. Ego Deum Optimum Maximum oro, tibi sui Spiritus incrementa perpetuo largiatur. Bene vale, amantissime ac venerande in Christo compater. Francofordia, 20 Aprilis, postridie quam templum albarum virginum nobis apertum est, ubi D. Valerandus Pollanus, cognatæ meæ maritus et ecclesiæ pastor primarius, concionem habuit, ac puerum in Rheno natum baptizavit. Deus det huic ecclesiæ justa et digna suo nomine incrementa. Vos orate pro illa. Ipse pastor noster,

affinis meus, rogavit obnixè, ut suo nomine te salutarem, ac ministerium suum tuis precibus et reliquorum symmystarum commendarem. Iterum bene vale in Christo. A<sup>o</sup>. 1554.

Rachel tua salutem tibi precatur et uxori tuæ. Daniel adhuc est in Anglia, quem ego reductum mittam quandam honestissimam matronam, quæ mihi hactenus convixit. Ego dominum maritum meum vestris precibus commendo.

Tui amantissima commater,

ANNE HOPER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clariss. theologo Dno. Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiæ  
Tigur. ecclesiastæ fideliss. ac vigilantiss. compatri  
carissimo et primo in Christo venerando. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LII.

ANNA HOPERA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. LITERÆ tuæ, compater amantissime, perjucundæ mihi fuerunt, et gratias ago, quod ita de me sollicitus esse pergis. De D. Hopero quoque quod sic sis sollicitus, magnam habeo gratiam. Is per Dei gratiam constanter et forti animo fert omnia, atque adeo mortis minas. Tuas literas scio illi pergratas fore, uti jam aliquoties mihi significavit. Rogo te et per Christum ne hoc illi deneges. Ego si literas tuas accepero, facile efficiam ut reddantur. Hactenus enim Dei beneficio semper illi fas fuit ad me scribere measque literas accipere. Fac tantum literæ tuæ Argentinæ reddantur D. Burchero aut D. Joanni Garnerio pastori ecclesiæ Gallicæ.

Ego hactenus valeo sic satis, et quam fortiter possum hanc calamitatem perfero. Dominus adjuvabit et succurret meæ imbecillitati. Precibus opus est bonorum amicorum et suavibus consolationibus. Quare te vehementer rogo, ne me negligas. In novis rebus nihil est quod sciam, quin possis ex mercatoribus, qui hinc istuc redeunt, cognoscere. Salutem, rogo, meo nomine dicas optimæ commatri meæ, uxori tuæ castissimæ, D. Gualtero, D. Bibliandro, D. Pellicano, et eorum uxoribus. Resalutant te D. Cechelles et Valerandus Pollanus, qui tibi hunc libellum mittit, ex quo cognoscas nostræ ecclesiolæ constitutionem et ordinem universum: in quo si quid erit, ejus monendum putes, feceris illi rem longe gratissimam; et te oro, ut id facias per Christum. Ego

me et meos liberos tuæ pietati et precibus sanctissimis commendo. Bene vale. Francofordiæ, 22 Septembris, 1554.

Tui anantissima commater,

ANNE HOPER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo theologo D. Henrico  
Bullingero, compatri et amico  
cenerando. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LIII.

ANNA HOPERA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

IMMORTALES ego tibi, carissime et venerande compater, gratias ago pro suavibus tuis literis, quibus me admodum es consolatus. Agnosco atque in me experior, et in multis aliis conspicio, quæ Dominus Christus prædixit: et sæpe animum doloribus saucium levo dulci illa cogitatione, quam verax sit Deus noster. Te itaque obnixè rogo, ne desinas me tuis precibus apud Dominum juvare, subindeque literis Spiritum in me excitare; quem sæpissime sentio (ut verum fatear) mœroribus tantum non extingui. Jamque piorum omnium opus est auxilio, tametsi nunquam ita sum a Domino derelicta, qui me aliquando melioris vitæ recordatione recreet. Verum tute nosti, quam sit animo ægro accommoda sinceri amici oratio. Confido in Domino, tuas literas, quas ad D. maritum scribis, non minus illi solatii allaturas quam mihi tuæ; et de eo officio tibi illius nomine gratias ago. Dignus est sane, cujus rationem habeant omnes pii. Utinam vero ego tibi possim aliquando digna hoc officio reponere! Non deesse animum gratum declararet ipsa promptitudo. Tu me vero nosti. In novis rebus nihil est magnopere te dignum. Jamdudum enim nihil est ab Anglia certi allatum: nisi nunc quod affirmant, qui istic veniunt ad 10 hujus mensis, comitia de coronando Hispano, et nuper uni manum exustam, quod recusaret missam audire; potius velle ignibus dari: deinde aliquot pii in carceres nuper conjecti religionis causa. Hoc si est, non mediocriter sum de D. marito meo sollicita. Dominus Jesus illum et me servet! Hic comitiolum est statuum Germaniæ cœptum 14 mensis Octobris: verum nihil hæc ad religionem spectant; ac ne verbum quidem haecenus inter ipsos de religione. Paci Germaniæ operam dant, uti tuta sit etiam ab incursionibus marchionis Brandeburgensis. Quid de Gallo deliberetur scribere non possum, quia nihil audio. Optarim Germanos non temere principibus externis a religione alienis credere: sed plura ex honestissimo viro, qui has tibi redditurus est. Salutem opto carissimæ commatri meæ

uxori tuæ et omnibus amicis. Meus Daniel cum Rachela vos etiam salutant. Resalutant te quos salvere jussisti, D. Valerandus Pollanus et D. Secelles. Pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi tecum. Ego me tuis precibus commendo. Francofordiæ, 12 Novembris, 1554.

Tui amantissima commater et soror in Christo,

ANNE HOPER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo theologo D. Henrico  
Bullingero, compatri et amico  
reuerendo. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LIV.

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ANNA HOPERA HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. QUANDO accepi librum D. mariti mei, compater amantissime, cupiebam, sicut mihi mandabat per suas literas, ut ederetur ante has nundinas: quare misi illum D. Petro Martyri, ut hoc curaret Argentinæ. Hoc excusavit propter doctrinam de eucharistia, quæ non ibi est recepta. Possit hic imprimi cum bona venia senatus; sed melius est ut tu ipse librum prius revideas, atque istic imprimi cures. Quia autem non ignoro memoriam illius esse tibi sanctissimam, non dubito quin æque nunc sis illi hæc in re gratificaturus, ac si viveret: imo vivit jam ille cum omnibus sanctis martyribus, et Christo suo martyrum capite; ego vero hic morior, donec Deus me rursum illi adjungat. Habeo gratiam pro sanctissimis tuis literis. Ego certe jam opus habeo talibus consolationibus et vestris precibus. Rogo te igitur per sanctam amicitiam sanctissimi martyris mariti mei, quo nunc orbata vitam hanc mortem esse duco, ne me deseras. Ego non sum illa, quæ possim reddere paria; sed Deo præstabis obsequium gratum, qui vobis viduas imprimis commendat. Ego et Rachela mea tibi agimus gratias pro elegante xenio misso in novo anno. Saluta optimam uxorem tuam, commatrem carissimam, et omnes amicos. Bene vale.

Francofordiæ, 11 Aprilis, 1555.

Tui amantissima commater et soror in Christo,

ANNA HOPERA.

P.S. Rachela tua mittit tibi nummulum Angli, in quo effigies sunt Ahab et Jezabel.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo theologo et fidelissimo Christi seruo,  
D. Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiastæ Tigurino,  
D. compatri reuerendo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA LV.

JOANNES PONETUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

MULTÆ a nobis exulibus habendæ sunt Domino Deo gratiæ, clarissime domine Bullingere, quod te talem ecclesiam ecclesiæ suæ in seculo isto tam luctuoso præfecerit. Videmus enim te eum esse, qui isthinc afflictis membris Christi et velis omnem, et possis plurimam, consolationem afferre. Quam autem Anglos reliquos tibi merita in eos tua devinxerunt, mente quam calamo malo complecti, ne, dum officia quæ tua in eos fuerunt longe maxima exponere contendam, nimium videar vel eorum magnitudinem obscurare dicendo, vel leviter tractando imminuere dignitatem. Ut autem de me dicam, exule scilicet et multiplici cruce Domini oppresso, quantum me tua consolatione juveris, nec tacere possum nec gratias agere pro rei dignitate. Dixit sæpe salutes tuo nomine mihi D. Burcherus, dixerunt etiam alii. Checus item meus ostendit salutes mihi ex tuis ad eum literis, ostendit in suis Sampsonus etiam; in quibus ex tuo calamo legi de me multa mihi carissima. Vidi enim ibi dolorem tuum et vehementem animi cruciatum pro universo grege Christi. Vidi autem una insignem benevolentiam et studii erga me tui testificationem. Sustulit mihi, fateor, Dominus Deus omnia, quæ omnia erant certe amplissima; at quidni poterat? Qui dedit, sustulit. At quid? mundana, terrena, caduca; largiturus, spero, imo non dubito, cœlestia ac nunquam intermoritura. Exilium quid est? res certe sola imaginatione acerba, modo adsit unde vivas. Scio virgam esse Domini: quam tamen leni ac paterno affectu mecum agat, vel ex hoc libenter disco, quod consolatores adhibeat Bullingerum, Melanethonem, Martyrem, et id genus, præclarissima ecclesiæ suæ lumina. Felix Sareptana, quæ benignitatem Dei senserat et consolationem Heliam: infelices et indignissimi leprosi, qui unicum solatium suum Christum non sunt amplexi. Quandoquidem autem visum est Deo meo te, talem Heliam, ut mihi in cruce adsis, excitare; scribo hæc ad te, non tam ut gratias tibi agam, quod tanta tamque vere Christiana te tangat mei cura (etsi illæ quoque a me tibi imprimis debentur), quam ut tibi identidem indicarem, et summam me ex illis tuis ad amicos tuos de me literis cepisse voluptatem, et ob eas agnoscere me tibi perpetuo obligatissimum.

Jussit me hinc abiens Antverpian Checus meus suo tibi nomine salutem dicere: dixit etiam audivisse se Ignatium Græcum typographo cuidam Tigurino traditum esse excudendum: id si ita est, patere me quæso eam tibi exhibere molestiam, ut locum mihi ex epistola ad Philadelphenses de Pauli et apostolorum conjugio cures describi. Est mihi jam de ea re negotium cum papista longe impudentissimo. Impedit verecundia ne verbis

pluribus te de hac re rogem. Scias tamen me huc necessitate quadam ad-  
ductum: non enim aliam rationem assequendi quod volo potui invenire.  
Quoties autem considero qualis sit in ore omnium Bullingerus, præagit  
animus non futurum hoc tibi qualecunque onus ingratum. Ignosce, quæso,  
audaciæ. Ignosce etiam tumultuanti calamo. Vale, et me, quæso, in  
numerus tuorum ascribas.

Argentinae, 14 Aprilis, 1556.

Tuus totus,

JOANNES PONETUS, *Anglus,*  
*Wintoniensis quondam episcopus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eruditione ac pietate clarissimo viro*  
*D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae*  
*ecclesiae pastori vigilatissimo.*

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EPISTOLA LVI.

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JOANNES PONETUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

Quod proximis tuis ad me literis non antea responderim, ne quæso  
ægre feras, clarissime D. Bullingere. Longa mora D. Martyris, qui meus  
voluit esse tabellarius, fuit certe in causa. Hujus hinc ad vos abitus testa-  
tur summum favorem Dei erga ecclesiam vestram. Utinam meæ res ita  
essent constitutæ, ut daretur eum comitari, non certe minus illius audiendi  
causa quam tui! Quod Ignatii locum per D. D. Gesnerum mihi curaveris  
exscribi, ago tibi gratias maximas. Ejus viri nomen in tanta est apud me  
auctoritate, ut ipsa charta, quam tuo testimonio sua manu sciam esse de-  
scriptam, reponatur mihi inter carissima. Sum etenim in monumentis  
talium virorum conservandis libenter quidem superstitiosus. Nihil audio  
cum majori voluptate, quam quod scribis te curaturum ut amicitia nostra  
in Christo confirmata durabilis maneat; hoc enim nomine videor mihi totus  
in te translatus. Quæ de D. Checo scripsisti ad me, utinam non fuissent  
oracula! Non dubito quin sanguine suo testimonium evangelii consignabit.  
Quid non tentabit Pharaos adversus Israelem, præsertim a fuga reversum?  
D. Parkhursti Angli nomine, agnosco me tibi et vestræ ecclesiae obligatis-  
simum. Officia mea, tametsi quæ possum sint plane nulla, qualiacunque  
ea sint tamen, omnia tua sunt, si qua in re possum inservire. Salutabis,  
quæso, meo nomine D. D. Gesnerum, ad quem certe scripsissem, nisi pudor  
vicisset audaciam: si quid autem hic peccatum est, tu, quæso, excuses.

Spero autem brevi illum curaturum, ut Ignatius Græcus imprimatur.  
Deus Opt. Max. vos utrosque ecclesiæ suæ diu conservet incolumes.

Tuus totus,

JOANNES PONETUS,  
*Winton.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eruditione et pietate clarissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiæ pastori vigilantissimo, fratri imprimis caro.*

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EPISTOLA LVII.

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MARIA PONETA DOCTORI PETRO MARTYRI.

ORNATISSIME vir, non mea culpa est factum, quod libris tuis jam diu caruisti: bonus meus maritus mortem obiens reliquit me miseram mulierem, et harum rerum prorsus ignaram: reliquit etiam nescio quot aut quales libros, quos omnes, cum meos fuisse putassem, vendidi clarissimo viro et bono meo amico D. Coco; quod postquam fecissem, D. Juellus mihi per literas significavit, aliquot eorum ad tuam excellentiam spectare, teque eos repetere. Quam rem cum intellexissem, egi quam potui diligenter, et sæpe etiam, cum D. Coco, ut liceret mihi rursus ab eo mercari, vel maximo pretio, libros illos tuos, quos ignorans pro meis prius illi vendidissem. At non impetravi, nescio quæ causatus est. Ego igitur tua tibi restituere vel maxime cupiens, cum alia via non poteram, novos ex officina emi libros, quos tuæ pietati destinavi, et per bonum meum amicum Joannem Abelum tibi etiam transmittendos curavi. Quamvis enim pauperecula sim et relicta, mori tamen me malle quam vel cuiquam injuriam facere, vel non omnibus, quantum in me sit, quod æquum est præstare. Multum profecto me angit, quod hanc rem ad hunc usque diem distulerim, sed tuæ caritatis erit mihi condonare: nam prius fecissem, si libros istos ullo in loco antea venales invenire potuissem. Bene vale, doctissime et carissime vir: rogo etiam te plurimum pro tua caritate, ut precibus tuis mei non obliviscaris; ego vero pro te perpetuo orabo. Argentinae, 15 Julii, 1557.

Tuæ Pietatis studiosissima,

MARIA PONETA.

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## EPISTOLA LVIII.

RICARDUS COXUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

MULTA sunt, mi Bullingere in Christo carissime, quæ me in tui venerationem merito trahere debent; nimirum singularis eruditio atque pietas toti fere christiano orbi longe notissimæ; multa et magnifica ingenii tui monumenta, quæ nusquam non Dei gloriam luculentissime illustraverunt. Sed illa licet maxima sint, communia tamen sunt, ac singulos minus movere solent: ista vero humanitatis tuæ ratio, qua me non ita pridem persecutus es, multo magis ac penitius animum meum percudit, qua nimirum dignatus sis me literis tuis doctissimis et libello vere gemmeo donare. Nitent enim in illo non terrestres sed cœlestes gemmæ; quæ non hisce oculis adblandiuntur, sed animum mira delectatione adficiunt. Proinde ingentes tibi gratias ago, precorquè Deum Optimum Maximum, ut te tuique similes ecclesiæ suæ columnas solidissimas diutissime servet incolumes. Vale. Ex aula regis Westmonasteriensi, 22 Octob. 1549.

Tui studiosissimus,

RIC. COX.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo ac integerrimo theologo,  
D. Henrico Bullingero.*

## EPISTOLA LIX.

RICARDUS COXUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

IMMENSUM videor divinæ benignitati debere, carissime in Christo frater, qui breves et steriles meas literas tanta scriptorum ubertate atque adeo amplissimo thesauro compensavit. Hic mos est Domini Dei nostri, qui ipsum studiose quærentibus adjicere solet omnia cumulatissime. Hunc tu secutus es: uberes ejus agros imitatus, qui plus referunt quam accipiunt, non sine magno fœnore ad me rescripsisti. Triplici nomine gratissimæ debent esse mihi tuæ literæ: primum quod omnis humanitatis et amoris erga me sunt refertissimæ et indices certissimi; deinde, quod pectus referunt omnis pietatis et divini amoris fervore flagrantissimum; postremo, quod tanto studio atque officio non solum regiam matrem, sed etiam alios nobiles hujus regni nostri, pietatis non parum studiosos, Bullingerum suum prosequi significant. Opusculum tuum regiæ matri donatum acceptum est ab ea humanissime et studiosissime amplexatum et perlectum. Nihil illi

gratius contingere potest, quam studiosi labores a piis hominibus perfecti. Quod iterum me munere jam altero, non tam chartaceo, quam cœlicam ambrosiam undique spirante, donaveris, gratias ago ingentes. Porro non est quod metuas de librorum tuorum præscriptione, quoad divina clementia sospitabit nobis nostrum regem, in quo etiam jam relucet incredibile (mihi crede) eruditionis specimen, pietatis studium, et tantum non maturum in rebus iudicium. Diligenter tuis verbis salutavi et reverendissimum Cantuariensem, et Warwici comitem, et Dorcestriæ marchionem, qui humanissime te resalutari jusserunt. Avide exspectamus alia tua opera, quæ brevi te editurum es pollicitus, ut de nobis nunquam bene mereri cesses, et mercedem non a nobis, sed ab eo cui potissimum militas, reportes amplissimam. Vale.

Postquam hæc scripseram, quod tardius ad te mitterentur, vel propter meam negligentiam vel propter bajulorum raritatem, nuntiatum est mihi, quædam alia tua opuscula prodiisse, quam quidem tuam diligentiam et tibi nobis plurimum gratulor. Iterum vale, frater in Christo carissime.

Londini, calend. Novemb. 1550.

Tui studiosissimus,

RICARDUS COXUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximio eruditionis et pietatis antesignano D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiae præfecto.*

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EPISTOLA LX.

RICARDUS COXUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

QUOD tanto beneficiorum cumulo me exornare atque honestare digneris, Bullingere in Christo frater observandissime, ex devincto sane quam devinctissimum reddidisti. Laconicas et jejunas meas literas tantum non justo volumine, eoque ditissimo et legenti mihi jucundissimo, compensasti. Pergis præterea duplici munere me beare, nimirum tractatu D. Calvinii de christianissima concordia inter vos in negotio eucharistiæ, et quinta sermonum tuorum decade, quam nocte hesterna mihi porrexit Joannes ab Ulmis. Pro utroque munere quantas possum maximas ago tibi gratias. Utroque autem vehementer delector. O si det tandem aliquando clementissimus Deus, ut in sacræ cœnæ tractatione ad eundem veritatis scopum universa Christi collimet ecclesia! Inter legendum libros tuos, maxime cum occurrerit quod me pie affecerit, non desinam tui memor et Deum precibus meis pulsare, ut te ecclesiæ suæ diutissime servet et Spiritu suo sancto magis ac magis imbuat. Quod autem me tam candide et christiane de officio com-

monefacis, et ad munus obeundum tam serio exstimulas, et tam religiose adjuras; id ego interpretor a Domini sanctissimo Spiritu factum esse, ne quid in ipsius negotio languide aut negligenter agamus. Sentio enim indies quam simus in Domini rebus desides, et quam in nostris studiosi atque impigri.

Porro salubre et sanum tuum consilium in ecclesiæ Dei reformatione eo libentius amplector, quod cum fide mea, qua me benignus Dominus in hisce rebus donavit, per omnia consentit. Ego enim existimo in ecclesia omnia esse debere pura, simplicia, et ab hujus mundi elementis et pompis longe alienissima. Sed in hac nostra ecclesia ego et eruditione et auctoritate infimus quid possum præstare? Tantum conari et præsulibus nostris eandem mecum mentem et fidem optare possum, et Domino interim negotii sui curam et eventum committere.

Dignissimus es, mi Bullingere, in quem magna beneficia conferantur, qui tam grato animo accipis ea beneficia quæ vel omnino nulla sunt, vel certe levissima. Juvenes illi duo, qui apud nos aliquanto spatio degerunt, digni sunt sane ob pietatem et ardens in bonas literas studium favore et benevolentia omnium piorum. Reliquos duos, qui nuper huc adventarunt, et quos tantopere mihi commendaras, vel tua causa quanta possumus humanitate tractabimus. Non omittam tuo nomine salutem dicere magnis illis heroibus et tui studiosis. Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet incolmem, et ecclesiæ suæ restaurandæ animum addat et vires. Vale. Westminsterii, 5 Maii, 1551.

Tui studiosissimus et in Christo frater amantissimus,

RIC. COX.

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## EPISTOLA LXI.

RICARDUS COXUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

ETSI nihil est alicujus momenti, carissime in Christo frater, quod ad te jam scribam, tamen Joannem hunc nostrum sine literis meis omnino dimittere nolui; id quod ipse quoque ægerrime tulisset. Quod ad sinceræ religionis negotium attinet, benedictus Dominus Deus, cujus gloriæ jubar mirifice nobis indies affulget. Jam iterum publicarum precum ritum atque ipsorum etiam sacramentorum immutavimus, et ad normam verbi Dei expolvimus; sed acerbas illas christianæ disciplinæ institutiones cane pejus et angue odimus. Volumus esse filii, quin et hæredes etiam, sed virgam exhorrescimus. Excita nos et optimates nostros per Spiritum, qui datus est tibi ad disciplinæ studium, quo sine (dolens dico) auferetur a nobis regnum, et dabitur genti facienti fructum ejus.

Sed unum est, mi Bullingere, quod penitus edoceri percipio. Lego in

libro tuo de Cœna Domini in quinta decade hæc verba: "Quoniam non est publicus vel generalis cœtus, quando quatuor vel quinque cum ægro communicant, nihil dicunt qui aiunt apud ægros cœnam instrui posse, si alii quoque simul cœnent." Quid si coacto publico cœtu tres, quatuor, aut quinque tantum ex multis centenariis (aliis omnibus recusantibus) percipere velint sacramentum eucharistiæ, annon aliis præsentibus, aut e templo discedentibus, id facere licet? Cur ergo ægrotus hoc beneficio fraudabitur? De hac re plenius instrui exopto, cum per otium tibi vacaverit. Dominus Jesus te nobis diutissime servet incolumem ad Christi gloriam et ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem. Windsoræ Anglorum, 5 Octobris, 1552.

Tuus in Christo frater,

RIC. COX.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Carissimo in Christo fratri D. Henrico  
Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ an-  
tistiti.*

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## EPISTOLA LXII.

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OVINUS OGLITHORPUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et Sancti Spiritus consolationem! Insignis nominis tui fama et singularis eruditio, vir ornatissime, jam multis abhinc annis animum meum in tui amorem excitavit; adeo ut nihil magis in votis diu habuerim, quam ut aliquando, si non coram loquendi, at saltem literas ad te scribendi, justa daretur occasio, quo mutuus inter nos conciliaretur amor. Atque huic meo tam ardenti desiderio utcunque satisfactum est, cum ante decennium forte fortuna Nicholaus Perdix, homo multis nominibus mihi conjunctissimus, in Italiam profecturus, in itinere mala usus valetudine, apud te in tuis ædibus diversatus, ac pristina nonnullis tuis sumptibus recuperata valetudine, in Angliam una cum Rodolpho tuo reversus, abs te literas ad me detulit. Quas ut apud me non minus libenter quam diligenter tanquam insigne amoris tui erga me pignus servo, ita tuam humanitatem vehementer amplector et veneror, qui cum omnes facile eruditione superes, ad me tamen homuncionem scribere dignatus sis, meam, ut ipse humanissime dixeras, amicitiam ambiens. Atque tum temporis felicem hanc scribendi occasionem arripiens, per eundem famulum tuum literas, agrestes quidem illas, ad tuam præstantiam scripsi, sæpius scripturus, si commodus intercessisset nuntius. Nunc vero eo audacius tuam dominationem rursus his scriptis interpello, quod non ita pridem Joannes ab Ulmis, bonæ spei adolescens, ex te salutem mihi dixit, cui tu per

litteras, ut ille mihi significavit, id in mandatis dederas; præsertim ne Joannes Rodolphus Stumphius, juvenis non minus probus quam studiosus, qui mihi humanissime suam operam exhibuit, inanis literarum ad te rediret. Quem tibi libenter commendo: cujus si tu studia pro tua summa humanitate juvare velis, dubium non est, quin aliquando reipublicæ usui esse possit. Vale, vir insignissime, et Dominus Jesus diu te sospitet, ac tua studia secundet. Oxoniæ, e collegio Magdaleniano, tertio calendas Novembris.

Tuæ præstantiæ amantissimus,

OVINUS OGLITHORPUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro Henrico Bullingero,  
Tigurinæ ecclesiæ archiepiscopo,  
domino ac fratri suo longe ca-  
rissimo.*

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EPISTOLA LXIII.

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ROBERTUS HORN JOANNI WOLPHIO.

QUEMADMODUM nihil Christiano homine dignius, carissime Wolphi, quam animum erga omnes benevolum, erga misere exulantes propter veram religionem clementer ac benigne affectum habere, qualem in te omnes Angli, qui olim Tiguri agebant, agnoscere debent, et ego præter ceteros expertus sum; ita nihil minus decet eum, qui vel tantillam honestatis rationem teneat, [quam] immemorem accepti beneficii aut ingratum se ostendere: cujus vel leviusculam suspicionem quam longissime a me remotam in primis cupio. Ac propterea satius esse putabam hoc ipsum significare literis, licet brevioribus, quam meo silentio aliquam de me mali suspicandi occasionem præbere. Habeas itaque hoc epistolium, prompti animi ac parati indicium ad par officium præstandum, si fortuna facultatem animi promptitudini respondentem non negasset. Salutat te carissimus frater Ricardus, qui pari officio tibi se devinctum agnoscit. Salutes, quæso, nostro nomine in Christo carissimum D. Pellicanum, Gualterum, Bibliandrum, Simlerum, Zuinglium, Lavaterum, Hallerum, Frisium, Joannem ab Ulmis, Froschoverum et seniore ac juniorem. Ac imprimis meo nomine salutem plurimam dicas optime de me merito Petro Stainero cum honestissima conjugē; nec prætermittam velim nostram matrem familias, quæ, ut scripsit D. Ricardo, divendidit tua opera duos lectos pro 14 florenis, et nescio quas res alias; quam summam per Froschoverum vel alium fidum ad proximas nundinas Francfordienses transmitti percupimus,

una cum sarcinula quam etiam tua opera et Joannis ab Ulmis transmittendam reliquimus. Valeas, optime vir. Francoforti, 2 Februarii, 1556.

Tuus quantus est in Christo,

ROBERTUS HORN.

P. S. Detur, quæso, ex illa summa, quam habet fœmina nostra, illi pro labore unus florenus; reliquam mittas ad nos.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Optimo viro domino Wolphio, concionatori  
peritissimo, hæc tradantur literæ. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA LXIV.

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ROBERTUS HORN ET RICARDUS CHAMBERS SENATUI TURICENSI.

HOSPITALITAS quidem in omnibus semper laudabilis, in vobis pene fuit admirabilis, viri gravissimi et domini potentissimi: quos enim natura, imo Deus, ad Martem fortes dedit et robustos, ad bella potius Dominica (ut videri poterat) peragenda; vos (inquam) tanta misericordia mansuescere, ut hospites jam efficeremini humilibus, vagis, dijectis et miseris ecclesiæ membris, non potest plane sine aliqua, imo magna admiratione præteriri; eoque maxime, quominus prius nullis infortuniorum et calamitatum fracti procellis, nullorum hæcenus operam desiderastis, ad nullorum auxilia confugistis, nullorum denique hac in re aliorum benevolentiam experiri potuistis, ne ex lege talionis, aut quod similia estis passi, hoc vestrum hospitalitatis officium dimanasse videatur. Similia enim passis multi commiserationis officio succurrunt, et quasi jure talionis omnes (quibus saltem vel minima est honesti ratio) devinctos se esse autumant, ut semel in calamitate et miseris positi, inque his aliorum munificentiam experti, nolint similiter miseris et calamitosis suam, pro insita quadam naturæ æquitate, operam denegare, quam sine detrimento ullo egentibus jam magis fortunati possunt facile præstare.

Sed nolumus vos diutius admirari. Potentiam magis verbi ceu virtutem Dei in verbo agnoscimus, quod efficax in vobis quoque fuit credentibus ad salutem. Vox Domini in virtute: vox Domini in magnificentia, ut inquit Psalmista, quæ certe innovandi et mutandi in alios viros vim habet. Frequens illa D. Zuinglii vox ad aures etiam nostras pervenit, qua (expertus loquebatur) affirmare solet, evangelicam doctrinam, si nihil aliud (multum autem præterea), commodi tamen hoc attulisse, ut ejus prædicatione homines moribus magis civiles, humanitate omnino magis urbani redderentur. Nunc si excellentissimus vir ille, sempiterna piaque memoria dignus, superesset, hoc illi occineremus, quod olim in evangelio Samaritanæ mulieri cives Samariæ objecerunt: "Jam non propter tuam orationem credimus; ipsi enim audivimus et scimus," imo experti sumus, palpavimus. Quam enim,

quoad religionem, liberis conscientiis in quanta libertate apud vos sumus usi, quam nullis exactionibus tributariis imminuti, quas pro jure tamen vestro et publicis necessitatibus vel ab ipsis civibus requirere poteratis! Imo quam aucti vestrorum hominum et vestris muneribus! Quid consilia, consolationes ministrorum? Quid civium nostrum nobiscum statum condolentium suspiria? Quid gratuito ἀπὸ φαρμακοπωλῶν καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν subministrata auxilia commemorem? Ut non jam pro hospitibus, sed pro civibus plane, et si quid magis, apud vos habiti æstimatique fuerimus. Quam magnæ vobis curæ fuit, nostras exquirere inopias, nostros defectus, ut vestra copia et abundantia his resarciendis prospiceretis! Quam denique discedentibus ultro obtulistis eandem, si postea forte necessarias haberemus revertendi occasiones, benevolentiam, easdem quietas manendi sedes, eandem libertatem, adeo ut nobis nostrisque hominibus quasi portas usque patentes habeatis! Plus omnino quam paternus hic vester in nos fuit affectus. Neque enim certe nos majorem in patria nostra unquam experti sumus clementiam, pietatem, munificentiam, ut pene pro proverbio nostri hoc omnes habuerint, “Bonum est hic esse.” Neque unquam a vobis abstrahi nos passi fuisset, nisi nimis importunis nostrorum hominum literis ad summam et fere jam labefactatæ hujus nostræ exulum in Francofordia ecclesiæ necessitatem vocati essemus, et tamquam violentia quadam impulsus. Parcite ergo quod non diutius vobis oneri esse potuimus, quibus honori esse cupimus. Et quoniam in nullo alio vobis gratificari possumus, quam acceptorum a vobis beneficiorum grata commemoratione; non desinemus illorum in gratiarum actionibus, vestrum in petitionibus nostris ad Deum continuam memoriam facere, ut cum ipsi solvendo aut reddendo non simus, ille rependat et solvat in Christo suo. Quinetiam et nos, ex superioribus hospitalitatis vestræ officiis novam ansam capientes, in hoc certe oratos vos atque adeo exoratos esse cupimus, ut si quæ forte gravior ab his nos, in quibus nunc sumus, sedibus causa exturbet, apud vos tamen adhuc aliquem locum nostris necessitatibus competentem reperiamus. Interim Dominus æternus Deus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, præbitor Sancti Spiritus, omni vos spirituali benedictione beatos reddat, Dei timentes, hostibus timendos et formidandos efficiat, perpetuos vos veritatis evangelicæ patronos firma fiducia, virtute, potentia adornet, perficiat, ad totius ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem, ad divini nominis gloriam et honorem. Amen. Tertia Februarii, anno 1556.

Vestrum observantissimi,

ROBERTUS HORN, *Anglus.*

RICARD. CHAMBERS, *Anglus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustrissimis Dominis consulibus et senatoribus Tigurinis, dominis suis colendissimis, hæc tradantur literæ. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA LXV.

ROBERTUS HORN ET RICARDUS CHAMBERS HENRICO  
BULLINGERO.

CUM tuæ paternitati multo prius scribere statuissimus, per crebra et pene infinita negotia sumus præpediti, ut solent hi (quod nosti) qui frequentiores faciunt locorum mutationes: sed sic nos voluit Deus exercere, et hoc ipsum nostræ ecclesiæ postulavit necessitas, ut qui prius summa apud vos libertate cum non exigua literaria quiete usi fuerimus, nunc vicissim per magnitudinem negotiorum vix unicas literas scribendi otium nancisci queamus. Non ergo dubitabimus, quin æquo animo sis laturus nostram in scribendo tarditatem, posteaquam nostrarum necessitatum expenderis gravitatem, animorum in te pro tenuitate nostra cognoveris dilectionem, amorem, caritatem: quam quia nullo alio modo, literis saltem et illis quidem ad te datis, sero quam nunquam tibi hanc quidem significare maluimus. Quod si hic niteremur omnia tua in nos collocata beneficia recensere, tibi fortasse, qui bene operando actuosus mavis esse quam famosus haberi, foret nimis ingratum, et nobis plus satis negotiosum. Quæ enim consilia, quantæ consolationes, quot auxilia essent hic nobis recensenda! Tu es, qui nobis populi vestri animos conciliaveris, magistratum erga nos munificentiam extendendam effeceris. Nec Tiguri solum contentus domesticis nos et patriis officiis juvare, literis insuper procul missis aliorum ignotorumque nobis liberalitatem undique in nos diffundendam curabas. Quid quod tuis quoque scriptis in patriam nostram pertingere volebas ad patronos usque nostros, quorum opera sumus adjuti, ne illis in tam pio proposito instigator deesses, nec nobis, ne illorum opera destituamur, non fores adjutor? Commemorare profecto facilius ista possumus, quam ulla ex parte tibi respondere. Itaque te tuumque ministerium Deo commendamus, qui tibi rependet in die illa.

Interea hoc a te operæ nobis concedendum oramus, ut dignas tu et majores, quam quas nos in exili parvaque epistola comprehendere potuimus, toti senatui gratias agendas cures, cumque illis nostro nomine diligentissime agas, (non etenim hic tantam speramus et ita continuatam pacem, qua esse possit rerum aliqua vicissitudo, priusquam in patriam revertendi nobis libera detur potestas,) ut si forte talis contingat mutatio, qua hisce sedibus expellamur, sedem tamen apud vos quietam libere repetere liceat et obtinere. Sed neque de te nec de bonis illis hominibus metuimus, quin hoc sitis præstituri. Tu interim nostro omnium nomine sanctissimam tuam conjugem salutabis, omnesque una apud vos verbi ministros, præceptores nostros reverendos, dominos Pellicanum, Bibliandrum, Gualterum, Lavaterum, Simlerum, Zuinglium, Hallerum, Frisium, Joannem ab Ulmis, Stumphium, et alios, ut poteris per negotia. Domi-

num Gesnerum, cujus erga nos infinita fuerunt beneficia, minime præter-  
eundum putamus; utrumque Froschoverum, eorumque uxores, quorum  
officia summa erga nos literas potius nostras quam salutationes requirunt,  
hoc tempore salutandos putavimus tantummodo, quia per negotia plura  
scribere non potuimus. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit cum omni-  
bus vobis! Amen. 3 Febr., 1556.

Tui studiosissimi,

ROBERTUS HORN, et  
RICARDUS CHAMBERS,

Angli.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo patri domino Henrico Bul-  
lingero, viro pietate et eruditione  
integerrimo, hæc tradantur literæ.  
Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA LXVI.

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ROBERTUS HORN ET RICARDUS CHAMBERS HENRICO  
BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et pacem a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo! Ac-  
cepimus, excellentissime domine Bullingere, literas tuas, in quibus, quanti  
nos facias quamque nostri non sis immemor, facile perspicimus. Nec certe  
de eo dubitasset, si omnino nihil ad nos literarum dedisses. Nunc autem  
perlectis suavissimis illis quidem, quas ad nos misisti, habemus ut perspec-  
tissimum, quod non solum nostri sed et totius patriæ nostræ habeas curam,  
timorem, sollicitudinem; quibus tu magis incitatus ferventior etiam pro  
nobis orationem apud Deum facias pro reformatione ecclesiæ nostræ, de  
qua certe eo concipimus spes meliores, quo tu, tibi que similes viri Dei,  
magis in hoc ipsum precibus vestris intendatis; quorum propter Jesum  
Christum, unicum nostrum Mediatorem, invocationes non possunt esse  
inanes, sed acceptæ Deo, aspersæ scilicet Christi sanguine, et Spiritus Sancti  
suspiriis tanquam afflatæ. Agnoscimus studia, labores, negotia tua, et  
Dominum precamur, ut omnia dirigat, stabiliat, confirmet, ad ecclesiæ  
utilitatem, Dei honorem, et tuam ipsius consolationem.

Adhuc honorandus dominus à Lasco Francoforti manet; quotidie ex-  
spectat nuntios, qui eum in patriam deducant. Huic literas tuas com-  
municavimus. Quod ad causam Brentianam pertinet, hoc solum precamur,  
ut Dominus componat ecclesiæ discordias, pacemque ejus multiplicet.  
Neque enim desunt quotidie, qui veritatem novi homines novis erroribus  
impugnent. Mirum est sane, quanta loquacitate, quam superbis philoso-

phia ampullis, non certe scientificis (ut ipse loquitur) demonstrationibus, sed turgentibus Pelagii flatibus et inanibus humanæ sapientiæ conceptionibus, quidam Justus Velsius scholas nostras, nobis ex benignitate summorum, qui huic civitati præsent, dominorum concessas, oppleverit contra Dei æternam prædestinationem. Hujus conceptiones ad te mittimus: blasphemias contra Deum, latratus et convicia in dominum Calvinum, satis acerba quidem illa, tacere maluimus, quam ita fœdis clamoribus nostram chartam turpificare.

Ab Anglia nihil boni exspectamus: sic pergunt omnia in deterius. Martyrum, qui alacriter verbum Dei professi ad ignes et tormenta crudelissime rapiuntur, tantus est numerus, ut nequeant jam pii homines, studiose alioqui hoc ipsum indagantes, eorum vel numerum vel nomina assequi. Nec reginæ et Bonneri, Londinensis pseudo-episcopi, ceterorumque papistarum ferocitas domestico sanguine satiata sibi potest temperare, nisi insuper trans mare currat et sæviat adeo, ut jam Antverpiæ nemo pius tutus et sine periculo manere queat. Dominus Checus et dominus Carrous, utrique per insidias capti, ad reginam deportati, in carcerem detrusi sunt, sed liberati nunc, ut aiunt, aut brevi liberandi. Verum, prohi dolor! fama est (falsa tamen, ut speramus), utrique iniquas esse propositas et admissas libertatis fruendæ assequendæque conditiones. Utcunque est hoc discimus, vanum esse sperare in hominem. Carolus, non satis adhuc morbo fractus, ejusque soror cum Philippo filio Angliam aggressuri (nescimus qua necessitate) in ipso itinere revocantur. Ingressum istorum principum nec nobiles nec plebeii patienter ferunt, neque interim dissimulant suam in hac re impatientiam; quanquam nihilominus regina et qui ab illius stant partibus quidam nobiles huc omni studio et industria ferantur, ut hæreditario regni jure, regio diademate, ceterisque insignibus Philippum nobilitent, idque ex consensu parlamenti, ut vocant. Sudovolgiæ dominam Elizabetham reginam proclamant, propugnatoremque ei dominum Curtnæum adjungunt; quo ausu effectum est, ut sexaginta ad minimum aut octoginta læsæ majestatis nomine ignominiosam mortem obierint. Atqui de numero profecto nihil certi constat. Constat hoc potius, hinc non solum dominam Elizabetham, sed etiam dominum Curtnæum Devonix comitem, in prodicionis suspicionem et vitæ non minimum trahi periculum. Sed Deus vertat omnia in melius. Atque hæc de rebus patriis. Nec tamen his adhuc contenti continemus nos: rem, licet optatam potius quam speratam illam quidem, tibi tamen eam communicabimus. Equidem optamus colloquium de rebus religionis. Sed an futurum hoc sit, certo affirmare non possumus. Tale quid si forte contingat, spes est dominum Calvinum denuo se versurum, teque et alios doctos in hoc negotio non solum itineris, verum etiam laboris, socios habiturum. Hoc Dominus æternus Deus per Christum præstet, ut aliquando in vero Dei timore collecti, Christo concilio præsentente, puram tandem sine omni erroris labe confessionem edatis ad confusionem adver-

sariorum, ecclesiae concordiam, et Dei gloriam, cujus tutelae te, uxorem, familiam, tuosque omnes commendamus. Vale, 19 Septembris, 1556.

Paternitatis tuae observantissimi,

ROBERTUS HORN, et  
RICARDUS CHAMBERS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo ac doctissimo viro  
D. Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiae  
Tigurinae pastori vigilantissimo,  
haec tradantur. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LXVII.

JACOBUS PILKINTONUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

VENI, Domine Jesu, veni cito. Salus et pax in Christo Jesu. Cum Paulus in omnibus epistolis suis tam multus sit in salutandis fratribus, quos Christum amare sincere intellexerit, hoc officium, quod exiguum aut nullum potius esse multi existimant, (quod nihil præter nuda verba secum afferat,) ego tamen, vir clarissime, tam gravi exemplo commotus, nequaquam leve esse duco. Quod cum ita sit, quos potius nos Angli, quam vos bonos dominos Tiguri, quibuscum tanquam fratres sumus habiti, salutaremus, et cui alii præ te præsertim ego, quem præ ceteris aequalibus meis tam liberaliter tractasti, literis crebris et humanissimis gratiam et vitam precarer meis? Novit prudentia tua res omnes ex animo dantis, non magnitudine muneris, ponderare; potes et vires cum temporibus sic comparare, ut non tam quid quisquis dederit, animadvertas: quod si verbis gratiosius ditari potuissetis, jam olim vos beassem; alio namque modo gratificari non possum.

Mirabimini multum nostrum a vobis discessum, et non immerito sane; mirabar enim et ego: sed postquam reputavi apud me, quinam sumus et quid de nobis ipsis proverbio jactamus, mirari statim desii. Sic namque de nobis ipsis vulgo dicimus: Angli, ubi est bene, ut bene sit non ferunt. Permite ergo nos Anglos esse, ut ubi nostro malo sapere didicerimus, quam constans malum sit inconstantia, sentiamus. Non hæc dico, quod aliquid nobis desit, aut vim aliquam perpepsi simus: sed ut scias, nos expertos intelligere, quam beatum sit vivere Tiguri; et licet multos invenimus paratos satis, qui nobis consulant, paucos tamen, qui sic intime nos curent, ut vos omnes deprehendimus. Atque cum miseris magna levatio sit doloris, molestias suas in sinum fidelis amici fundere, qui sano consilio et verbis mollibus tristitias lenire novit, ac precibus Dominum ardentibus exorare

velit; ego mallet, ut miserandam ecclesiæ nostræ faciem, tum quæ domi sub lupis pressa jacet, et foris dispersa oberrat, apud te mediteris, quam ego narrare tentarem, quæ narrari non possunt. Vos tragœdiam hanc olim sustinuistis, sed Dominus felicem dedit exitum: nos jam in scenam traducimur, ut quem in prosperis non agnovimus ut decuit patrem, adversis humiliati deprehendamus benignum et facilem.

Saludent, quæso, quam possunt humaniter hæ meæ literæ communem miserorum patrem D. Bullingerum, cui, prout optime commeritus est, bona omnia exopto; et cum Dominus dederit, ut spectatores essetis afflictionis nostræ, pergite, quod cœpistis, nos amare, consilio juvare, et precibus Deum fatigare, ut vobiscum una respirare, ubi illi visum fuerit, possimus. Gratias etiam agant D. Gesnero pro omni labore in me suo, et literis sano consilio plenis, quas nuper ab eo recepi: sic enim ejus unius opera (post Dominum qui operatur omnia) tormina mea sunt in dies minora, ut bonam antiquæ valetudinis spem concipiam. Nihil adhuc eorum tentavi, quæ postremo præscripserat: quod si necessitas urgeat ut præroblem, rescribam, ut quid effecerint intelligat. Commendo vobis D. Parkhurstum cum uxore, Spenserum meum et Frenchamum, et commendatissimum haberi vellem venerando Pellicano, doctissimo Bibliandro, D. Wolphio, Joanni ab Ulmis, ceterisque ministris singulis. Ego si quid possum, vobis possum. Dominus vos servet ab hoc seculo integros in diem suum. Amen. Vale. Genevæ, 7 Aprilis, 1556.

Tuus tuo merito,

JACOBUS PILKINTONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro et fidelissimo pastori,  
domino Rodolpho Gualtero. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA LXVIII.

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JACOBUS PILKINTONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

VENI, Domine Jesu, cito. Cum inhumanitate nihil ab homine sit magis alienum, humanitasque hominem vel maxime ob affinitatem nominis et naturæ decoret; ne inhumanum me jure putes, quod nihil ad te scriberem, quem tam humaniter sæpe tractasti, humanitas tua effecit, ut literis te salutarem meis. Nam cum ingratos semper odit Dominus, qui beneficia suscepta non agnoscunt, ingrati que hominibus ipsis sunt molesti; ne in id vitii volens incurram, quod perpetuo in aliis oderam, ut verbis saltem debitas agnoscerem, cum re ipsa dignas referre non possum gratias, officium meum a me postulavit, dignitas tua flagitavit, utraque vero ad scribendum impulit. Vivas ergo diu, precor, cum tuis omnibus et feliciter, et pro jure

hospitii, quo tam benigne nos omnes exules tractastis, et cujus jucunda recordatione memet oblecto, vos Dominus pro sua benignitate perpetuo beet. Perge porro, quod cœpisti, et te ac tuos omnes benefaciendo missis orna: Dominus enim talibus hostiis placatur; memoriam reddit nunquam morituram, et beneficentiæ vestræ in proscriptos suos oblivisci nequit. Sed cum tua multa præclare facta cum multa gratulatione a multis citantur, nihil tamen est, in quo serio magis exultant, quam quod Petrum Martyrem ad vos pertrahere studeas. Quam indignum sit tali viro os obturari, his præsertim temporibus, multi animadvertunt; quodque magna accessio fiet eruendæ veritati in vestra liberrima libertate, cum vident, multi sibi magna de illo pollicentur. Et quamvis jucundum sit ac missis nostris prope necessarium, ut omnes Angli in unam ecclesiam conveniamus, mutuis querelis et ardenti prece Dominum pro collapsa ecclesia nostra fatigemus, supplicemus, exoremus; ad vos tamen redire, postquam eum ad vos venisse sensero, et animus cupit et levis occasio pertrahet. Quicquid de nobis scire desideras, hic bonus vir omnia fideliter renuntiare vult et potest. Salvare jubebis carissimum mihi D. Gualterum, cum ceteris symmystis vestris singulis, seorsim vero D. Gesnerum, cujus opera secundum Deum ego vivo et indies fio meliusculus. Dominus Jesus te cum tua ecclesia perpetuo servet, nostramque, nostri misertus, collapsam restituat. Amen. Genevæ, 27 Junii, (1556).

Tuus toto merito,

JA. PILKINTONUS, *Anglus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro et vigilantissimo pastori,  
domino Bullingero. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LXIX.

COMES BEDFORDIENSIS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

Cum meus in te amor singularis et perpetua observantia, qua te semper religionis causa sim prosequutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis humanitas multis modis a me perspecta, cum Tiguri fuerim, Bullingere doctissime, fecerunt, ut hasce literas, animi erga te mei pignus certissimum, et veluti tabulas obsignatas mei in te perpetui amoris quas exstare volui, huic adolescenti ad te darem: in quibus ita tibi gratias ago propter tuam humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si qua in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita a me dicta velim accipias, non sicut homines, qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt et officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quam quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant; sed potius ut ab animo sincero et prorsus tibi devinetissimo profecta certissimum tibi

persuadeas. Itaque si quid tua causa unquam facere possim (quod quam exiguum sit, non ignoro), illud tamen quantulumcunque erit, tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, et fortasse superque; præsertim etiam quum adhuc mihi statutum sit (si alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter alio avertere possint), ut vos obiter invisam, in Angliam reversuro, ubi id viva voce confirmabo, quod hic nudis verbis solummodo declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has literas perfert, mihi nuntiavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem honoris causa nomino;) quod ut audiivi, sane quam pro eo ac debui graviter molesteque tuli, non tam sua quam ecclesiæ universæ causa. Is enim hujus vitæ curriculum in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis hominibus promovendis, gloriosissime confecit; ac denique moriendo, quemadmodum vivebat, ad meliorem vitam in cælum translatus est: at illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus virum absolutissimum. Itaque, ut illius causa lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mœstitiæ causam tui (ut spero et opto) præsentia facile mitigabit, quem ecclesiæ bonisque omnibus diu incolumem Deus Optimus Maximus per suam misericordiam esse velit. Venetiis, sexto calend. Maias, 1557.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

P. S. Domino Gesnero, et domino Gualtero, meis amicissimis, diligenter a me, quæso, salutem dicito.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro domino Bullingero, sacre  
Theologicæ Professori eximio, Tiguri,  
tradantur.*

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EPISTOLA LXX.

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ANTONIUS COOKUS PETRO MARTYRI.

NISI firmior esset amicitia nostra, vir mihi semper ac plurimum observande, quam ut re levi moveri possit, negligentia fortasse nomine suspectus sim, quod acceptis per D. Quncum<sup>1</sup> gratissimis et humanissimis tuis literis hactenus nihil rescripserim; quarum tamen admonitu magis officii mei recordor, ac subinde repetita lectione, hac nostræ calamitatis hyeme me ipse consolor. Sed et candorem tuum bene novi, et silentium non semper immemorem arguit. Nam quod est apud comicum de communicandis consiliis, apud alium pudor prohibet, apud alium dignitas, idem etiam in scribendo potest contingere. Si enim quoties te interpellare, te audire, tecum vivere cupio, toties ad te scribere non vererer, nullus epistola sua dies careret.

[<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.]

Huc accedit quod, cum duriora (ut ipse scribis) atque acerbiora nobis indies eveniant, non solum ea scribere, verum etiam de illis cogitare, vulnerat animos: quale est quod de Caleto proximis literis accepimus, quod oppidum vel raptum est a Gallo, vel in maximo versatur periculo. Si amiserimus, non libet ominari, licet non sit prospectu difficile, quæ mala consequentur; a quibus quam facile fuerat quiesci, si nos quiessemus! Sed O securitatem (an cæcitatem dicam?) nostram, qui cum Dominum deserimus perfidi, tamen digna scelere nostro et denunciata voce Dei supplicia non timemus! De his et aliis utinam liceret tecum coram pluribus, ut, dolore meo cum lacrymis effuso, tua me docta pique facundia solari posset! Sæpe sane volui vos istic invisere, et hac proxima quadragesima fortasse mensem apud vos agam. Sed de hac re nemini quicquam: nondum enim satis constituere possum, et si hoc iter suscipiam, non multis erit ante cognitum. Precor Dominum nostrum Jesum, ut Angliæ miseris modis afflictæ misereri velit, et ecclesiæ laboranti subvenire *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ὑποτάξαι ἐαντῶ τὰ πάντα*. Deus te piis diu servet incolumem. Argentinæ, 20 Januarii, 1558.

Omnino tuus,

ANTONIUS COOKUS.

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## EPISTOLA LXXI.

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JOANNES CHECUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

TUNE a me contendere, Bullingere, ut in amicitiam meam recipiari, quam ego offerre debui, non exspectare dum rogaretur? Sed quod in te laudabile est, hoc in me puto reprehendendum: qui enim quærunt veras amicitias similes bonis agricolis sunt; qui accipiunt, bonæ telluri. Ego autem dum abs te antevertor, et tardior in colendis amicitiiis sum, deteriores partes habeo: quanto enim melior tellure agricola est, tantum ego abs te superior. Dare beneficium virtutis est, compensare officii; et longe beatius est dare beneficium quam accipere, imo vero quam gratum aut memorem, aut compensatorem esse. Cum autem doctrina, studium veræ religionis, et libri in lucem editi noti sint omnibus, et amor meus jamdiu conceptus minime eruperat; cogita tecum, quæso, etiam si studium meum erga te incognitum tibi fuerat, me tamen esse tui jamdiu studiosum.

Libri, quos ad regiam majestatem scripsisti, ita grati fuerant illi ut debebant esse. Eorum bonam partem ego illi tradidi, et quam benigne atque humaniter acceperit, et quo loco eos habeat, exponere possum, et te in hac parte felicem judicare. Sed quoniam regia majestas, longa ægritudine fractus, vix integre adhuc convaluit, de literis illius ad te obtinendis vix tibi aliquid polliceri possum. Quod si illi longior vita suppetat,

quum spero illum lucis hujus usura diutissime fruiturum, auguror equidem, idque præeunte Domino, talem eum principem futurum, ut neque in vindicanda religione Josiæ, neque in constituendis rebus Salomoni, neque in pietate colenda Davidi cedat. Et si quid natura possit aut gratia, imo vero si quid horum auctor Deus, cujus providentia ne immensi quidem orbis finibus continetur, verisimile est illum non modo ad ecclesiæ conservationem maxima adjumenta allaturum, sed etiam doctos viros omnibus honoribus illustraturum. Signum autem harum rerum jamdiu sustulit, qui plura ac majora hac ætate gessit, quam ceteri in constanti et confirmata ætate poterant: legem sex articulorum sustulit: imagines e templis ejecit: idololatriam profligavit: missas exterminavit, omnia pene superstitionis genera delevit. Optimam communium precum formam sancivit: homilias bonas et pias ad rudium ministrorum incitiam minuendam promulgavit. Doctissimos viros ad academias docendas accersivit, et alia ejusdem generis permulta, quæ singula in aliis magna, in illo nulla, pro magnitudine rerum gerendarum, erunt. Nuper etiam J. Wintoniensis episcopi catechismum auctoritate sua scholis commendavit, et articulos synodi Londinensis promulgavit, quos tu si cum Tridentina compares, intelliges spiritus spiritui quid præstet. Quid plura? Eum ad te mitto libellum, amoris erga te mei monumentum; et puta me tuum in Christo esse. Optime valeas. Grenvici, 7 Junii, 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

Tuus in Domino,

JOANNES CHECUS.

P. S. Saluta, quæso, dominum Rodolphum Gualterum et dominum Conradum Gesnerum, ad quos brevi scripturus sum.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero.*

*Figuri.*

## EPISTOLA LXXII.

JOANNES CHECUS JOANNI CALVINO.

Uno atque eodem tempore et adventum D. de Sancto Andrea intelligo et discessum: paucis tamen volebam te salutare. Ego hic quantum cogito hiematurus sum, in hoc exilio meo veterum amicorum societate usus, a quorum consuetudine non libenter abstrahor. Gaudeo quod Dominus te ex hoc incendio non modo valetudinis tuæ qua adflictabar, sed etiam calamitatis eripuit, quæ universum civitatis et ecclesiæ vestræ statum consumpsisset. Hæc etiamsi temporibus jam vetera sunt, mihi tamen, qui hæc primum audio, sunt nova. Itaque magnas Deo gratias ago, cum

hæc inusitata et memorabilia providentiæ suæ testimonia ceteris ad excitandam fidem et venerationem ejus affert. Nihil est quod magis adversariorum animos ad veram de Deo cogitationem transfert, quam cum pii defensione ejus adversus insidias et machinationes improborum muniuntur. Precor autem ut in hac perturbatione et ruina rerum Dominus miseræ Angliæ aliquam opem et adjuvamentum adferat, cujus sunt gravissima iræ testimonia permulta, bonitatis et clementiæ perpauca. Boni enim viri, et, quod etiam magis lamentabile est, principes doctrina et auctoritate viri, quorum consiliis et ingeniis multæ magnæque res in ecclesia gestæ sunt, non modo in discrimen vitæ adducuntur, sed etiam condemnati sibi exoptatam, ecclesiæ luctuosam et miserandam, mortem indices exspectant; qui etiam exemplo et constantia non viventes confirmare, sed etiam posteris præluce debent. In quibus D. Cantuariensis, Londinensis, et quondam Vigorniensis episcopi, Cranmerus, Ridleyus, Latimerus, cum constanter et animose in suscepta jam christiana doctrina permansissent, neque ab ea terrore judicii, mortis, ignium abduci poterant, condemnati, degradati, (sic enim vocant,) vel sunt, jam audio, concremati, vel brevi vim ignis et crudelitatem tyrannicam sensuri. Grave nobis et miserabile illis carere, quibus, si Deus aliquam conversionem rerum largiretur miseræ jam multumque vastatæ Angliæ, vel non omnino vel ægerrime careremus.

Sed quid ego hæc apud te, qui intelligis hoc constantiæ et fortitudinis exemplum ad universam longe lateque diffusam ecclesiam corroborandam pertinere, neque vivos tantum doctrina, quanto mortuos exemplo, illos prodesse posse? Ego vero id fateor, et in eo humanitus confirmor; sed quod Paulus de vita sua dixerat, hoc ego ad illos pertinere meo judicio putarem<sup>1</sup>, si divina hæc severitas respiraret in Anglia et conquiesceret, et ab hoc nos impio cultu ad veram Christianitatem deduceret. Sed quid exspectandum a Deo in hac cæde bonorum? Fortasse quod explere impietatem suam nostri quasi Amorrhæi debent, ut gravior divinæ justitiæ severitas in eos et maturius exerceatur. Ego quicquid Dominus facturus sit, cui parere, non imperare debeo, ita novi et credo facturum esse, ut ad electorum suorum utilitatem, quorum ille provisionem defensionemque suscipit, omnia pertineant. Quo minus angor animo cum quid evenerit, et mei officii judicio ita de Domini consilio judicare, ut prudentia bonitateque refertum putem, nec posse aut debere nostris vel sententiis vel roboribus aut corrigi aut reprehendi. Vide autem, ad amicum dum scribo, ut quicquid in mentem venit, scribo. Sed dum longitudine fatigaris, condonato libertati meæ, qui minus curiosus sum, dum ad studiosos mei scribam, non veritus reprehensionem, ubi veniam potius offensio habet quam criminationem. Dominus te servet tibi, mihi que, et ecclesiæ suæ. Saluta, quæso, D. Staffordum, uxoremque familiamque ejus, tum hospitem ejus D. Sancti Hiicormiæ, apud quem est, D. Marchionem

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *putare.*]

vestrum, si ad vos adhuc redierit, D. Normandiæ, dominos Budæum, Parrhum, fratremque tuum. Argentinae, 20 Oct., 1555.

Tui studiosissimus,

JOANNES CHECUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo et doctissimo viro D.*

*Joanni Calvino, pastori ecclesie Genevensis. Genevæ.*

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EPISTOLA LXXIII.

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JOANNES CHECUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

FREQUENS est nostrorum hominum sermo de humanitate non tua solum, sed etiam omnium ordinum et reipublicæ totius vestræ erga Anglos, qui ibi tum propter religionis mutationem commorarunt. Eam puto non humanitatem modo, sed hospitalitatem Deo imprimis gratam, hominibus probatam, et nunquam in ulla quidem memoria hominum apud nostros intermorituram. Ego, quod ad me pertinet, si quid tibi, si quid piis, si quid reipublicæ vestræ, præstare possum, ita me paratum ad id faciendum polliceor, ut grati animi studium et cupiditas referendæ gratiæ prompta appareat; quanquam aliis etiam nominibus tibi, D. Bibliandro, D. Bernardino tantum a me tribuendum est quantum doctis, piis, amicis, bene de Christi ecclesiæ meritis, tribuere debeam. Itaque non hæc τῆς φιλοξενίας hujus laus solum per se laudabilis est, sed etiam cum aliorum immanitate comparata admirabilior. Neque enim puto vobis ignotum esse, eos qui Christi corpus volunt ubique esse, nullo modo passos ut Christi membra alibi essent, quos omni genere feritatis atque immanitatis vexabant: ut cum opinionum absurditate, quam hauserunt, arripiant etiam morum diritatem et belluinam quandam in mansuetos Dei filios ferociam. Quod si ex fructibus opinionum veritates judicantur, et tantum inter opiniones intersit, quanta est in vita christiana differentia, næ illi jandiu convicti de sententia tam præfraeta discedere debent. Sed de istorum stupore alias, quorum occæcatam mentem luce Spiritus sui illustret Deus, et de tam crassa erroris quasi caligine deducat ad meliorem veritatis perceptionem et mitiorem animorum consensionem.

Audio ad vos illuc missum Ignatium, ut transferatur et translatus imprimatur, id quod quibusdam de causis consultum esse arbitror. Eum ego videram Augustæ, et quædam loca descripseram, ubi nomen missæ habebatur, et de Apostolorum uxoribus verba facit. Peto abs te, D. Bullingero, et etiam atque etiam contendo, ut Græcum librum simul cum translatione imprimendum cures: permagni enim doctorum interest,

auctorem ipsum sua lingua legere, ubi præsertim res graves et controversæ ponderandæ sunt. Ego nunquam translationem lego, quin auctorem ipsum quasi translationis explicatorem requiram. Utinam vero non in hoc auctore solum, sed etiam in ceteris omnibus, et in Procopio factum fuisset. Magnam detraxisset multarum rerum suspicionem, quæ videntur ab eo qui converterat injecta esse, ubi de quibusdam Hebraicis Latinisque ab homine Græco, harum linguarum rudi, disputatur. Nunc autem ita obtruduntur translationes, auctores ipsi abjiciuntur, ut hoc necessario incommodum sequatur, quod papistæ nobis in eucharistia objiciunt, ὥστε τοῖς ἀντιτύποις ἀντὶ πρωτοτυπῶν χρῆσθαι. Itaque si hoc apud vos futurum cures, ut auctores boni, qui literis et typis mandantur, vel cum translationibus imprimantur, ut recte in Stobæo aliisque curavit D. Gesnerus fieri, vel etiam seorsim, si ita melius feret, ne translationes venditentur, auctores ipsi pereant; magnas et multas utilitates et præsentis et sequituræ ætati apportabis. Videſ ut hic te familiariter appellem: condona mihi; cogitabam tantum salutare te, de humanitate erga nostros agere, et ubi mihi in mentem venit Ignatii aliorumque scriptorum quibus orbatu sumus, facere non potui quin tibi causam auctorum commendarem, et illorum quasi nomine precarer, ne sineres illos quasi per interpretes loqui, cum sua lingua libenter et viderentur a multis et audirentur, et ab interitus injuria, quæ consequi Græcos solet, vindicarentur. Ego in pietate tua sum: si quid sit in quo utilis tibi esse possum, impera. Quod idem precor D. Bibliandro et D. Bernardino meo nomine dicas: utinam ea mihi occasio daretur, ut faciendis promissis illis satisfacerem. Saluta, quæso, D. Pellicanum bonum senem, D. Rodolphum Gualterum, D. Conradum Gesnerum, et imprimis uxorem tuam. Dominus te servet. Argentinæ. 12 Martii, 1556.

Amicus et frater in Christo,

JOANNES CHECUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro et ecclesiæ Christi  
fidei administro, D. Henrico  
Bullingero, pastori Tiguri-  
nensi. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA LXXIV.

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RICARDUS MORISONUS JOANNI CALVINO.

Si perinde peccat Checus in tuam humanitatem, atque ego me peccasse jam multos menses non fateri non possim, Calvine doctissime, culpam in meam geminare potest; a crimine nec ille me nec ego illum liberare ullo

modo possum. Imo est cur uterque nostrum metuat, ne tu posthac nolis tua hospitia in Anglos bene collocata male perire. An tu ideo cessisti nobis aedes tuas, domi tuæ hospes, ut in tot mensibus ab eo tempore ne γρὸν gratitudinis a me in te rediret? Scribo ad marchionem: si nihil illic est, quod me tibi purget, scio quicum mihi negotium est, maloque culpam agnoscere quam nova injuria afficere te, dum veterem frustra excuso. Et tamen scias volo, me nihil falsi ad eum scripsisse, imo me et mea etiamdum in maximo discrimine versari, neque deesse qui volunt aut me domum redire, aut, velut eversum, foris exulis vitam agere. Ut non desunt mihi amici, qui aliud polliceantur, ita vereor ne hostes acerrimi plus ad nocendum adferant, quam frigidi amici ad res recuperandas deferre velint. Quid domi nostræ agatur, cum omnes sciant, scio te nescire non posse. Hic noster Lucas quæ ego scio facile poterit tibi indicasse omnia. Postremum hoc est, me malle factis facta rependere quam verbis tantam humanitatem tuam compensare velle videri. Cetera Lucas. Vale, humanissime Calvine, et condona mihi, nescio dicam silentium an malignas has literas. Argentorati, 17 mens. Aprilis, 1555.

Ex animo tuus,

RICARDUS MORISONUS.

*Doctissimo viro D. Joanni Calvino,  
amico meo carissimo.*

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## EPISTOLA LXXV.

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RICARDUS MORISONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

INTELLEXERAM, doctissime Bullingere, nondum redditis tuis literis, et consulis auctoritate et senatus consulto decretum esse, novos inquilinos in vestram urbem non esse recipiendos; non ideo quidem quod homines exteri non benignissime a vobis suscipiantur, et suscepti non tractentur summa cum humanitate. Imo hujus edicti hæc una res necessitatem fecit, quod tantus eodem tempore Italarum numerus e Lucarno ad vos accessisset, ut novo hospiti vix ullus in vestra urbe relictus sit locus. Hæc cum mihi nunciarentur, et cum Bernardinus noster nihil tum ad nostros respondisset, hyeme jam minitante frigus plane Germanicum, visum est optimo proximum esse ultro hic oblatas aedes, easque ob conjunctum hortum commodas, non recusare. Videbatur enim plane tempus, ut ligna, fœnum, et cetera, vel alendæ familiæ vel propulsandis per hyemem injuriis necessaria, compararentur: nam apud Argentinenses, cum frigus lignorum pretia dicitat, ligna vix unciatim veneunt; et cum veneunt, vix maximis precibus obtines, ut tibi comparare ea liceat. Te proinde etiam

atque etiam rogarem, ut mihi quicquid in hac re est admissum criminis, condones, qui effecerim ut tu illustrissimum consulem pene frustra adieris, nisi certo scirem te et hæc et his majora facile mihi ignoscere velle; quamquam quod nunc non fit, potest statim ineunte vere fieri, si res nostræ non persuadeant reditum in Angliam. Tu interim apud consulem tantum agito mea causa, ut intelligat, nulla levitate me consilium meum mutasse, sed magnis necessitatibus coactum in aliud tempus distulisse. Quamquam et hæc est aliqua pars eorum incommodorum, quæ homines coacti voluntarium exilium suscipere pati soleant, ut cum maxime cupiant de rebus suis certo statuere, id aut raro aut nunquam rite facere queant. Sic solent ἐξαπίνης τὰ συμβεβηκότα voluntates et consilia nostra omnia nullo negotio inturbare.

Hic ἀντιπαῦλος, Paulus ἀποστατικὸς, δούλος τοῦ διαβόλου, hic nuper Romæ creatus antichristus, prædam valde exiguam sibi oblatam esse putat, quod rursus in Anglia illi liceat in conscientias nostras tyrannidem suam exercere, nisi reditus restituantur monasteriis, hoc est, porcorum stabulis, patrimonium (ut ille vocat) animarum, quæ nunc in purgatorii sordibus merent. Legati nostri, qui Romam profecti sunt, ut lupum postliminio in agnos Christi revocarent, nunc sunt apud Cæsarem, et hæc summæ et ponti et terræ fæcis<sup>1</sup> postulata ad nostros ferunt. Faxit Deus, ut ista modis omnibus urgeat. Fortassis, qui Christi evangelium, hoc est, sceptrum illud quo Christus et regnum suum gubernat et ejus fines amplificat, passi sunt per minas eripi, suos reditus, vitam et sanguinem mortalibus, ne per vim quidem auferri sinent. Fiet tandem, quod Deus Optimus Maximus suis optimum esse norit. Si Socrates nihil certi a Diis petere solitus est, nobis magnum erit, nos totos a Dei Patris voluntate pendere? Si Pater est, non potest perpetuo in filios suos animadvertere. Imo ubi spem certam conceperit nos frugi fore, tum plane cogitabit sumendum esse supplicium de hostibus ipsius, et sua causa nostris. Saul voluit Davidem<sup>2</sup> interficere, tantum est conatus hoc tantum scelus: apud nos quot viva membra Christi conjecta sunt in flammis! Saul, sui ipsius carnifex, vidit eodem die interfectos tres liberos suos; et vivet semper Wintoniensis? Vivet ad augendam audaciam, non ad deponendam? Vivit Deus, non minus scelerum hodie osor, quam unquam antehac. Sed finem facio. Vale, optime Bullingere, et me ama.

Argentorati, 23 mensis Augusti, 1555.

Tuus merito tuo,

RICARDUS MORISONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro, domino Henrico*

*Bullingero, meo amico optimo.*

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *feris*; sed luditur, ut videtur, in *pontificis*.]

[<sup>2</sup> MS. *Danielem*; ut videas quam oscitanter.]

## EPISTOLA LXXVI.

THOMAS LEVERUS ROGERO ASCHAMO.

Ex quo tempore scripsi ad te, defuncti sunt hac vita ex amicis tuis D. Neveson, Alen, Billus regius medicus, et Redmannus. D. Billus, præfectus nostri collegii, benignitate regia succedit Redmanno in collegio Trinitatis, et ego Billo in collegio D. Joannis. D. Redmannus *φθίσει* correptus longo morbo decubuit, certissimam mortem exspectans, semperque de Deo et vera religione sermonem instituens, tanquam ille qui vehementer concupisceret liberari ex carcere corporis hujus et esse cum Christo. Communicabo tecum, mi Aschame, partem illius sermonis quem Joannes Yongus (qui, ut tu ipse Cantabrigiæ superiori anno audivisti, in publicis scholis magnis lateribus D. Bucero restitit) præsens ex ore D. Redmanni tum jam morientis accepit. Primum Redmannus (ut ipse Yongus mihi declaravit) rogatus est a Yongo, et aliis perdoctis viris adstantibus, ut iudicium suum de certis religionis capitibus explicaret: et statim recepit, se responsurum veluti coram Deo iudice, quicquid ex animo sentiret in quavis re quæ ab illis proponeretur. Rogatus quid sentiret de sede Romana, respondet, esse sentinam malorum, et inde derivari fœdissimam eluviam, quæ inundasset in ecclesiam Dei. Rogatus de purgatorio, dixit, nullum esse tale purgatorium quale scholastici commentiti sunt: sed cum Christus venerit, et ignis in circuitu ejus, tum omnes obviam facti purgabuntur, quemadmodum ego, inquit, credo, et quemadmodum complures prisci doctores intelligunt. De missa rogatus, dicebat, eos qui statuunt missam sacrificium pro defunctis, pugnare cum ipso Christo et beneficio mortis illius. Ad propositionem de sola fide justificante asserebat esse suavei doctrinam, plenam certe consolationis si intelligeretur de vera et viva fide; et quod nulla opera mererentur vitam æternam, ne opera quidem gratiæ in homine justificato. Interrogatus quid sentiret de transubstantiatione, dicebat se hos jam duodecim annos operam suam et studium collocavisse in illo negotio, et animadvertisse scripta Tertulliani, Irenæi, et Origenis aperte pugnare cum illa doctrina; et in aliis vetustis scriptoribus eam doctrinam nec defendi nec tradi: cumque diu et frustra exspectaret in scholasticorum libris aliquid certi et explorati de illa re, nihil omnino in illis sanum et solidum, sed meras imposturas et crassos errores reperisse. De præsentia, aiebat, Christum esse in sacramento realiter et corporaliter (ut Yongus mihi referebat); attamen cum interrogaretur an illud esset corpus Christi, quod videmus sacerdotem attollere, asserebat, Christi corpus nullis hominum manibus nunc posse nec sursum levari nec deorsum demitti. Et circumferre, inquit, sacramentum ut adoretur, valde depravata consuetudo est. Affirmabat etiam malos homines non recipere corpus Christi, sed sacra-

mentum illius. Sedulo hortatus est Yongum ut diligenter legeret ipsam scripturam, et caveret ab hominum doctrina. Præterea dicebat excellentem esse librum quem proximo scripsisset de eucharistia reverendissimus Cantuariensis, et dedit Yongo consilium, ut illum librum diligenter perlegeret. Ipse Yongus dicebat mihi, Quemadmodum, inquit, ego ipse olim libenter et prompte mortem adivissem propter transubstantiationem sacramenti, et id quidem alacrius quam propter ipsius Christi incarnationem, sic imposterum elaboraturus sum, ut universum meum studium et iudicium certiori nitatur fundamento, quam communi illo hominum consensu, quam falso nominaverunt ecclesiam. Spero, mi Aschame, non Yongum solum sed multos perductum iri ab hominum doctrina ad veram Christi religionem hoc divino Redmanni sermone quem paulo ante obitum suum habebat.

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## EPISTOLA LXXVII.

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THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM plurimam in Christo Jesu! In nostro itinere prima nocte Lentzburgæ pater Gervasius, lectis tuis ad illum literis, admirabilem pii animi benevolentiam in nos tanquam in carissimos effundere mihi videbatur. Nam vesperi e publico diversorio nos abducens, in suis ædibus ad suavissimam quietem perduxit: atque summo mane per duas horas nobiscum proficiscens tam exacte nos docuit viarum notas atque piorum virorum nomina, ut ex istorum consiliis et illarum signis nos semper deinceps admoniti de via facile recta pervenimus Bernam. Ibi intelleximus Musculum, Hallerum, et alios doctos valde benevolos fuisse atque propensos nobis juvandis effectos per tuas ad Hallerum literas. Nam plures pariter in unis ædibus congregati ad bonam cœnam nos invitarunt. Hallerus præterea trium dierum liberali hospitio nos gratis acceptos ducebat quotidie ad quæcunque videnda vel audienda desideravimus. Losannæ quoque Bæsacus et Viretus tam verbis quam factis ostendebant per tuas ad illos literas nos et commendatos et gratos fuisse. Tandem vero septimo die Aprilis venimus Genevam, ubi, absente Calvino, ad quem dixi me tuas literas habere, statim recepit nos commensales vir pius et probus, qui nunc intra hos paucos dies Calvinum reversurum exspectat. Intellexi igitur et agnosco, paternam tuam erga me providentiam mihi et consorti meo non solum in domo tua hospitium longe gratissimum gratis exhibuisse, verum etiam in aliis locis apud alios gratiam et benignitatem longe supra nostram expectationem nobis contulisse. Atque proinde, quod tibi secundum Deum acceptum fero, jamdiu est ex quo cœpi cogitare me non tam exulem e patria

mea peregrinari, quam concivem sanctorum in domestica Dei familia nunc versari.

Nullam itaque nunc sentio meam miseriam, sed curam pene incurabilem pro eis, quos in patria mea suspicor gravissimis periculis jam esse immersos: nam Anglus quidam Bernam transiens scripsit ad conterraneos suos in Geneva, quod principes Bernenses accepissent, per literas ex aula regis Galliae ad eos missas, reginam Angliae occisam esse a plebe exasperata per ejus perfidam crudelitatem. Alius tamen, qui a Londino decessit 13 die Martii, hodie hic mihi retulit, quod in seditione per Voyetum concitata nulli sacrifici fuere suspensi, neque post captum Voyetum ulla multitudo morte fuit mulctata. Solos dixit ducem Suffolciae et filiam ejus D. Joannam atque maritum illius decollatos fuisse, et omnes constanter in professione verae religionis perseverasse. Atque praeterea asseverabat se pro certo audivisse, Cranmerum Cantuariensem episcopum, Ridleum Londinensem episcopum, Latimerum concionatorem celeberrimum, et Halesium legisperitum pium, omnes hos pariter traductos a Londino ad Oxoniam fuisse, ut ibi a dominis doctoribus illius academiae condemnati haereseos igni comburentur. Ex istis omnibus nihil aliud possum ego colligere nisi aut vivente regina gravissimam ecclesiae persecutionem, aut grassante irrequieta multitudine irrecuperabilem dissipationem regni, in Anglia esse.

Verum enimvero cordis mei durities, qua neque istarum calamitatum commiseratione neque meorum commissorum poenitudine unquam possit in lacrymas resolvi, saepe solet mihi animum turbare, ingenium obtundere, et memoriam confundere. Quare te obsecro, mi pater in visceribus Christi Jesu, caelestem Patrem mecum pro me invocet, ut ipse respiciens nostras miserias, Christi merita, et suas miserationes, mihi condonet meam negligentiam et nequitiam, auferat cordis duritiam, et tribuat resipiscentiae atque sanctificationis Spiritum.

Dicito, quaeso, a me atque a consorte meo Hugone salutem et gratias plurimas uxori tuae et omni familiae vestrae; atque te etiam rogo, ut meo nomine salutare venerandos senes, Pellicanum et Bibliandrum, et alios doctos piosque viros, Gualterum, Gesnerum, Lodovicum, Zuinglerum, et Zuinglium. Conservet te Christus diu ad utilitatem ecclesiae suae. Vale. Genevae, 11 die Aprilis.

Filius tuus,

THOMAS LEVERUS.

*Inscriptio deest.*

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## EPISTOLA LXXVIII.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM plurimam in Christo! Ut antea scripsi, sic nunc etiam agnosco, me plurimum paternæ tuæ providentiæ debere, quæ per literas effecit, ut apud plurimos ignotos peregrinus præteriens magnam benignitatem invenirem. Ex Anglia recens nihil ad me pervenit, nisi redargutio illorum rumoribus quibus per aliquot dies hic dicebatur reginam interemptam fuisse: nam adhuc in vita perseverans in impietate crescit.

Audio Anglos quosdam cum viro valde pio, Ricardo Chamber, Tigurum ad vos venisse: quos ego sane doleo citius ad vos quam meas literas ad illos pervenisse. Nam Ricardus Chamber is est, qui se suaque omnia sedulo impendit, ut in hac persecutione salutem ministrorum consulere possit: cui cum mea peregrinatio labores minuere debuit, illi tum mearum literarum vana expectatio et curas et labores graviores adjecit. Sed Christus, per quem omnia cooperantur in bonum iis qui Deum diligunt, convertet hoc etiam in Dei honorem et consolationem eorum, qui Christi gloriam ex animo quærunt. Et proinde spero non ingrati a Deo vobis oblatam esse occasionem exponendi vestram benignitatem in veros Christianos, fideles ministros, et miseros exules; nec illis inutilem esse contemplationem vestræ ecclesiæ sanctissimæ et sincere Deum colentis. Literas superscriptione dicatas ad illum Ricardum Chamber Anglum, quæso, cures cito tradendas. Ne, quæso, mei sis oblitus in precibus tuis apud Deum. Ut alii, sic etiam D. Calvinus, tua causa in me propensior fuit: unde intelligas mea causa te nunc plurimis plurima debere. Ego quod solum possum, id semper faciam, Deum scilicet invocabo, ut te diu ad utilitatem ecclesiæ suæ custodiat. Vale. Genève, 23 Aprilis.

Tuæ paternitatis in Christo studiosus filius,

THOMAS LEVER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
fidei et pio ecclesiæ Tigurinæ pas-  
tori. Zurich.*

## EPISTOLA LXXIX.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM plurimam in Christo Jesu! Paterna illa tua benevolentia et benignitas, quam mihi præstitisti, ex quo e nativo solo in has regiones

religionis causa exul veni, dolorem relictæ patriæ lenivit, et alacritatem ad tolerantiam crucis Christi mihi dedit. Aliis quoque Anglis plurimis plurimum profuit; et de tua erga nos perseverantia non possum dubitare, quia non nostra merita, sed tuam pietatem in perpetuis tuis erga nos beneficiis videor mihi videre. Quando sane ego nuper libellum et literas abs te recepi, in quibus verba et vocem patris mei in Christo colendissimi quotidie legendo audire liceat, tunc probe me admonitum et incitatum judicavi, ut in paterna illa tua pietate et doctrina ego filius sedulo insisterem et proficerem. Et certe libellus ille non mihi soli, sed aliis plurimis piis et doctis dignus videtur, ut in plures linguas transferatur. Atque in Gallicam linguam iste tabellarius, Petrus Tonvillanus, eum transtulit, et typis excudendum hic reliquit, vocatus hinc in Poloniam ad promovendum ibi evangelicum negotium. Et quoniam in familiari consuetudine illum esse doctum, pium, et honestum inveni, libenter has meas literas illi ad te dedi, quibus etiam sperat se notiozem et gratiozem tibi futurum. Quæ spes ne illum fallat, tu pro tua pietate in omnes tales curabis. Si Spenserus noster non redierit, spero D. Joannem ab Ulmis curaturum, ut memoralia tua in minores prophetas, aut si qua alia pro me illi commiseris, exscribantur. Nam nihil magis desiderans quam talia tua scripta, per literas sedulo egi cum D. Joanne ab Ulmis, ut operam suam in hoc negotio mihi accommodaret, et spero illum fideliter facturum. Ex Anglia nihil nuper accepimus, nisi crudelem persecutionem perseverare vel potius augeri. Deus misereatur nostri, et missa virtute sæpius e supernis extrudat operarios tales in messem suam, qui extrudant vulpes e vinea sua Anglia. Saluta, quæso, meo nomine uxorem tuam et reliquam familiam, quibus semper opto optima in Christo. Dominus te diu nobis et ecclesiæ Christi conservet. Vale. Genevæ, 28 Junii.

Tuus tui, ut patris sui in Christo, studiosissimus filius,

THO. LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Colendissimo in Christo patri, D.  
Henrico Bullingero, fidelissimo  
ecclesiæ pastori. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LXXX.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM plurimam in Christo Jesu! Pro vera paterna pietate et beneficentia, quam et apud alios Anglos, religionis causa exulantes, et apud me, ut apud filium tuum, collocasti, dignas et debitas gratias referre non

possumus; sed, quantum possumus, sedulis precibus pro te, pro ecclesia tibi commissa, pro familia tua et pro tuis omnibus, Deum orabimus. Faxit Deus, ut semel factis declarem nos a vobis didicisse pie et humaniter atque benigne peregrinantes Christi causa tractare.

Quoniam te patrem mihi exhibuisti, quæso accipias a me ut a filio tuo vivendi et studiorum meorum rationem. Solutus et liber ab omni publico munere dego: sermones et lectiones Calvinii omnes et aliorum aliquas audio: in edendo libello vulgari nostro sermone Anglico, qui jam est sub prelo et, Deo volente, brevi in Angliam mittetur, quod reliquum est temporis adhuc impendo. Posteaquam hunc libellum emisero, decrevi legendis prophetis quantum potero temporis et studii tribuere. Sane majori cum alacritate et fructu in illo studio prophetarum proficiscerer, si te aliquando aliquo modo consulere liceret. Quare, colende pater, qui nunquam quidquam mihi negasti, nunc quæso aliqua tua scripta ad intelligentiam prophetarum conducentia, et adhuc non impressa, sic amico meo, magistro Spensero, communices, ut illa ille pro me exscribenda curaret, quemadmodum illa quæ scribis in Apocalypsin Joannis curat.

Res magnas aut novas ad te scribendas nullas jam habeo. Quicquid est rumorum, facilius, si placeat, ex hujus tabellarii verbis quam ex meis literis intelligas: ille enim, nomine Ricardus Harvelus, pius et probus, religionis et literarum causa patria sua Anglia carens, te videre et alloqui desiderat. Talis mihi cum illo fuit hic Genevæ consuetudo, ut optarem meam ejus apud te commendationem sibi posse prodesse.

Saluta, quæso, carissimam uxorem tuam ut matrem meam, et honestam illam matronam, quæ nobis Anglis ministravit, cum eramus pariter in unis ædibus, ut matrem familiæ nostræ. Deus te diu nobis ad ecclesiæ Christi utilitatem servet. Vale.

Genevæ, 17 Januarii.

Tuus tui in Christo studiosus,

THOMAS LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Henrico Bullingero, viro doctissimo  
et piissimo ac fidelissimo pastori  
ecclesiæ Christi. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LXXXI.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM sempiternam in Christo Jesu! Quemadmodum ad meam magnam consolationem et commoditatem inveni apud te pietatis consilium,

doctrinam, et exemplum, cum præsens essem Tiguri; sic nunc, colendisime in Christo pater, ad ædificandam Christi ecclesiam Anglorum Frankfordii spero semper habiturum me adjutrices tuas pias preces. Et cum reliqui Angli multi te suum patronum habent, ego te mihi patrem etiam fuisse agnosco, et perseveraturum spero atque opto. Atque quoniam video me omni facultate et occasione referendi gratias esse destitutum, hæc nunc scribo, ut intelligas me nec immemorem esse nec ingratum.

Ex Anglia nihil certi; sed ex incertis rumoribus accepi, reginam non omnino fuisse gravidam; atque concilium, quod vocant parlamentum, subito fuisse finitum, idque propterea quod rex non solum negavit, verum etiam contempsit, tres petitiones a magistratibus propositas: quarum prima erat, ut veram religionem restauraret; secunda, ut pacem cum Gallis firmaret; et tertia, ut neminem extra Angliam natum sibi a conciliis essemitteret. Intelligo plures ex vanis rumoribus quam ex vera resipiscentia consolationem quærere.

Ne graveris, quæso, meo nomine salutare matrem meam uxorem tuam, reliquamque quoque vestram familiam, quibus omnibus optima precari nunquam desinam. Dominus Jesus te diu nobis custodiat ad ecclesiae suæ utilitatem. Vale. Frankfordii, 12 die Februarii.

Tuus tibi in Christo deditissimus filius,

THOMAS LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Colendissimo meo in Christo patri, D. Henrico Bullingero, doctissimo et piissimo ecclesiae pastori. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA LXXXII.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM plurimam in Christo Jesu! Cum essem Genevæ sic incumbens lectioni in privatis studiis et audiens sermones concionatorum in publicis cœtibus, ut nihil mihi pro eo tempore videbatur posse esse optatius tam ad meam institutionem, quam ad ecclesiae ædificationem; tum nonnulli Angli conterranei mei, religionis causa ex Anglia profligati et Veseliæ manentes, literas suas ad me miserunt, in quibus scripserunt, me majori parte suffragiorum et communi atque unanimo consensu omnium, in electione libera, electum esse illis in pastorem. Itaque enixe per literas rogabant, et in Christo obtestabantur, ut nec munus recusarem, quod Deus, exaudiens illorum preces et dirigens suffragia, mihi imposuisset, nec iter ad eos tardarem, qui me sollicitè exspectabant. Nam

cum is, qui fuit pastor, jam antea sua sponte decesserat, et usus sacramentorum magistratus illis interdixerat; me veniente et pastorem habere et gratiam apud magistratum ad liberum usum sacramentorum recuperare, aut saltem consilium illis utile et necessarium audire posse se sperabant. Itaque hujusmodi literis perlectis, Deum invocans, post D. Calvinum atque fratres meos pios et doctos ecclesiæ nostræ Angliæ ministros consultos, nunc eo a Geneva versus Veseliam: sic illorum statum et conditionem atque meam tenuem facultatem reputans, ut nec munus pastoris suscipere nec ullam diligentiam aut laborem docendi recusare me debere mihi habeam persuasum. Munus enim pastoris nec mihi nec aliis, quos consului, videtur posse exerceri apud eos vel inter eos quibus ministerium sacramentorum prohibetur: et sane, quæ<sup>1</sup> Dei verbum docet debere esse in pastore, adhuc in me ego non reperio; quæ autem invenero mihi data esse a Deo, ea omnia fratribus in Christo rogantibus libenter diligenterque impendere, Deo juvante, nunquam negabo. Juxta igitur paternam tuam erga me benevolentiam, quam a primo nostro congressu hucusque sæpe expertus sum, in visceribus Jesu Christi, colende pater, te oro perseverare semper memorem mei in precibus tuis apud Deum, et aliquando etiam per literas tuas ad me monere et docere me ut filium tuum, quo melius discam Christo et ecclesiæ ejus humiliter, alacriter, et fideliter inservire. Ego autem non habens, quod tibi rependam, quotidianis precibus a Deo omnia bona tibi atque tuis impetrare sedulo conabor.

Oro etiam salutare meo nomine D. Petrum Martyrem, D. Bernardinum Ochinum, D. Gualterum, et reliquos vestræ ecclesiæ ministros, quibus omnibus pro vestris in me et in alios Anglos meritis agnoscam me debitorem omnium quæ<sup>1</sup> unquam potuero vobis præstare. Dicas etiam, obsecro, a me salutem in Domino uxori tuæ et toti familiæ, ac denique honestæ illi matronæ, quæ nobis Angliis ancillavit, vel potius in unis ædibus aluit. Deus te diu nobis servet ad ecclesiæ Christi ædificationem et ad antichristi regnum oppugnandum. Vale. Argentorati, ut eram in itinere, 4 die Januarii, 1557.

Tuus fideliter in Christo,

THO. LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Suo in Christo patri colendissimo D. Henrico Bullingero, viro doctissimo et fidelissimo ecclesiæ Christi pastori. Tiguri.*

[<sup>1</sup> MS. quem.]

## EPISTOLA LXXXIII.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM plurimam in Christo Jesu, cum summa gratiarum actione pro tua perpetua erga me paterna benignitate et benevolentia. Et cum sæpe multa valde grata mihi præstitisti, tum nihil unquam optatius aut magis gratum mihi contingere potuisset, quam quod tuis consiliis tuisque literis ego fretus et usus tandem inveni, ubi conterranei mei et carissimi fratres in Christo, qui ob liberam et sinceram professionem Christi patria sua sunt profligati, ob eandem professionem benigne et libenter recipiantur. Nam dominus Hallerus, visis tuis literis, sic causam nostram agebat primo apud plurimos senatores Bernenses sigillatim et seorsim, et tandem apud integrum cœtum in ipso senatu, ut hodie nobis concessa sit libertas habitandi per omnem Bernensium ditionem. Et jubet, vel potius consilium dat, D. Hallerus, ut, perlustratis plurimis, redeamus Bernam significaturi qui locus in eorum ditione nobis potissimum placuerit, ut ab ipsis dominis Bernatibus recipiamus peculiare literas commendatitias ad præfectum et incolas ejusdem loci. Denique quod ad liberum usum verbi Dei et sacramentorum, quodque ad conficiendos pannos Anglicos attinet, cum de illis mentio facta fuerat, videbantur Bernates ingenue fateri, ista hujusmodi esse qualia illi optarent nos inter suos exercere; nedum ullam esse difficultatem nobis ista ab illis impetrandi. Exspecto itaque hodie literas a dominis istius civitatis generaliter ad omnes, qui sunt in illorum ditione, quibus acceptis decrevi cras iter instituere ad Anglos, qui sunt Basileæ, ut una cum illis consilium capiam de accelerandis omnibus reliquis, qui adhuc hærent in itinere versus Basileam, et de perlustrandis regionibus Bernensibus, ut commodissimus inveniatur et præparetur locus. Te igitur obsecro et obtestor in Christo, ut quemadmodum hucusque fecisti, sic semper pergere velis (quandocunque occasionem Deus dabit) mihi benignitatem paternam abunde effundere. Optabam sub alis tuis in ditione Tigurinensi me cum meis, si fieri potuisset, collocasse. Sed fiet non quod ego volo, sed quod Pater noster cœlestis: illi omnis honor et gloria, nobis misericordia et salus in Christo Jesu.

Obsecro, ne dedigneris si te rogem salutare uxorem tuam ut matrem meam et omnem reliquam tuam familiam, ut domestica caritate in Christo mihi carissimam. Non tam rogo, quam opto atque spero, te semper velle me admonere eorum, quæ moneris spectare ad Dei gloriam atque ad meam et meorum consolationem et ædificationem in Christo. Vale. Bernæ, 12 die Maii. Oremus pro invicem.

Tuus fideliter in Christo filius,

THOMAS LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Colendissimo patri viroque doctissimo  
D. Henrico Bullingero, vigilantissimo  
pastori Christi ecclesie. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA LXXXIV.

THOMAS LEVERUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

JESUS Christus nobiscum Deus! Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu! Magnæ consolationi mihi fuit tuæ humanitatis benignitas et prudentiæ consilium Tiguri in ædibus tuis, et multum adjuvarunt nostram causam literæ tuæ ad D. Steigerum apud consules et senatores Bernenses; et ne deesset vobis occasio perseverandi in pia commiseratione et benigna diligentia erga nos, ecce quotidie in plures et majores difficultates atque tribulationes venimus. Nam post exilium ex Anglia, demigrationem a Wezalia, peregrinationem per omnem fere Germaniam, nos Angli, repulsam passi in Basilea<sup>1</sup>, et tandem nunc ad aliquam gratiam inventam apud Bernates cogimur de longe respicere. Nam consiliarii regis Ferdinandi, qui sunt Emseniæ, non permittunt ullos Anglos religionis causa profugos libere transire per ditionem illam Ferdinandi, quæ late patet inter Argentinam et Basileam. Ex quibus facile videas, in quam longo, laborioso, sumptuoso, difficili et periculoso itinere laboramus, et quantopere multorum patrociniis, consiliis, benignitate et opere indigemus. Quare sis, quæso, memor nostri in precibus tuis apud Deum, et in literis atque colloquiis tuis apud eos homines, quos noveris tales esse, ut possint et velint nobis Christi [causa] prodesse. Vale. Saluta, quæso, D. Parkhurstum et uxorem ejus. Tabetarius festinat: iterum vale. Basileæ, 27 Maii.

Tuus fideliter in Christo,

THOMAS LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Rodolpho Gualtero, viro doctissimo  
et fideli verbi Dei ministro.*

[<sup>1</sup> De recipiendis Anglis exulibus per fratres actum est, priusquam ego reversus sum Constantia; sed repulsam apud magistratum nostrum passi sunt, magno certe fratrum et omnium piorum gemitu ac ejulatu. Reversus ego denique fratrum consilio rem iterum tentavi apud senatum, ut saltem locus daretur his qui jam in itinere essent; crudelem enim fore inhumanitatem, si illi ejicerentur, et scandalum illud poneretur omnibus Christianis, &c. Sed frustra et hoc saxum volvimus: nam et his non plus datum quam quod permittitur turpissimæ hominum fæci huc concurrenti; scilicet ut non arcerentur a publicis diversoriis. O mi frater! quam cæci quamque impii prorsus ut sint oportet, qui tantam Domini benedictionem sibi oblatam cum tam gravi offensione ecclesiarum Dei, tam temere, tam irreligiose (ne quid aliud addam) a se ac suis repellunt! Quæ sane quod ad Bernates rediit, et ipsis et exulibus tam gratulamur, quam nostras miseras deploramus merito. Orate Deum pro nobis: nisi enim ipse succurrat rebus nostris afflictis, video in pejus ruitura omnia nostra. Bene vale, frater observande, ac Dominus rependat tibi largiter collatum in me nuper honorem ac beneficia: qui et ecclesiam et rempublicam vestram corroboret in omni bono. Amen. Basileæ, 17 Maii, 1557.

Tuus per omnia in Christo addictissimus,

INSCRIPTIO.

JOANNES JUNGIIUS.

*Pietate simul et eruditione præstantissimo viro  
D. Henrico Bullingero, fratri suo venerando  
et longe carissimo.]*

## EPISTOLA LXXXV.

THOMAS LEVERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

JESUS Christus nobiscum Deus! Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu! Binas ego a dominatione tua nuper recepi literas, et librum tuum ad ecclesiam hic Anglorum, utilem sane et admodum gratum. Veram paternam affectionem erga nos tuam in istis plane videmus, et condignas gratias nos non posse referre ingenue agnoscimus tibi, cui pollicemur quantum unquam poterimus præstare. Et quoniam patris est gaudere, cum videat liberos suos suis institutionibus et beneficiis imbutos ad pietatem et felicitatem alacriter et feliciter contendere, sedulam certe navabimus operam ut nos ex tuis ad nos scriptis id commodi, et tu ex eo nostro commodo id gaudii percipias.

Atque ut de me ipse seorsum tecum familiariter agam, credas velim admonitionem tuam de non contendendo circa res indifferentes gratissimam mihi fuisse. Nam et antea ipse ita mecum decreveram, et nunc tua auctoritate confirmatus, multo constantius et alacrius perseverabo in sedula cautione evitandi offensiones et inutiles disceptationes, ut omnia ad pacem, concordiam, et ædificationem ecclesiæ facilius et melius accommodentur. Nam cum misi amicum meum D. Ricardum Burcherum Bernam, consulturum D. Joannem Hallerum de ritibus utendis hic in nostra ecclesia, significavi rationes quæ me impulerunt ut optarem fermentatum panem in administratione cœnæ Dominicæ: sed interim nec a magistratu quicquam petere, neque omnia quæ mihi licerent ipse facere volui, sed ea sola quæ ejus judicio et licere et etiam expedire viderentur. Et sane rescripsit ille ad me illud ipsum quod accepi a te in tuis literis. Quare libenter vestrum consilium sequar non solum in hac re, verum etiam in aliis, quæcunque vos pro vestra pietate et prudentia admonueritis aut consulueritis facienda aut declinanda: et te oro ut, quum primum vacaverit, ad me scribas, quid sentias faciendum. Si aliquis vir vellet uxoris mortuæ sororem in uxorem sibi sumere, aut si jam duxerit mortuæ uxoris sororem, num retinere aut dimittere oporteat? Rogo etiam ut libellum hunc de ecclesiastica administratione Anglorum Genevæ legas, ut judicium tuum de illo ingenue intelligam. Vides quam audacter fretus tua clementia et benignitate compellavi<sup>2</sup> dominationem tuam, quam novi gravissimis et plurimis rebus semper occupatam. Differas itaque liceat ista quæ ego nunc peto, donec per otium opportuna occasio contigerit. Omnes Angli qui hic sunt ex animo in Christo dominationem tuam salutant, et pro literis tuis atque libro ad eos maximas gratias debitas tibi agnoscimus omnes nos.

Saluta, quæso, meo nomine ministros ecclesiæ vestræ et familiam tuam omnem, pro quibus omnibus nunquam ego obliviscar orare Deum,

[<sup>2</sup> MS. *compellar.*]

et pro te potissimum, ut diu vivas et valeas illustrare ecclesiam Christi in confusionem antichristi, ad consolationem nostram. Vale. Aroviæ, 18 Septembris.

Tuus, tibi in Christo maxime devinctus,

THO. LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Henrico Bullingero, viro insigni eruditione atque pietate prædito, vigilantissimo ecclesie Tigurinensis pastori, domino atque patri meo in Christo colendissimo. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LXXXVI.

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THOMAS LEVERUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

JESUS Christus nobiscum Deus! Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu! Post longas laboriosasque agitationes<sup>1</sup> tandem Aroviæ cum aliquibus tamquam in portum aliquem videor mihi ipse appulisse. Nam omnem ditionem Bernensem tam Germanicam quam Sabaudicam lustravimus, et in utraque parte unum locum potissimum nobis Anglis religionis causa exulibus commodam habitationem exhibere posse et velle vidimus, Aroviam scilicet in Germania vel potius in Helvetia, et Vivicum in Sabaudia. Atque in istis duobus oppidis oppidanos satis et supra expectationem nostram in nos propensos habemus. Sed Aroenses propter angustias loci ultra septem ædes adhuc nobis concedere et suppeditare non possunt. Et Vivicenses quamvis brevi omnes viginti quinque familias recipere possint et velint, longius tamen distant et difficilem ad eos accessum habent. Quare judicavimus longe melius et facilius esse, ut ex parvis initiis hic in propinquo aliqui pauci incipientes procederent, et novis incrementis quotidie coalescerent, quam ut omnes pariter ad ultima et maxima cum sumptibus, laboribus, et periculis statim contenderent. Itaque quot possunt septem illæ ædes, quas nobis suppeditat Arovia, recipere, tot nunc hic sunt cum suis uxoribus et liberis collocati. Reliqui, cupientes potius huc ad nos confluere quam Vivicum usque demigrare, in aliis locis hærent aliam sperantes et optantes opportunitatem. Et sic Angli, qui ex nostra patria ob papismum et a Wezalia ob Lutheranismum solvimus, omnes plerique mutuis votis, consiliis, et auxiliis, ad unum aliquem locum, ubi adhuc liceat libere, sincere, et aperte Christum pariter profiteri

[<sup>1</sup> De Anglis nostris bona pars hic manet. Reliqui Aroviam se conferent, nisi Vivicum tolerabiliores offerantur conditiones. Ego septimana præterita cum illis Aroviam ascendi, ac facile impetravi illis locum apud ipsos cives. Sed ædes et habitationes non potuimus invenire nisi pro septem familiis. Templum S. Ursulæ illis permissum, et exercitium lanificii, etiam reclamantibus aliquibus ditioribus. Laus Deo. Bene vale.— Junius Bullingero, Aug. 5, 1557.]

et colere, contendimus. Atque ad talem locum tandem omnes simul veniemus, si Deo ita visum fuerit: sin minus, ejus voluntas et non nostra fiat. Certe quidquid tandem eveniet posthac, agnoscemus nos omnes plurimum debere D. Bullingero et tibi, quorum consiliis et literis ego usus pro nostratibus apud Bernates longe plures et majores commoditates inveni atque impetravi quam antea credidissem. Quare vos oro, ut pergere velitis literis, consiliis, atque admonitionibus vestris me adjuvare ad conservandam et augendam gratiam, benignitatem, et omnes aliis commoditates necessarias ad collectionem, consolationem, et ædificationem eorum, qui Christi causa patria relicta adhuc quærent, ubi potissimum Deum sincere colere et sibi invicem ex mutuis caritatis officiis necessaria suppeditare possint. Salutes, quæso, cum gratiarum actione nomine meo D. Henricum Bullingerum, P. Martyrem, B. Ochinum, et alios pios viros, D. Parkhurstum et uxorem ejus. Vale. Aroviæ, 11 Augusti, 1557.

Tuus fideliter in Christo,

THO. LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Rodolpho Gualtero, viro clarissimo et  
doctissimo atque fideli verbi Dei  
ministro. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LXXXVII.

THOMAS LEVERUS, ETC. HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et pacem in Christo Jesu! Cum alii solent sua scripta principibus et magnis viris dicare, quo gratiam apud multos ineant, vel muneribus donentur amplissimis, tu solus, vir clarissime, nos pauperes ejectos exules tibi selegisti, quibus vigiliis tuas et lucubrationes nuncupes, quos concionibus tuis exornes, et conditionem nostram (si mundum spectemus, miseram, si illum cui nos totos consecravimus, crucem Christi gloriosam) posteris omnibus memorandam efficias. Qua de causa id faceres, non minus mirari quam conjectare possumus. Nam nos omnes fere tibi sumus ignoti, et quod répendamus non habemus. Sed hic est zelus tuus erga domum Domini, ut non solum gregem tuum, cui Dominus te præfecit, diligenter pascas, alias ecclesias omnes eruditis tuis commentariis instruas, sed etiam exilium nostrum, quo a nostris deserimur, a multis irridemur, a nonnullis ejicimur, a quamplurimis conviciis et maledictis proscindimur, doctis tuis concionibus ne his malis pressi succumbamus leves, et tanquam bonus pastor nos omnes dispersos cures, corrobore, confirmes. Accipimus ergo munus regium, et quo decet animo complectimur;

mittimus vicissim, quod solum possumus, gratias, nempe animum benevolum, et crebram in precibus nostris tui, præceptoris nostri, mentionem. Pro munere divino, honorario, et quod nulla ætas oblivione sepeliet, accipe perituram hanc chartam immortalibus gratiis refertam : et quotiescunque librum tuum in manus nostras sumpserimus, toties te concionantem, vel potius Dominum ipsum ministerio tuo mysteria sua nobis revelantem, audire nos nobis videbimur. Vale, in Christo pater carissime et domine colendissime, et eo quo soles amore nos miseros exules semper persequere : tuo namque beneficio nos hodie, sed non soli, sentimus quam verum sit, quod tot historiæ testantur, hospitales Helvetios fuisse perpetuo. Perge itaque indefessis tuis laboribus et vigiliis ecclesiam Domini ædificare, Helvetiis tuis nos commendare et nullam benefaciendi miseris occasionem prætermittere. Dominus Jesus te diu in usum ecclesiæ suæ conservet. Amen. Aroviæ, 5 Octobris, 1557.

Exul Anglorum ecclesia Aroviæ, tibi in Domino devinctissima, reliquorum omnium nomine sequentes subscribere fecit.

THOMAS LEVERUS.  
 RICARDUS LANGHERNUS.  
 ROB. POUNALLUS.  
 WALTERUS KELLY.  
 JOH. PRETIE.  
 THOMAS TURPYN.  
 THOMAS ATTYN.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Henrico Bullingero, viro doctissimo  
 et pientissimo, vigilantissimoque pas-  
 tori ecclesiæ Christi. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA LXXXVIII.

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THOMAS SAMPSONUS JOANNI CALVINO.

QUOD Lausaniæ feci, etiam nunc facere non cesso, hoc est, tuæ humanitatis exspecto responsum; et quidem eo<sup>1</sup> avidius illud exspecto, quo vehementius ignem accendi video inter nostros Anglos. Dum enim alii in universum volunt librum reformationis ecclesiæ Anglicanæ rejici, alii tantum quædam rejicienda æstimant, (utpote geniculationem in cœna, vestem lineam, et nonnulla hujusmodi,) cetera vero (scilicet preces, scripturarum lectiones, et formam cœnæ celebrandæ baptismique) retineri volunt, oritur nimis magna contentio. Ili de forma retinenda contendunt, tum quia Cantuariensis doctrinam<sup>2</sup> eam tuetur ut bonam, tum etiam, quia

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *ego.*]

[<sup>2</sup> MS. *cum doctrinam.*]

nullam possunt adversæ factionis homines assignare justam rationem mutandæ formæ. Illi clamant, hos hoc unum agere, ut constituent ceremonias. Ecce, optime Calvine, quomodo permissum est Satanæ in Anglos et domi et foris sævire. Deus nostri misereatur, teque rogo per Christum nostrum commuem Servatorem, ut velis has turbas nostras considerare, et quomodo huic sit succurrendum malo, significare. Novi ego, quantum ponderis habebit tuarum literarum auctoritas apud utrasque partes in hac lite sedanda.

De Angliæ rebus pauca et minus suavia hæc habeo. Finito parlamento convocari curavit Vintoniensis omnes Londini vinctos propter verbum Domini, numero 80, et cum iis pollicitationibus, præmiis, et minis egit, ut palinodiam canerent. Omnes perstiterunt constantissime, exceptis his duobus, Barloo Bathoniensi quondam episcopo, et Cardmakero ejusdem ecclesiæ (ut puto) archidiacono: hi enim illi cesserunt. Post paucos dies quinque ex istis iterum in iudicium adducti, hæreseos condemnati sunt, et, ut nos dicimus, seculari tradebantur potestati comburendi. An sint adhuc mortui, nescitur; putant tamen omnes Angli eos certissime supplicio affectos. Eorum nomina hæc sunt: Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Bradford, Saunders, omnes quondam insignes ministri verbi. Tres episcopi adhuc vivunt, et expectatur colloquium habendum inter Polum et illos. Philippus coronam non obtinuit. Episcopis permittitur in omnes suspectos hæreseos pro libito suo grassari. Vides, optime vir, Angliæ statum. Orationibus tuis tuæque ecclesiæ illum commendo. Vale et rescribe. Raptim. Argentinae, xxiii. Februarii, (1555.)

Tuus,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro doctissimo D. Joanni Calvino  
dentur hæc. Geneva.*

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## EPISTOLA LXXXIX.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. Duo sunt, quæ me nunc ad scribendum impellunt: unum, ne ita officio meo deesse viderer, ut te, doctissime vir, non resalutarem ego, qui toties a te in alienis literis amicas salutationes acceperim. Salutes tibi et dico et opto, idque ex animo, æternas. Alterum, quia tuo volui uti nomine, sub quo tuto possem has literas et fasciculum, quem simul cum eis trado, ad D. Chamberum transmittere. Hac vero in parte si quid peccatum sit, tua in Anglos humanitas hanc dedit peccandi licentiam. Sed ego te æquo animo hoc laturum scio, eodem scilicet ipso, quo semper Anglos, Christi

exules, prosequi soles. Benignus certe et verax Deus noster, qui relinquentibus parentes naturales parentum tamen officia nobis non subtrahit. Utinam aliquando hæc serio ego recolerem: tum et Deo non prorsus ingratum et tibi tuique similibus patronis aliquo modo me gratum præstarem. Et quia (ut spero) hac in re me longe superant fratres mei Tigurini, ideo audeo ego te liberius in eorum negotiis quam in meis privatis interpellare. Vale. Salutatur te D. Martyr, qui et bene valet. Nova Anglicana, quæ paucula habemus, accipies a D. Chambero. Iterum vale, mi pater et domine colendissime. Argentinae, 6 Augusti, (1555.)

Tuus,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero  
dentur hæc. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XC.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LITERAS tuas, colendissime vir, accepi, quibus significas fasciculum literarum a me te recepisse. Gaudeo, quod ita fideliter fuerint traditæ illæ literæ. Præterea salutes, quas Anglis misisti, distribui, præsertim nostro episcopo. Morisinus jam mortuus erat. D. Chekus discessit hinc. Hæc volui tibi pro meo erga te officio significare. D. Crammerus xxi. Martii combustus est Oxonii. Recantatio quædam absurda et a papistis conficta cœpit eo vivente spargi, quasi ille eam palinodiam cecinisset; sed auctores ipsi eam eo vivo revocarunt, et ille fortiter reclamabat vivens pernegabatque. Dira et durissima in Angliam machinantur osores Dei. Deus Optimus Maximus avertat iram suam a nobis. Philippum suum Maria dicit coronandum vel omnibus invitis. Hoc audet illa dicere, etiam consiliariis id dissuadentibus. Maximum facit pecuniarum armorumque apparatus. Vides, quo hæc tendant: ora ergo Dominum.

Quod superioribus literis scripseram de antichristo D. Gualteri jam sic habet: dum ego pararem in nostram linguam transferre, accepi alium quempiam Anglum non solum laborem eundem suscepisse, sed etiam absolvisse. Puto igitur nunc aut sub prelo esse, aut impressum. Satan hic multa molitur, ut turbet pacem ecclesiarum; neque tantum Westphalos sui que similes turbulentos excitat, sed inter nos, qui exules sumus, semina sua spargit. Hoc nunc morbo laborat ecclesia Gallorum Francofordiæ: est enim magna inter pastorem et aliquot ex ovibus (si tamen oves veræ sunt) contentio. Tu, pater optime, quem consilia hujusmodi Satanæ non

latent, oppone illius insidiis tuas preces. Quod utinam nos tam serio præstaremus ac res postulet!

Unum tantummodo aliud volo. Cum essem Tiguri, licuit mihi (ea enim fuit singularis erga me tua humanitas) tecum agendo et conferendo a te audire et discere ea, in quibus et consilio et instructione opus habebam. Si hoc idem mihi licebit absenti per literas facere et experiri, rem mihi longe gratissimam facies. Polliceor neque me nimis molestum tibi futurum, neque ita acceleratas expectaturum responsiones, quin æquissimo semper animo tuorum negotiorum maximæ me subdem turbæ. Hoc autem, antequam perspectam habeam tuam voluntatem, tentare non audeo, ne impedimento esse videar tam strenue laboranti in vinea Domini. Dominus ipse, cujus es, cujusque negotia tractas, te diu ecclesiæ suæ conservet viventem et valentem. Raptim.

Tuus,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero.  
Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA XCI.

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THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. LICET tibi non vacet, doctissime vir, in meis nugis perlegendis immorari, cum tamen essent mihi istæ literæ, quas a fratribus Franckfordiensibus accepi, papyro involvendæ, volui tamen, ut vacua ista papyrus, vel pro meo officio erga te, salutem tibi diceret. Sermo tuus diu jam versatus est inter Anglos Anglus, Anglis certe non ingratus, ut audio. Adhuc miseriam patitur persecutionum afflictus Christi grex; nam 27 Januarii, Londini, sunt septem igne absumpti, eodemque die Cantuariæ quinque. Hæc illa potestas est tenebrarum. Hethus Eboracensis obtinet officium Cancellarii. Whitus Lincolnensis nunc factus est Vintoniensis episcopus. Penelope languens reditum sui Ulixis exspectat; ille vero Antverpiæ pro fausto adepto ducatu orgia Bacchi celebrat. Incerta referuntur de induciis Philippi et Galli, sed horrenda de illius choreis, nocturnis ludicris, virginumque raptu, quibus nunc se Antverpiæ totum dedit. Aderit tandem Deus iudex et vindex, cui tu supplices manus pro Anglia ad lassitudinem usque cum Mose extende. Vale, pater optime. Saluta, quæso, optimum et Anglorum etiam amantissimum dominum Gualterum. Deus, Optimus Maximus vobis omnibus rependat. Ego jam sub manibus habeo

illius Antichristum, ut Angli epitomen illius libri videant papam Anglice salutantem. Iterum vale, felicissimeque in Christo vive.

Tuus,

THO. SAMPSONUS.

Si quid aliud habeat Dominus Gualterus, quod intersertum nostro operi Antichristi illud possit promovere, rem longe gratissimam faciet, nostræque ecclesiæ utilissimam, si velit illud ad me mittere. Sin minus, Antichristum illius, ut est, licet paullo contractius, evulgabo, Deo favente. Jam tertio vale. Raptim.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullin-  
gero. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA XCII.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. LITERÆ, quas mihi deferendas D. Hallero tradidisti, Bullingere optime, mea multum juvarunt negotia. Cum enim Bernam venissem, et nullum meorum illic reperissem, ille omnia mea confecit. Nam et hospitio benignissime excepit, et comitem diligentissime quæsivit, qui me Lausannam comitaret. Hæc autem omnia, quia mei mentionem tu feceras in illius literis, ille fecit. Tibi igitur gratias ago, quod me benigne tam benigno viro commendare dignatus es, teque rogo, ut illi gratias agas pro præstita in me humanitate. Ego vero me utrique vestrum devinctissimum profiteor. Deus Optimus Maximus te diu conservet ecclesiæ suæ utilem ministrum. Saluta, quæso, meo nomine D. Joannem Jacobum Wickium, hospitem meum humanissimum. Vale. Raptim. Lausannæ, 12 Augusti (1556).

Tuus in Christo,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullin-  
gero, dentur hæc. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA XCIII.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

DEDI ad te literas, Bullingere optime, semel ex qua Lausanna veneram, quæ tamen utrum ad manus tuas pervenerint necne, dubito; ideoque repetendum nunc duxi, quod prius etiam scripseram, nimirum me mei erga te officii haudquaquam immemorem, quem et me multis tibi devinctum nominibus et sciam et profitear. Hoc tuæ humanitati, hoc et Halleri benignitati in tui gratiam mihi præstitæ debeo. Igitur, mi pater sancte, me in tuorum album adscribas. Ah, quantum debeo ego Deo Optimo Maximo, qui mihi ita prospicit, ut libere possim talibus nunc uti patronis, dum interim misere mea serviat Anglia! De cujus servitute hæc ego a D. P. Martyre per literas accepi; Philippum jam Londinum petiisse, et cum magno populi applausu susceptum. Thomas Beckettus publice sanctus prædicatur. Nomina inquiruntur omnium eorum, qui missas non accedunt. Aliquot fratres minores appulerunt, et Vintoniæ resident. Hæc ille de publicis malis. De privatis addit, judicem Halesium sese in fluvium dejecisse, ac sic misere præfocatum esse: hæc, hæc apostasiæ pœna. At ut ad Angliam revertar. Ecce, Hispanis omnium gentium pessimis, sanctis fictitiis, Antichristi filiis turpissimis et idolatriæ pessimæ servire cogitur Anglia. Sed non hæc sola lugenda servitus, cui inviti subijcitur, sed ea etiam qua nostræ impœnitentiæ servimus volentes. Hæc, hæc servitus nos misere premit, hæc nos intra parietes saxeos cordis tenet vinctos, porcisque immundissimis in dura servitute ministrare cogit, imo nos porcos canesque fere efficit; nec tamen est nobis mens revertendi ad Patrem nostrum: cumque hæc unica sit nobis salutis via, iratum Patrem lacrymis in Christo placare, hoc unum non curamus, qui alias in omnibus nimium curiosuli videri volumus. Hinc apostasia, hinc desperatio, aut desperata securitas in impietate.

De his ego apud te conqueror, vir optime, ut tu eo magis Deum pro nobis deprecaberis, quo nos sumus negligentiores; et etiam ut te, si tibi vacet, deprecari liberius liceret mihi, ut aliquam velles dare Anglis (apud quos multa est tua auctoritas) exhortationem et instructionem, qua possent instrui de seipsis melius gerendis in hac tempestate. Tu si Latine feceris, erunt sane qui in Anglicum eam transferant sermonem. Edidit piæ memoriæ M. Bucerus gratulatoriam epistolam Anglis, cum evangelium jam suscepisset Anglia. Edat et Bullingerus aliquid nunc, quo pii consolentur, impii admoncantur. Si in his petendis importunus videor, sane importunitatis notam apud te haud ingrate subibo, modo tu nostram ecclesiam hoc affeceris commodo. Commodum dico, eo quod persuasissimum mihi habeam, multum hinc solidæ pœnitentiæ quam multos ex nostris hausuros. Hanc vero quamprimum Dominus apud nostros invenerit, sane et ille se misericordem præstabit Patrem, nobisque etiam evangelium et

patriam libere restituet. Hoc autem quale sit futurum commodum, quisvis pius facile judicat. Age igitur, Bullingere optime, si per alia tua negotia ecclesiæ utilissima vacet, age, et id quod nostræ afflictæ ecclesiæ profuturum vides, tu cura. Æternus noster Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Spiritu suo Sancto te semper dirigat in omnem veritatem.

Tui observantissimus,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

Saluta, quæso, nomine meo D. Gualterum, cui etiam ego nostræ ecclesiæ curam opto. Curare eum sane scio illam, idque maxime; et curet et semper eam curet, Deumque enixe pro ea deprecetur, et languenti porrigat ille etiam manum suam. Saluta etiam D. Wickium, meum hospitem, nostrosque Anglos. Literas has fratri meo perferendas trade, quæso, alicui ex pueris tuis. Dominus Jesus tibi tuisque omnibus benedicat. Raptim. Lausannæ, 13 Sept. (1556). Si quid rescribere digneris, D. Beza tuas semper mihi potest tradere literas.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero dentur hæc. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA XCIV.

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THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. EA est tui erga Angliam animi propensio, Bullingere doctissime, ut facile mihi persuadeam tuam humanitatem æque curaturam ea, quæ deprecatoriis a te petii literis, ac si eadem de re multis literis multa plura agerem. Itaque meam pro mea Anglia petitionem tibi commendo, cujus res, quo magis sint miseræ, eo majore miseratione dignæ. Redduntur sane res nostræ indies deteriores. Jam enim ex Anglia accepi, comitem Sussexiæ missum cum aliqua manu militari in Norfolciam et Suffolciam, ut evangelicos compellat ad missas audiendas. Et quæ hæc tyrannis? Non putes vere pios nunc egere consolatione, infirmos exhortatione? Age igitur, si vacat, optime pater, nostrosque tuis visita literis. Philippus a consiliariis petiit, ut inauguraretur, hoc est, ut vulgo apud nos dicitur, ut rex Angliæ coronaretur, atque decem millia Anglorum, quos mitteret militatum sub Cæsare in bello Gallico. Sed utrumque fuit illi negatum. Hinc, hinc mala Angliæ exitialia orientur, nisi Deus Optimus Maximus pro sua summa misericordia averterit; quod uti faciat, tu Deum nostrum per Christum deprecare, meique vel in fine orationis tuæ aliquam mentionem facias. 13 Octobris. Lausannæ. (1556.)

Tuus,

THOMAS SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero dentur hæc. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XCV.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LITERAS tuas, vir doctissime, cum illa concione de Christi Domini confessione et abnegatione accepi. Ceterum, quia postridie eram Francofordiam petiturus, nec potui tuis respondere, neque mihi ipsi in eo, quod proposueram, hucusque satisfacere. Jam vero reversus, otiumque nactus, quod respondeam nihil aliud habeo, nisi ut gratias dem tuæ humanitati, non meo tantum, sed etiam Angliæ nomine. Non enim mihi solummodo rem gratissimam fecisti, sed Angliæ longe utilissimam, ni nos proprio inuideamus commodo. Apud me jam est constitutum, tuam illam concionem in vulgarem nostrum sermonem quamprimum vertere, et sic Anglis legendam dare. Sed ne Latinam imprimendam curarem, partim me monebat meæ petitionis ratio, qua Anglis tantum consultum petebam, partim quia de tua non constabat mihi voluntate. Latinam ergo tuæ relinquo prudentiæ, de qua tamen, si mihi apud te liceret dicere quod sentio, dicerem eam huic deficienti seculo valde necessariam. Ceterum ego id, quod libenter suscepi, curabo quam possim fideliter. Tibi Anglia gratias debet, et dabit, spero. Te Deus pro sua misericordia ecclesiæ suæ viventem valentemque diu conservet, tuque me devinctissimum tibi puta.

Tuus enim sum,

THO. SAMPSON.

P. S. Fratres nostros tuæ humanitati nos omnes commendamus, qui te de rebus nostris certiores facient. Argentinæ, 23 Aprilis, 1557.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro et Christi ministro  
fidelissimo D. Henrico Bullingero. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XCVI.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS PETRO MARTYRI.

SALVE plurimum. Quamvis nullas a te acceperim literas, ex quo de libris Hebraicis rescripserim, neque ex eo tempore aliquid contigit, de quo tibi scribere opus fuerit; tamen nunc, ne meo deesse viderer officio, salutare te par duxi. Non enim silentio sepelienda est mihi tanti viri familiaritas; imo e re mea esse video retinere omnibus modis tuam

erga me amicitiam. Φιλαύτως ergo scribo certe. Nam scriniolum meum eruditione scientiaque vacuum e micis, quæ de tua mensa cadunt, adimpleri gestit. Itaque jam, Deo volente, certo proposui sub finem Maii te invisere. De meo autem proposito tunc tecum coram agam. Interim rogandus mihi est—non audeo profecto dicere D. Martyr, ut me in suas ædes reciperet: est mihi negatum hoc: vellem tamen libenter, si posset ullo modo revocari illa sententia; sed alias, Julius ut velit mihi de hospitio prospicere. Vellem solus cubiculum aliquod habere. Nec ultra tres menses ad summum volo illic manere. Quod si difficile Julio sit futurum tale hospitium reperire, tum adeat meo nomine D. Vitum, qui meus erat hospes, cum illic postremo essem; et si apud illum separatum potest reperire cubiculum, libenter illud accipiam, quando alias non dabitur. Juellum nostrum rogavi etiam, ut fasciculum aliquod ab hoc acciperet tabellario, et apud se servaret, donec ego venero. Ecce, quantum negotium tibi tuisque ego adveniens facio. Sed tu semper parcis meæ importunitati; itaque audacius ago. Unum addo, quod libenter, si fieri commode posset, audirem, quid vel de fasciculo accepto vel de hospitio factum sit, ante medium Maium, nempe antequam discedam ab Argentina. Rogavi Juellum, ut scriberet: tu quoque hoc illi manda.

Ex Anglia nihil novi habemus, nisi quod regina tota est in pecuniis colligendis et milite conscribendo, forsitan ut contra seipsam bellum gerat. Quicquid sit, bella minatur. De missæ, omnium quæ per totam Europam fuit nobilissima, interitu te audivisse puto. Ego funeri interfui, vidique coronatum Cæsarem missa missa. Conveni hic D. Bezam, qui a principibus, dum hic essent, obtinuit literas ad Gallum datas de liberandis Christi captivis. Quæ præterea inter nos acta sunt, coram dicam. Bene vale. Saluta Julium tuum meo nomine tuosque omnes. Raptim. Francofordiæ, 8 Aprilis, 1558.

Tuus,

THOMAS SAMPSONUS.

Petrus Perna meas res habet, qui ad te eas mittet. Ego cum venero, persolvam.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Doctori Petro  
Martyri. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA XCVII.

THOMAS SAMPSONUS PETRO MARTYRI.

SALVUS ipse per Dei gratiam reversus Argentinam salvos meos omnes reperio, teque salvum esse gaudeo. Amicitiam, quam in Christo sacrosanctam et inviolabilem asserendo promittis, veneror et amplector. Quin et studiorum ratione illa utilissima teneor summo desiderio; verum nunc quorundam nequitia id cogor in aliud rejicere tempus, quod studiorum ergo proposueram statim finitis nundinis facere. Id vero est meus ad vos adventus, de quo sicut sæpe mecum cum cogitarem præ gaudio gestiebam, sic nunc non sine animi molestia et videre et velle cogor dilatatum. Veniam tamen, spero, brevi. Interim tamen maneat, te per Christum rogo, inter nos inviolata, quam promittis, amicitia; eadem mens, propositum idem, apud te semper sit, studiola mea juvandi. Neque ipse, divino adjutus auxilio, occasione deero. Sed te [de] adventu præmonebo. De libris Hebraicis quæ promittis, gratissima sunt, teque rogo, ut haud aliter hac in re ac in tua propria te geras, neque me vel implacabilem vel ingratum videbis. Postquam inter Pernam vel alios, quos huic idoneos negotio invenies, et te convenerit de modo acquirendi libros, mihi que fuerit significatum, ego cum librorum catalogo, quos emptos cupio, pecuniam ad te una mittam. Unum hoc addo, ut quod facis citius facias. Salutat te D. Hetonus ejusque conjunx. Sperat D. Hetonus, se Tigurum et te visurum ante finitum Septembrem. Salutat te D. Chamberus. Omnes nostri valent. Salutat te mea cum nostra Joanna. Franckfordienses in perpetuo sunt motu, magis perverso quam utili: de Anglis loquor. Philippus adhuc in Anglia est. In bellum Anglicum omnes jam fere armantur. Sed pleni sunt rerum novarum reversuri ab istis nundinis vestrates: itaque ego finem scribendi impono. Tu bene vale, felicissimeque Christo vive. D. Bullingerum salvere opto. Argentinæ, 10 Julii, 1558.

Tibi devinctissimus,

TH. SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximio viro ac doctissimo D.  
D. Petro Martyri S. theologie  
professori. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA XCVIII.

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

ETSI pollicitus essem tibi, Gualtere doctissime, Antwerpia me scripturum, quid mihi in itinere tam longo accidisset, ita tamen fui (ut dicam id quod res est) equitando defessus, vix ut ullum corporis membrum, nedum manus, officium suum facere posset. Sed ne nunc quoque videar et nostræ amicitiae et datæ fidei prorsus oblitus, scribo tandem non, ut promiseram, Antverpia, sed Londino, quo Caleto ægrius ac majori cum periculo perveni quam totum reliquum iter confeceram. Hucusque enim omnia mea (una cane excepta, quæ citra Brugas Brabantiae aperto campo me amplius insequi non potuit) salva perduxi. Sed in traiectione in piratam Gallum (terra enim, non mari, ad quindecim dies erant induciæ) incidimus, a quo minimum abfuit quin nostra navis caperetur. Ac nisi aqua, Deo sic volente, biremem nos insequentem defecisset, sine dubio ad unum omnes capti fuissetus. Sed ne sic quidem discessum est: non enim sine summo periculo et nonnulla rerum jactura, posteaquam septem horas in litore mansissemus accessum maris exspectantes, evasimus. Coacti sumus, nisi Gallisare maluissemus, navem nostram velis remisque agitatam summo impetu in terram agere; in qua fuga nautæ, ut solent, in summa rerum desperatione, quo celerius ad littus pervenirent, nulla rerum ponderis habitatione, quæ proxima erant, primum ejecerunt; in quibus fuit sarcinula mea, qua, ut scis, libri mei et bonorum virorum literæ continebantur. Rerum mearum jactura perparum mihi dolet; sed quod bonorum virorum, quorum ego humanitati plurimum me debere fateor, literæ amissæ sunt, id mihi profecto summo est dolori. Sed spero, ubi rescierint me evasisse, ut eorum est pietas et erga me benevolentia, non tam ægre laturos literarum suarum jacturam ac mihi succensuros, quam Deum mecum laudaturos, qui me tanto ac tam præsentis periculo liberavit.

Hactenus de me: nunc de aliis. De bello Cæsariano toto itinere nihil ne suspicari quidem potui; fuerunt enim omnia quietissima: sed cum domum venissem, audivi magnam ab eo parari classem; sed quid aut quo cogitet, certi nihil scio. Hoc unum scio, et magnopere lætor, contra vos navigio nihil geri posse. Domi omnia mea ac meos recte se habere offendi non sine summa animi lætitia ac voluptate. Erant vera, quæ ego tibi de fratre meo prædicaram: sed Deus justus iudex et innocentiae propugnator optimus cum eo fere tempore, quo ego a vobis recessi, carcere liberavit.

Hoperus magna cum *παρρησία* cœlestem Patris cœlestis doctrinam profitetur quotidie, cras pro rege concionaturus. Qui fuit Roffensis episcopus, Ridlæus nomine, bonus Christi minister, Londinensi ejecto succedit. Westmonasteriensi episcopo alius tribuitur locus, ubi minus nocere poterit. Saluta meo nomine omnes fratres in Domino, inprimis vero egre-gium

Christi militem ac vestrae ecclesiae antistitem, D. Bullingerum, apud quem excusabis me de amissis scholiis; rogabisque simul ut iterum transcribenda curet: ego librarii laboribus satisfaciam. Saluta D. Pellicanum presbyterum venerandum, Theodorum in Deo doctum, Ottonem, Zwinglium, Wolfium et facetum Frisium, cum reliquis omnibus; utrumque meum conterraneum, quorum ego literas amisi, id quod illis significabis, ut rescribant. Salutabis meo nomine carissimam conjugem tuam, cui ego jam munusculum misissem, si aliqua perferendi fuisset oblata commoditas. Nactus opportunitatem sine dubio mittam. Interim rogo te, mi Rodolphe, ut cures mihi apud Apellem vestrum has pingendas effigies, videlicet Zwinglii, Pellicani, Theodori, D. Bullingeri, et tuam, ea magnitudine, qua mihi tuam ostendisti, idque tabulis, non panno, manibus tenentes libros; in quibus imis rogo te, ut quatuor versus affigendos cures, quorum argumentum ego tuae prudentiae relinquo. Constitue cum pictore, ut colores sint boni et diligenter ornati, etiamsi major sit sumptus. Confectae in capsam ligneam includantur, mittanturque ad Burcherum; is dabit nummos. Quo haec fiant citius, eo erunt gratiora. Quod si putas veram Ecolampadii effigiem ab eo depingi posse, velim istis prioribus sextam adjungi.

Ne aegre feras, optime hospes, si tibi hunc laborem imposuero: nisi enim te diligerem, et me a te diligi putarem, nequaquam facerem. Si vivam, non habebis ingratum hospitem. Cura ut valeas in Domino. Rescribe rogo quamprimum poteris, sed ita ut pictor manum tabulae admoveat quam poterit occisime. Rem omnem ego tuae fidei et arbitratui commendo. Londini, 4 Martii.

Tui studiosissimus,

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Fidelissimo dispensatori mysteriorum  
Dei, D. Rodolpho Gualtero, hos-  
piti suo carissimo. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA XCIX.

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

ACCEPI literas tuas, optime Rodolphe, ex quibus non sine magno dolore intelligo quantula sit apud homines probitas, quamque sit paucis tribuenda fides. Sed spero eam esse senatus vestri pietatem summa cum prudentia conjunctam, ut totum hoc, quicquid est negotii, ad magni nominis

Dei gloriam componere studeat; ac non dubito quicquam quin Auctor pacis felicem successum sit concessurus. Nos interim oremus sedulo ut id quamprimum facere velit. Silet enim pietas inter arma; quod quam sit verum, nos, proh dolor! gravibus intestinis dissensionibus nuper, ut scis, experti sumus. Ac velim alios nostro commonefactos exemplo, positis armis, discere ut quietam cum pietate vitam degant, id quod nos sero cœpimus intelligere. Sed nunc tandem (est Deo gratia) quiete magna fruimur: faxit Deus Optimus Maximus ut ea utamur ad ipsius honorem et proximorum utilitatem. Joannes a Lasco, non fluentibus omnibus ad piam ipsius voluntatem in Polonia, ante decem dies ad nos rediit. Eum suus rex episcoporum metu non convenit. Ab eo quum intellexero quid agat Florianus tuus, faciam te in proximis certiore. Hoperus ante biduum factus est Gloucestrensis episcopus, sed sub piis conditionibus: non vult enim vocari Rabbi, vel *my lord*, ut nos solemus dicere: non vult radi, non vult pica esse, non vult usitato more consecrari et inungi, cum aliis multis quæ alias cognosces. Ex hoc episcopatu bis mille aureos quotannis habet. Deus det sic præesse gregi, ut reliquis pastoribus pio exemplo esse possit; in quo adjuvando cuperem et te, mi Rodolphe, et reliquos ejus ecclesiæ doctos ministros nonnihil interdum desudare. Oglethorpius tuus, ut audio, propter superstitionem in vinculis est, amissurus, ut fertur, præfecturam collegii Magdalenensis. Novus episcopus Londinensis jam versatur in visitatione sua, ejectionem minitans iis qui ante proximam visitationem non respuerint: id quod faciet, si bene novi hominem.

Scripsi ad te superioribus literis de quibusdam imaginibus, jamque iterum rogo ne ea in re mei immemor esse velis. Saluta meo nomine Rachelem tuam, fœminam optimam, ad quam candelabra duo, orbes viginti, partim stanneos ac partim ligneos, mitto. Vellem quidem prorsus argenteos esse: id enim et multo amplius utriusque vestrum humanitas de me merita est. Saluta porro meo nomine ministros omnes vestræ ecclesiæ, imprimis vero D. Bullingerum, Pellicanum, Theodorum, Ottonem, Wolfium et Zuinglium: tum etiam Butlerum meum, et Joannem, si isthic sit, et facetum tuum Frisium, ac reliquos omnes. A dio signor Rodolpho, et commendate mi. Da Londra alli venti quattro di Maggio. 1550.

Vostro amico et fratello in Christo,

CHRISTOPHORO HALESIO.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro pietate et doctrina claro Rodolpho  
Gualtero, Tigurino.*

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## EPISTOLA C.

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

PERMAGNAM cepi voluptatem, Bullingere præstantissime, cum ex bono Abele audirem te valere ac vivere: verum cum is mihi tuas dedisset literas, tum demum certissime cognovi rem ita se habere, et te amicitiam nostram paucorum mensium colloquiis contractam adhuc e memoria non deposuisse; id quod ego singulari tuæ humanitati tribuere soleo. Utinam vero ea mihi aliquando detur occasio, ut vel tibi vel alicui ex amicis tuis aliqua ratione gratificari possim! Curarem profecto ne mutua fides ac benevolentia in me uspiam desideraretur. Quod autem ad imagines attinet, dabo equidem operam ne ulla ex ea re nascatur offensio. Neque vero hac in re solum, sed etiam in reliquis omnibus, propugnabo, quantum in me erit, vestram omnium famam et existimationem; quippe quam scio ab omnibus iis esse alienissimam, quæ Dei gloriam ac laudem aliqua ratione imminuere possint.

Hac æstate puto fratrem meum majorem natu Joannem Halesium, cum qui celeris ac repentinæ meæ a vobis discessionis auctor fuit, Augusta ad vos venturum. Qui si qua in re volet uti tuo prudentissimo consilio, fac sciat meam commendationem aliquid ad eam rem momenti attulisse. Quod autem ipsi feceris, id mihi multo gratius acceptiusque erit quam si in meipsum contulisses. Quod tametsi magnum tibi fortasse videatur, amor tamen meus in eum facit ut, cum omnia dixero, parum mihi dixisse videar. Vale, vir præclarissime, et me tuum esse persuadeas. Salutabis meo nomine omnes dignissimos ejus ecclesiæ ac scholæ ministros, quibus precor omnia felicia in Domino. Vale. Londini 2 Idus Junii.

Tuus ex animo,

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Pietate et eruditione præstanti D. Henrico  
Bullingero, amico suo imprimis colendo.  
Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CI.

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. VIR præstantissime. Perlatæ sunt ad me tuæ literæ, ex quibus perspicio candorem animi tui et non vulgarem erga me benevolentiam.

Candor ex eo elucet, quod tam humaniter et æquo animo tuleris jacturam, quæ tibi ex me data fuerit. Quamquam ego prorsus fui extra noxiam, quum non mea, sed nautarum, nescio utrum dicam improbitate an perfidia contigerit. Sed ut ut se res habet, non mediocri me affecisti gaudio, quum tam pie totum negotium fueris interpretatus. Benevolentia vero ex eo summa apparet, quod et infortunio meo condolueris, et prosperis meis rebus tanta humanitate gratulatus fueris. Quod autem dicis, me tui memorem esse, verum id quidem est, et eam memoriam non solum unus annus sed ne omnes quidem anni, quibus in hac vita mansurus sum, ex animo meo delere poterunt; id quod certo scies, ubi primum aliquam occasionem nactus ero, qua fidem faciam me tui esse memorem.

De studio medicinæ Oxoniensi et sumptu tam diu distuli scribere, dum veritas mihi certo constaret. Didici itaque ab amico illic agente talem esse academiâ Oxoniensem, non ut cum Parisiis Galliæ aut scholis Italicis conferenda sit, sed eam, in qua studiosus adolescens cum magna utilitate versari possit. Cantabrigiæ eadem est ratio. Sed suadeo potius Oxonium, quia auram habet longe salubriorem. Cantabrigia propter vicinam paludem febribus valde obnoxia est, quod ego sæpius, quam vellem, expertus sum. Quod autem ad sumptum attinet, aiebat amicus, triginta coronatos Gallicos honeste in annum sufficere, ad quam summam si adhuc alii decem addantur, spem esse commodissime victurum. Ante annos decem meo tempore 20 coronati sufficiebant. Sed hisce postremis diebus ubique fere terrarum invalescente cupiditate et refrigerante caritate mortalium, idque flagello divino, omnia facta sunt fere duplo cariora: id quod non alia ratione fieri puto, quam quod spirituales cibum animarum nostrarum, tam liberaliter et copiose oblatum, tam superbe et Pharaonice rejicimus. Deus misereatur nostri et det meliores mentes, ut tandem aliquando vere et ex animo respiscamus, ne, abutentes singulari Dei clementia, graviorem in nos ultionem accersamus.

Scripsi ad D. Gualterum, ut sex imagines describendas mihi curaret; quod ille effecisse se scribit, sed 4 retentas esse duplici ratione: primum, quod periculum sit, ne in posterum idololatriæ fenestra patefiat; deinde, ne vitio vobis vertatur, perinde quasi inanis gloriæ studio a vobis factum esset. Sed longe aliter se res habet. Idirco enim cupiebam habere, ut et bibliothecæ ornamento essent; et vestræ imagines effigies in tabella quasi in speculo conspicerentur iis, qui loci intercapedine prohiberentur, quo minus vos coram cernere possent. Non hoc agitur, vir præclare, ut ex vobis idola faciamus: iis quas dixi de causis, non honoris aut cultus gratia, desiderantur. Neque vero putes ex hoc negotio invidiam vobis conflari posse: præter me enim, qui vestram existimationem et honorem in omnibus salvum cupio, nemo est qui sciat, qua ratione istæ ad me tabellæ perveniant. Proinde te rogo, vir præstantissime, ut hoc mihi a vobis impetrare liceat. Ne, quæso, difficilem te præbeas in hac re, quæ et levicula

est et nemini detrimentum allatura. Vale, vir ornatissime. Londini, 10 Decembr. 1550.

Tui studiosissimus,

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximio pietate et eruditione D.*

*Henrico Bullingero suo obser-*  
*vandissimo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CII.

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIIUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

S. P. RODOLPHE optime. Binas literas abs te accepi, ex quibus præclare intelligo me a te amari, ac res meas, nimis quidem audacter tibi a me impositas, summa fide ac diligentia a te esse administratas. Quod ego non tam ex rei ipsius eventu quam propensa animi tui erga me voluntate aestimo. Scio omnia a te studiose fuisse curata: meam sortem potius incuso quam te in ullam criminis suspicionem vocatum velim. Quocirca apud me nulla fuit opus excusatione. Tu quidem præclare functus es officio tuo; at ego me tanta humanitate indignum fuisse plane judico. Ne igitur putes me aliam in partem accipere quam si ex animi mei sententia omne negotium successisset. Valde miror Burcherum persistere in ea sententia, ut putet nullas omnino imagines salva conscientia et pietate pingi posse, cum ne unus quidem apex in sacris literis extet, quo id vere probari posse videatur. In sacris enim libris non alia ratione (si quid ego intelligo) vetantur fieri imagines, quam ne populus Dei a vero veri unius Dei sui cultu ad vanos multorum falsorum Deorum cultus abducatur. Quod periculum si absit, non video cur non et pingi et haberi possint, cum præsertim non eo loco retineantur, ubi ulla idololatriæ sit metuenda suspicio. Quis colit simiam in foro piscatorio apud vos positam? Quis gallum in summo templo constitutum, ut vere habet socer tuus, summus idololatriæ hostis? Quis prosternit se ante Carolum vestrum in summa æde collocatum? Quis tam demens est, qui picturam aut tabelam in bibliotheca reconditam colat? Sint qui eas in templis ac locis sacris constitutas honore, quod minime probo, prosequantur: ecquis tam ab omni religione, pietate, timore altissimi et omnipotentis alienus, tam sui prorsus oblitus, ut imagunculam in loco profano in musæo reconditam veneratione dignetur?

Sed dicitur ejusmodi tempora posse incidere, ut periculum sit ne idolomanie per eas tandem detur occasio. Atqui ea ratione argui posset, nullam

omnino ullius rei imaginem aut similitudinem exprimi oportere. In qua opinione mortalium puto esse neminem; tantum abest, ut tuam prudentiam de ea suspectam habeam. Equidem, vir optime, si id agi putarem ut ea ratione simulacrorum cultus restitueretur, eas ego (crede mihi) si haberem, meis manibus in mille frusta comminuerem.

Sequitur alia ratio quam ego si veram putarem, nunquam certe hoc a te, mi Rodolphe, contendissem. Novi tuum, novi reliquorum vestrum ingenium. Non est quod putes me unquam inducturum animum, ut tam sinistre de te et aliis vestræ ecclesiæ ministris iudicem, quos tam ab omni gloriæ aviditate alienos arbitror, quam qui vivunt hodie alienissimi. Quid vero alii sint de vobis iudicaturi, nihil est metuendum, cum nemo sit aut certe perpauci, nobis duobus exceptis, qui sciant, unde istæ ad me tabellæ perferantur. Quis vitio vertit veteribus Romanis, quod effigies ipsorum infinitis numismatibus insculptas habemus? Quis Lutherum, Bucerum, Philippum, Cœcolampadium, et alios plurimos hodie viventes, reprehendendos putet, quod ipsorum eicones ubique reperiantur? Rarum hoc non est, sed perfrequens et apud omnes nationes usitatum, ut boni ac faventes literarum homines loca sua literis consecrata literatorum virorum monumentis et imaginibus ornent, quod nemo, opinor, ea re fieri dixerit, ut idolorum cultus stabiliatur. Ornamenti, non honoris, causa ista fieri ut plurimum solent: ne igitur putes vos impiæ alicujus ac nefariæ rei auctores futuros.

Quod vero scribis unumquemque suam sibi imaginem retinuisse, equidem reprehendere non debeo, cum illi pio zelo incitati hoc fecisse videantur. Scio vos prudentes ac graves viros esse, gravibusque nixos rationibus non temere mutasse consilium. Quod certe nolim factum: ac si bene me nossent, nihil sibi inde tantopere metuendum arbitrati fuissent. Non enim is sum qui ulla in re vel minima verum Dei cultum adulterari, multo minus crassam idololatricam, tantopere Domino cœli ac terræ invisam, rursus introduci velim.

Proinde te rogo, Rodolphe frater in Christo dilecte, ut explicata illis mea in hac re sententia meo nomine petas, ut liceat mihi hoc unum ab eorum humanitate impetrare, nempe ut quatuor illæ imagines reliquæ ad me mittantur. Quod si hoc ab illis (quod neutiquam spero) impetrari nequeat, hoc saltem peto et etiam contendo, ut meo sumptu Zeuxi vestro satisfiat. Nam ego fas nullo modo esse puto, ut illi boni viri peccati mei (si modo peccatum sit) pœnas luant. Ego deliqui, in me hæc faba cudi debet. Deinde te rogo, vir optime, ut si minus omnes impetrare queam, saltem duas alias habere liceat, nempe illam Theodori, quam ipso inscio et quasi furtim depictam dicis, et tuam: nam te quidem in contraria esse sententia certissimum scio, nisi valde nuper eam mutaveris; alioqui tuam, uxoris, ac filiolæ imagines depingendas nunquam curasses. Obsignatis tabellis (ut aiunt) jam tecum ago: tu vide, quid ad ista respondeas. Neque vero te solum, sed etiam præstantissimum virum D. Bullingerum, scio in hac esse sententia,

vel te ipso teste. Scribis enim imaginem Œcolampadii ad exemplar ejus depictam esse quam ipse domi habet: quod si is vir nefas esse putaret, nunquam sane (qua est pietate ac religione) tantam impietatem committeret. Sed de hac re satis superque dictum est. Dabis mihi veniam, si in hoc argumento fuerim prolixior.

Jam quod ad rationem sumptus ac studii Oxoniensis pertinet, fui in ea inquirenda diligentior, quod is adolescens affinitate tecum conjunctus, et senatoris Cellarii optimi viri filius esset. Scito igitur me ab amico Oxoniensi viro experiente habere, medicinæ studium tale esse, ut ibi cum magno fructu opera literis dari queat: deinde, vivendi rationem eam esse, ut triginta coronati integrum annum commode sufficiant; quod si decem plures adjiçantur, nihil ad omnes honestos usus defuturum. Ac si mihi meam interponere sententiam liceat, malim ita confici rationem, ut decem nummi supersint potius quam unus desit. Si huc veniat, ego illi tua causa lubens omne officium contulero. Denique, quod ad pannum ac stannum attinet, jam mittere non possum: ad proximas Francofordienses nundinas sine dubio, volente Deo, accipies. Christophorus Froshoverus agit Oxonii: accepi semel ab eo literas, nondum tamen ipsum videre contigit. Humanitas Tigurina non patitur, ut illi operam meam denegem, si quando indigebit. Audio conjugem tuam gravidam esse: felicem illi partum ex me precaberis. Cura ut valeas, Rodolphe frater in Domino carissime. Omnibus piis patribus apud vos agentibus multam ex me salutem dicito. Butlerus etsi ultimus nominetur, sciat se non postremum in amicitia locum obtinere. Salutetur itaque, ubi erit commodum, una cum conjuge foemina lectissima. Ecclesia Dei etsi opprimatur, deleri tamen prorsus nequit. Nostri pii præules jam denuo perfectiorem ecclesiæ nostræ reformationem moliantur. Deus Optimus Maximus faxit, ut omnia cedant in gloriam nominis ipsius. Amen. Amen. Vale, Rodolphe dilecte.

Tuus ex animo,

C. HALESIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Pietate et literis ornatissimo viro  
Rodolpho Gualtero, amico suo  
imprimis colendo.*

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### EPISTOLA CIII.

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

S. P., RODOLPHE præstantissime. Scripsisti ad me in posterioribus tuis, ut stannum nostras et pannum caligis aptum mitterem, id quod ego quanta potui fide ac diligentia præstiti, et spes est eam tibi probatam fore. Tradidi itaque ea Ricardo Hilles nostro: is fidem dedit, se curaturum ut

Froschovero vestro Francoforti ad proximas nundinas tradantur. Atque ut certius scias, quidnam sit tibi ab eo accipiendum, scito me vasculo inclusisse patinas majoris formæ sex et totidem minoris, quibus adjunxi sex acetabula; orbes vero, quales tu, si recte judico, expetivisti, duodecim. Constant vero monetæ nostræ solidis viginti sex et septem nummis: quod si tibi carior merx videatur, certum scito, non solum hoc genus, sed et reliqua omnia, duplo esse apud nos solito cariora. Quod autem ad pannum attinet, emi septem solidis nostratibus, qui, ut nunc est apud nos nummorum ratio, coronatum Gallicum cum duobus batzionibus constituunt. Misi vero panni quantum uni caligarum pari conficiendo putabam, eo quod nihil certi in literis posueris. Quod si intellexero hoc tibi tam cari panni genus placere, curabo facile, ut semper quantum vis in promptu habeas.

Jam vero quod ad imagines et artificis laborem spectat, iterum a te peto et contendo etiam, ut, si fieri queat, habeam; sin vero hoc impetrari nequeat, ut saltem labori artificis meo sumptu satisfiat. Neque enim fas esse puto, ut optimis illis viris tantum a me oneris imponatur. Vale, Rodolphe optime, et me in tuis habe. Salutabis meo nomine integerrimos omnes apud vos ecclesiæ ministros una cum uxore tua optima fœmina, et Butlero nostro. Roga Dominum indesinenti precatione: vix enim unquam ecclesia ejus in majori periculo versata est. Nunc agitur causa Wintoniensis, et futurum ut propediem cum aliquot aliis non piis episcopis munere suo privetur. Faxit Christus, cujus est totum negotium, ut alii pii in eorum locum sufficiantur. Londini, 26 Jan., 1551.

Tuus ex animo,

CHRISTOPHORUS HALESIUS.

P.S. Summa stanni et panni continet quinque coronatos Gallicos et unum aut alterum batzionem.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo viro D. Rodolpho Gualtero,  
amico carissimo.*

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## EPISTOLA CIV.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

PATIENTIAM, ut, ubi opus Dei peregeris, reportes promissionem! Quantum semper mihi fuit animus ad te scribendi, et quam Latinæ linguæ curta supplex, Deus novit, omnium mihi colendissime. Qui unicuique dividit mensuram fidei ac dona prout vult, me aliqua Latinæ linguæ intelligentia, arte loquendi congrue omnino nulla donavit; propterea antehac nunquam ausus fui literas Latine ad aliquem dare ullas. Attamen quia tuis adhortatoriis veraque consolatione plenis ad me tam sæpe datis literis provo-

casti, ac (ut ita dicam) coegisti me tibi aliquid rescribere; præsertim persuasus te pro tua pietate ac humanitate omnia velle boni consulere, quæ ullo modo recte interpretari poterint; hancce jam ad te dedi imperitam schedulam: quam tamen certe adhuc non misissem, nisi prius spe frustratus hoc anno te invisendi. Certo decrevi præsentis mense Augusti in Helvetiam (præcipue te visendi gratia) cum uxore advenisse. At frater meus Butlerus, qui nunc procius sedulo ambit uxorem viduam Argentinensem, tota hac mense cum parentibus ejusdem abfuit; ita ut ni soli proficisci volucrimus, hic jam adhuc hærare cogebamur. Neque fere per integrum annum habiturus sum denuo (ut opinor) tantum otium: hoc quæso ab aliis celato. Ipse enim adhuc incertus est, utrum illa vult alicui nubi: jam vereor etiam ne non poterit illi esse uxor propter morbum de quo diu laboravit vivente adhuc priori suo marito.

Multoties in mentem mihi venit ad tuam caritatem scribendi ex Anglia nova ac mutationes, ut evenerunt assidue; sed verecundia justa impeditus ab instituto destiti, quia non solum barbare et incongrue ut loquor scribo, verum etiam verba ipsa Latina mihi deficiunt. Tua nihilominus sapientia ac modestia fretus, qua imperitis nosti esse imperitus, ut Christo illos adjungas, summam hic eorum descripsi, quæ de nostri regni statu anno superiori ex literis fratrum fide dignorum ad me datis collegi; quæque te ore meo proprio certiolem facere decrevi, ad tuam humanitatem cum istis mitto. Tantum cupio ut æqui bonique accipias, quæ bono animo erga te, stilo agresti et barbaro sunt conscripta. De reipublicæ nostræ conditione, ante festum Paschæ quo nos discedimus (anno scilicet 1540), spero te satis instructum fuisse per dictum nostrum fratrem Butlerum. In hunc namque finem præcipue, meis ad illum datis literis diligentius, ut acciderunt atque illic ut gesta fuerant omnia, pro mca ingenii tenuitate assidue depinxi, ut isthic viris doctis ac piis (tibi autem præcipue) eadem postea communicaret.

Scripta tua sexto hujus mensis data, eaque antea per Gallum illum Herniæ ad me missa, fere simul accepi, pro quibus ingentes habeo tibi gratias; maxime quod per eadem tam vere ac sancte scripturis sacris dignatus fueris me consolari, et in patientiam atque longanimitatem (quibus multum indigeo virtutibus) hortari sedulo. Deinde ex tuis literis, Deo operante, hunc habui fructum præterea magnum, ut quid sit caritatem primam relinquere, et quam indignum Christiano ad vomitum redire, quamque horrendum sit cuiquam in manus viventis Dei incidere, multo melius ac prudentius quam antea consideravi et expendi. Benedictus Deus ac Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Pater misericordiarum et Deus omnis consolationis, qui te haud dubie multoties consolatus fuerit in tribulatione et angustia tua, ut ita magis idoneus fueris ad consolandum eos, qui sunt in ulla afflictione. Interea tamen ut scias quo in statu sint res meæ, sic se habent. Quum percepi omnino nobis in Anglia non relictum fuisse locum, nisi, ut regi Persarum respondebat Ustazades, velimus Dei et homi-

num esse proditores, isthinc discedebamus, ficta tamen causa hic mercaturam exercendi gratia. Quæ prætextus omnibus qui nos cognoscunt piis habetur pro falsa, canibus item ac impiis suspecta<sup>1</sup>. Quia tamen hæreseos non eram delatus, nec coram tribunali vocatus, omnia mea illic adhuc sunt satis salva; ita ut singulis nundinis pecunias, quas hic et Francofordiæ colligo, propter novos alios huc transferendos pannos in Angliam remitto. Hæc istis ideo inseri, ut certiolem te facerem nostræ hic conditionis, ne forte fama apud vos ulla exilii nostri in hisce partibus spontanei occasio foret omittendi in Anglia nostras spinas. Libere tibi interim hoc fateor (quamvis me omnibus ita prodere non esset tutum) illuc reverti me non decrevisse, nisi Deus ita tempora mutare prius dignetur, ut isthic possimus Deo servire sine offendiculo ac approbatione per malam speciem mali. Uxor mea (Deo gratias) æque bene, aut potius melius quam ego, hic consulit nostram conditionem. Quanvis in Deo de mea in finem usque perseverantia non dubito, orare Dominum pro nobis te precor, ut quod cœperit in nobis bonum opus, idem perficiat ad diem usque Jesu Christi. Butlerus noster, post nundinas Francofordienses elapsas Angliam reversus, non morabatur illic ultra 18 dies. Tam male isthic omnia illi arriserunt.

Porro te oro propter Deum, ut quæ tibi nunc scribo nemini communices, præterquam D. Theodoro Bibliandro, D. Pellicano, Leoni Juda, ceterisque talibus viris æque piis atque doctis; maxime tanquam ab ullo Anglo profectis. Neque legant isti meas literas, obsecro, ne digne irrideant meam temeritatem ac stultam scribendo tam barbare et incongrue audaciam. Dedissem mea scripta Butlero, domi si affuisset, aut altero hic Anglo transferenda Latinius, nisi quod non libenter velim (quamvis illis non diffido) ut scirent me tanta vobis simul communicasse; ne eadem fortassis bono animo postea alicui pio (in Angliam cum scripturi sint) per literas indicent, qui non satis caute, ut sæpe fit, ab hypocritis<sup>2</sup> illa servet.

Quod de Falcero me tam certum facias, habeo tibi magnas gratias. Oro te autem ut, si qui sunt isthic præterea viri pii ac Deum timentes, qui pannos emunt Anglicos, de eorum nominibus me certiolem facias: ut si a me petant aliquando pannos mutuo accipere aliquos, non eosdem illis denegem. Nullis namque nisi solis Tigurinis (præterquam de Schaffhaussen aliquot) pro ulla magna summa in animo habeo credere. Quapropter si hanc etiam mihi benevolentiam ostendas, de me maxime meritis fueris. Ut illud tibi vicissim referat precabor Christum, propter quem scio te me diligere; sicuti tantum propter diabolum ac imaginem ejus in ipsis impiis odis, ut ipse propheta David omnesque præterea sancti. Quam verum experimur nos quotidie istum Salomonis versum! Abominantur justî virum impium, et abominabiles sunt impiis ii qui sunt in recta via. Valeto felicissime in Domino, observande pastor: Christusque, ille pastorum Prin-

[<sup>1</sup> Omnia sic MS.][<sup>2</sup> MS. as *Ipochritis*.]

ceps, det tuum ministerium pergas implere, ut cum apparuerit, ne pudeas, sed fiduciam habeas, ac coronam gloriæ immarcescibilem tui similibus promissam reportes. Amen. Uxor mea te salutatur plurimum, tuamque conjugem maxime. Vos invisere valde cupimus ambo. Non est cur nos videre desideres. Nullo enim modo possumus vobis esse consolationi vel usui, verum multis modis impedimento tuis studiis et oneri. Iterum bene vale, carissime præceptor in Christo, tuamque uxorem piam, tecum cœlestis regni cohæredem, meo etiam nomine salutare ne obliviscaris quæso.

Tuus ex animo,

RICARDUS HILLES.

## EPISTOLA CV.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

ANTE Pentecosten in suburbanis Londini, ex illa parte civitatis qua jacet diocesis episcopi Wintoniensis, combusti fuerunt tres homines propter negationem transubstantiationis, et quia non omnes eorum in festo Paschæ cum ceteris communicassent. Ac quoniam in diocesi Wintoniensis hæc acciderunt, dixerunt plurimi per episcopi industriam fuisse illos igni traditos; sicut etiam paulo postea insanum quendam, nomine Collins, combussit. Iste per duos aut tres annos in carcere prius permanserat, at ignoro propter quam causam solide. Semel ut pertransit idolum crucifixi, ad quod aliquando institutæ erant peregrinationes (a nautis maxime Hispanis, cum salvi portum appulissent), direxit idolo sagittam, ac suum mortuum pedem vulnerans, jussit jam illum defendere semetipsum, ac vindicare, si potuisset. Multi tamen aiunt eum propterea non fuisse incarceratum, sed potius quia solebat in magnates proceresque regni debacchari, ac temere adversus illos protrudere sacræ scripturæ, prophetarum maxime, multa loca, quibus inerat aliqua injusti iudicii mentio, aut crudelis tractationis proximorum suorum et sibi subditorum. Hoc interim certe scio, quod cum Lambertus secum una fuit in eodem carcere, (Lambertus est is qui erat ab ipso rege propter negotium eucharistiæ damnatus paulo ante fugam Bourcheri,) quatuor aut quinque dies antequam erat Vulcano oblatum, iste Collins non fuit tam demens neque indoctus, quin Latine satis expedite apteque potuit pro Lamberto contra episcopos ac reliquos impios, qui illius pro tribunali regis erant adversarii hostes, varios locos ex novo Testamento depromere, ac Psalmorum præcipuos adversum eos applicare, quales sunt isti: "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam," etc. "Novit Dominus dies immaculatum, et hæreditas eorum in æternum erit. Inimici vero Domini, mox ut honorificati fuerint et exaltati, deficientes quemadmodum fumus de-

ficient." (Psalm xxxvii.) "Non habitabunt juxta te maligni, neque stabunt injusti ante oculos tuos. Odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem; perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. Virum sanguinum et dolosum abominabitur Dominus." "Non dimidiabunt dies suos," etc. Nunc ad alia.

Ante festum Joannis Baptistæ multi mussitabant clanculum, regem velle reginam suam Annam, sororem ducis Geldriæ, repudiare, quamvis coram ecclesia eam publice duxerat cum maximo triumpho in die Epiphaniæ post natalem Dominicum ultimo elapsam: hæc ideo primum mussitabant aulici, quia regem jam post aliam parvissimam puellam, quam nunc habet, cursitare intelligebant. Hoc est certissimum, quod eodem tempore multi cives Londonienses viderunt regem, nimis sæpe interdum, ac aliquando media nocte, in fluvio Thamesis per naviculam ad istam frequentari. Wintoniensis etiam in suo palatio regi sæpius ac puellæ isti convivia paravit, comessationesque fecit. At cives interim putabant hæc omnia fuisse non repudiandæ reginæ, sed adulterii signa.

Post paucos dies dominus Cromwellus, regis vicem gerens in causis ecclesiasticis (sic namque erat ejus titulus ex officio), a gratia regis exidebat: ac in principio mensis Junii in Turrem Londoniensem injectus, inde non exivit usque ad 28 Julii, quando decollatus erat simul cum alio nobili, D. de Hungerford, quem aiebant fatalem diem regis calculare conatum fuisse. De causa Cromwelli necis nihil certi novi; quia non erat deductus ad examinationem coram tribunali, ut ante illud tempus semper solebant deduci nobiles omnes, maxime cum de crimine læsæ majestatis reginæ fuerunt accusati: at vulgo per plurimos dictum erat, ac verisimiliter etiam, quod ideo revera fuit occisus, quia regem non adulabatur, sicut Wintoniensis et ceteri aulici ex nobilibus, in suo conatu de repudianda regina: quin dixit potius quod non succederet eventus rei in honorem reginæ majestatis neque in rem publicam regni. Non diu fuit ante mortem Cromwelli, quod rex illum exaltavit, ac magis amplis ædibus, divitiis, pluribusque muneribus publicis donavit, cum maximis dominiis, non sine grandi questu aut lucro (hoc modo etiam dotavit Annam reginam paululum antequam decollavit eam). Attamen suspicantur nunc aliqui, non fuisse hoc absque fraudulento consilio factum: ut homines crederent scilicet, illum oportere fuisse maximum proditorem, et omnibus modis criminis læsæ majestatis reum; aut rex cum non ita interfecisset, cum regi fuit tam carus, ut ex suis illi donis apertum fuit. Propter similem etiam dolum aliqui opinantur, regem dedisse Gregorio ejusdem Cromwelli filio, vere fere stulto, domini titulum, multaque sui patris, adhuc in carcere viventis, dominia, ut pater ejus tanto citius diceret in hora mortis suæ se offendisse regem; ne forte sua majestas, Cromwelli filio infensus, iterum adimeret dona illa atque paternos agros. Sunt adhuc præterea qui dicunt (quam vere, novit Deus) minatum fuisse Cromwellum per dolum alium, igni tradendum, non per gladium mori-

turum, ni tempore suæ mortis fateretur se in regem peccasse; ac ideo illum tunc dixisse, “Miser prorsus ego sum atque peccator; in Deum meum Optimum Maximum peccavi, offendique regem:” sed leviter ac tepide hæc de rege protulit.

Hanc mutationem proculdubio meruerunt nostra peccata: quoniam cum Deus inter nos suum verbum misit, non a nobis æstimatum fuit ut Dei verbum, neque dignas Auctori gratias agebamus; sed somniavimus illud a nobis per nostras vires ac ingenium fuisse intellectum, atque jugiter illius successum aut hujus prudentiæ vel illius literaturæ ascripsimus, Deum interim dormientem imaginantes ac otiosum. Quapropter Dominus manifestare volens, cum sua potentia in providentia omnium, et lenitatem erga nos suam, paulatim sed non simul, cum puritate doctrinæ etiam illos, quorum sapientiæ ita innitebamur, abstulit; providentiam suam volens demonstrari in hoc, quod in hominibus spem gloriationemque nostram, suæ gloriæ adversam, frustravit atque adnihilavit: deinde misericordiam suam ostendens, quoniam paulatim ea auferri permisit cum illis in quibus confidebamus; ut nos tam sæpe in creaturis nostra spe falsi, in illum solum omnem fiduciam collocaremus, tum ipsum tam promotorem quam datorem omnis gratiæ ac bonitatis agnosceremus. Hæc Dei longanimitas, ita cum nostra eruditione ac multa instructione temperata, in nobis pœnitentiam operari debuisset, nisi duræ cervicis populus fuisset. At hæc nostra fuit status atque conditio misera, ut hanc Domini disciplinam non expendebamus: sed tam cito ut ille in uno homine quam habuerimus spem inanem reddidit, statim alium virum in quo confideremus adepti sumus; usquedum jam tandem Deus illos omnes a nobis abstulit, atque sincerorum verbi ministrorum tanta nos infligit inopia, ut liceat alicui ab orientali parte Angliæ usque ad occidentem oberrare, ab australi item ad borealem plagam usque, ac ne unum quidem reperiat concionatorem, qui corde puro et fide non ficta gloriam Dei nostri quærat. Omnes abstulit hic: Annam reginam, quæ decollata fuit, cum fratre suo germano, intelligo, D. item Cromwellum, cum Latimero ceterisque episcopis. O magnam Dei indignationem ac iram! imo nostrorum multo majorem peccatorum molem, quibus Dei benigna severitas hanc nobis ultionem non immittere non potuit! Sed quo tendo? Sus Minervam nunc docere videtur conari: atqui ad institutum redeo.

Eo, quo dominus Cromwellus incarceratus fuit, tempore habuit rex conventum regni procerum, episcoporum, ac civium aliquorum, ut apud nos moris est, publicum; qui a nostratibus appellatur parlamentum: in quo edita erant nova statuta (utque rex ea nominat perpetua) plusquam 48; quibus de tantum hic aliquorum annotavi aliqua, quæ ad religionem spectant, sed non omnia. Sequitur primum unius statuti titulus, ita a rege ac parlamento additus: “Statutum pro moderatione muletæ sacerdo-

tum propter incontinentiam." Audivisti, scio, domine colendissime, quale apud nos anno 1539 erat editum statutum, contra sex articulos Christianæ religionis. Una pars illius, si memor sis, sacerdotibus nostris uxores sub pœna furti adimebat prima vice qua fuissent accusati. Sed per idem statutum licuit presbyteris semel aut bis scortari; at tertia vice si essent deprehensi, suspenderentur sicuti isthic solent fures. Furtum apud nos ab antiquo erat mulctatum per furcas, si furtum excedisset valorem sex batziorum: jam ut habet prædictum statutum, cujus audisti titulum, rex consideravit mulctam illam tertia vice per patibulum nimis fore severam vel extremam, ut nos loquimur; ac propterea placuit regi ut statueret parlamentum puniri sacerdotes per pecunias primum, deinde per amissionem sacerdotii unius secundo, si habeat sacrificulus plura, ac tertia vice amitterent omnia bona sua temporalia cum sacerdotiis quibuscumque, ac perpetuæ custodiæ traderentur quamdiu vivant. Atqui interim adhuc suspendere presbyteros ducentes uxores, vel qui eas retinent quas ante illud edictum priore duxerant, regi omnino non videtur extremum.

Alius statuti titulus sic habet: "Statutum manifestans dissolutionem regis conjugii, in specie facti cum D. Anna de Clevia." (In specie facti vel simulati matrimonii, si ita dicam. Anglica lingua hic habet: "The king's pretended marriage, etc.," *pretensed* a prætendo Latine.) Hoc procurabo ut habeas Latine versum edictum, et verbatim. Atqui ubi paulo post principium idem fingit, vulgus regni multas ambiguitates ac perplexa dubia habuisse movisseque circa illud conjugium, omnino falsum est. Neque ausi fuissent homines semel vel os aperire, ut tales ambiguitates vel dubia moverent, quamvis fuissent (ut non erant) movenda. Qualem finem expectabant pii de hoc decreto, quod ita a mendaciis fundatum est? Fictum est etiam quod habet statutum, nobiles ac cives parliamenti a rege petiisse, ut causam totam istius matrimonii in manus suorum clericorum excutiendam poneret; cum certum est nullum nobilium aut civium vel semel mutire de illo negotio audente, aperto aut clanculum fere, usquedum intelligebant regem ab illa Anna animum alienasse ad Katherinam puellam illam ducis Norfolciæ cognatam, quam statim a repudiata Anna duxit.

Ubi habet responsum episcopi Cantuariensis reliquorumque episcoporum ad regias literas de re examinanda et judicanda, illos invenisse Annam Clevensem fuisse adhuc virginem, neque a rege unquam cognotam: en quam verisimile! Quis ex fructibus regem dijudicans eum credat esse tam pudicum hominem? Maxime cum ita festinavit illam accersire ante Natalem Domini, imo atque in suo cubiculo eam quotidie solam viceque reginæ habuit publice, per quinque aut sex menses. Hæc una res ficta et falso obtenta illa sunt, quantum ego possum conjicere, quæ illi episcopi belli basilides cum suis fratribus co-episcopis tam pulchre expenderunt, ponderarunt, atque excutierunt: ut habetur in eorum responso, cujus antea

memini. Prædicatores nostri in omnibus suis concionibus orabant pro ea cum hujusmodi elogio: "Anna, regina nobilissima, uxor nostri principis Henrici 8 etc. maxime legitima."

Remittit præterea decretum illud illis omnibus, qui aliquid loquuti aut moliti fuerunt adversus matrimonium regis cum Anna regina: et dolose quidem, quasi essent aliqui tales condonandi; prodeat tota Anglia, ac vel unum proferat talem, si poterit. Atque illi qui prius conati sunt dissolutionem ejusdem conjugii promovere, non indigent absolute parliamenti; namque certissimum est, illos rem non aggressos fuisse sine consilio ac voluntate regis.

Per auctoritatem etiam ejusdem parliamenti rex imposuit suis subditis multa onera. Nam sibi concessum erat quintam partem de omnibus redditibus annuis episcoporum ac clericorum sacerdotiis extorquere, quæ in uno anno recipiunt, præter perpetuas quas accipit ab illis annuatim decimas. A laicis, tam nobilibus quam civibus ac rusticis, sibi dabatur solutio decimæ partis omnium annuarum proventuum, patrimonii eorum, et agrorum. Item ab illis qui non habent patrimonia aut redditus annuas vicesimam partem regi exigere concedebatur suarum pecuniarum, mercium, pecudum, frugum, ac omnium aliarum rerum. Septentrionalis pars Angliæ, ubi erat tumultus statim post decollatam Annam reginam, jam libera erat facta per benevolentiam regis ab istis solutionibus pecuniarum etc. Ita porro per astutiam tractata fuit hæc res, ut episcopus Cantuariensis et reliqui parliamenti domini spirituales (ut vocantur illi carnales) nomine totius clerus ultro obtulerunt regi illam suam solutionem pecuniarum, quia rex liberavit eos a jugo et servitute Romani pontificis: quasi unquam antea sub papa fuissent sub tali jugo ut nunc sunt, cum ad nutum regis sint eorum res omnes ac vita. Simili modo et laici sponte illas pecunias regi concesserunt, ad quas solvendas per parliamentum sunt sub gravi mulcta astricti. Omnia tamen apud nos sunt ultro ac sponte data!

In eodem etiam parlamento rex divulgavit generalem, seu ut ita dicam universalem, veniam, qua omnibus suis nobilibus subditisque reliquis condonavit hæreses omnes, crimina læsæ majestatis aliqua, furta omnimoda, multa præterea flagitia, contra jura regni vel leges publicas admissa ante primum diem Julii anno 1540, (exceptis offensis talibus quæ in regiam personam facta dictavè interpretari juste poterint;) deinde homicidiis voluntariis, ecclesiarum spoliationibus, multisque criminibus similibus.

Provisum tamen erat, statutum hoc de generali venia non extendere ad D. Cromwellum, doctorem Barnes, Thomam Garrardum, Wilhelmum Jeronimum, qui tres erant concionatores, tumque in vinculis propter evangelium; neque ad filios duo marchionis cujusdam decollati, et D. Montagu fratris Poli, Angli cardinalis Romæ. Isti erat nomen marchio de Exeter: hæres regni fuisset, si rex non relinqueret prolem legitimam.

Multi etiam alii nobiles fuerunt exclusi ab ista remissione, inter quos erat episcopus unus papisticus, Cicestrensis scilicet, atque Wilsonus quidam (antea etiam, postquam biennio fuisset propter papam in vinculis, a rege condonatus ac liberatus) cum aliis quibusdam presbyteris, qui cum essent defensores primatus papæ, non admittebant titulum regis, dum scribit se esse supremum caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Exclusi fuerunt præterea Anabaptistæ omnes, atque sacramentarii, ut vocantur; illi quoque qui non admittunt transubstantiationem panis; deinde omnes qui dicunt, omne genus mortis, cum ejusdem tempore et hora, tam certe a Deo unicuique homini præscriptum, præfixum, determinatumque esse, ut neque rex suo gladio illud mutare poterit, nec aliquis sua temeritate prævenire. Sic habent ipsa statuti verba.

Paulisper ante concessam præfatam veniam, complures homines, maxime prædicatores evangelii, ubique per Angliam fuerunt in vinculis; et Londini ex præcipuis concionatoribus quatuor aut quinque. Quæsierunt etiam doctorem Cromum, virum maximè gravitate ac sapientia præditum: (iste Cromus cum Latimero primum jam nostra ætate puram evangelii doctrinam seminarunt:) qui, cum ab homine quodam Nicodemico illud erat sibi relatum, clanculum a civitate discedit ad aulam; ac illic regem flexis genibus orabat propter Deum (postquam illi prius enarraverat, quomodo Londini tractarentur prædicatores ac cives aliquot) ut huic malo occurreret, ac per suam prudentiam pietatemque remedium adhiberet. Statim rex mandatum dedit, ut adhuc neminem amplius pro religione vexarent; imo ut incarceratos liberarent rursus, modo habuissent ex amicis suis vades aliquot, qui ut cum citarentur postea, fidem darent illos accusatos apparituros. Hæc occasio fortassis, quam audisti, ex parte movit regem ut hanc dedit veniam: sperans post has causas semel pacatas, et veteribus loquelis (vel, ut ille judicavit, erroribus) condonatis, habiturum se postea populum magis quietum ac obtemperantem. Nec ignoro nihilominus, ut solet illius clementia suis subditis ita prorsus remittere (aliquibus, ut nunc, exceptis semper criminibus), postquam illi permiserant, ut jam, ex liberali dono eorum ingentem copiam pecuniarum corradere; vel de reddendis nummis, illi antea mutuo datis, per auctoritatem parlamenti ita absolvi ac liberum fieri, ut postea nunquam vel obolum reddat.

Mox post solutum parlamentum, 30 scilicet die Julii anno jam elapso, interfeciti erant sex illorum hominum, qui a regìa universali venia fuerunt exclusi. Tres erant sacerdotes papistici, (nomina Abel, Poel, Fetherston,) ac regis novum titulum suamque in clericos potestatem recusarunt admittere. Isti more solito tractati fuerunt: primum suspensi, mox vivi funiculo statim scisso a patibulo veniunt; postea abscissa sunt pudenda, eximuntur intestina, decollantur ipsi atque in partes quatuor sunt scissi, affixis membris supra portas civitatis: vel præsertim sublime ad summi-

tatem perticarum affixa imposita sunt capita in ponte magna Londoniensi ad terrorem aliorum, quotquot in illa civitate presbyterorum aut monachorum occiduntur! Reliqui tres evangelici fuerunt prædicatores, non ex infimis; nomina Barnes, Garrard, Jerom: hi primum a Turri Londoniensi per medium civitatis ab equis tracti, ad locum quemdam vocatum Smithfield, illic erant uno fulcro affixi atque combusti, in eodem loco ubi ceteri tres fuerunt interfecti. Locus ille nunquam antea, quod meminerimus, pro aliis quam solis comburendis hæreticis destinatus erat. In igne manebant isti absque ulla exclamacione tam quieti atque patientes, quasi nullam sensissent pœnam; ac ita spiritus eorum simul Deo Patri per Jesum Christum commendaverunt.

Nunquam scire potui (quamvis sedulo inquisivi) justam ipsam causam, cur isti tres evangelici a venia regis publica excludébantur; ita ut nullam magis verisimilem divinare possum, quam quod rex, clerum gratificari cupiens atque ignarum rude vulgus cum pertinaci parte suorum nobilium et civium, istos tres vitulos, ut verisimile est regem arbitratum fuisse, quasi in holocaustum destinavit ad pacandos eos, vel illorum gratiam jam noviter acquirendam. Arbitror autem eos non habuisse ultra unum, vel ad summum duos istorum in uno anno, nisi ut clerus majorque pars nobilium ac vulgi lubentiori animo solverent pecunias quas regi concessit parlamentum.

Si diceret aliquis istos tres combustos fuisse propter eorum conciones ac doctrinam, tunc mirum est quod non adducti fuerunt ante iudices, ac per processum juris damnati: ut semper ante illud exempli apud nos in talibus causis mortis erat. Deinde meo videre non juste egit parlamentum, si propter doctrinam illorum condemnavit eos. Nam hoc certe scio, quod post 12 diem Julii anno 1539 (quo die statutum eorum, per quod veritatem damnarunt, virtutem accepit) usque ad tempus quo fuerint capti, nunquam aperierunt os suum expresse contra illud edictum, in ulla concione publica aut sermone privato, nisi ubi certi fuerunt se inter honestos ac pios homines fuisse, atque a porcis et canibus satis securos. Ergastulo fuerunt traditi in hebdomada diem Paschæ 1540 sequenti: etiam postquam regi in multis inter concionandum in festis Paschæ paruissent. Ita videmus quod rex nec ejus parlamentum ipsos juste ad mortem propter doctrinam non tradiderunt, nisi dicere velint omnes illas opiniones, quas illi prædicto decreto pro hæresibus damnarunt, non fuisse condonatas usque ad statutum diem illum 12 Julii. Atque si ita res habet, tunc tantum dolus erat ac laqueus ad homines irretiendos, ita præfigere et assignare certum diem, in quo edictum illorum acciperet virtutem ac vigorem. Hic brevior sum propter editum in Germana lingua libellum, de protestatione præfati Roberti Barnes apud rogum; ubi fatetur se ignorasse causam, propter quam illuc adducebatur comburendus, etc.

Hebdomada sequenti post combustos istos concionatores, fuerunt interfecti plurimi alii ex illis, qui fuerunt exclusi a generali regis venia. Causa mihi est ignota quare morti tradebantur; sed fama erat, propter crimina læsæ majestatis regiæ. Atqui, ut verum fatear, homines causam non tam diligenter percontabantur neque investigati sunt ut solebant, quia nunc non est apud nos novum fere homines videre occisos, suspensos, dissectos vel decollatos; aliquos propter verbula, quæ contra regem dicta fuisse exposita erant vel interpretata; aliquos pro primatu pontificis, atque aliquos propter unam rem, alios pro alia. Episcopus tamen Cicestrensis, ac doctor Wilsonus papista qualis Eckius, dimissi fuerunt a rege: quamvis etiam a regia universali excluderentur venia. Crimen læsæ majestatis, ut audio, quod commiserunt in regem, eleemosyna fuit præstita Abeli illo papistæ, in summa miseria existenti, cum fuisset diu in custodia fetidissima, ac (ut aiunt apud nos pontificii) vermibus fere necatus.

Jam de viro tum docto tum pio, doctore Cromo, aliquid dicturus sum. Hac tempestate, quoniam plus necessitatis videbat (ut semper fuit solitus, cum surgebat aliquis turbo, ita ut veritas conculcari videretur), iste concionabatur magis fervide quam diu antea, usquedum appropinquavit festum natalis Domini. Et erga eum diem qui fuerunt inimici illius propter evangelium, adversus eum collegerunt erroneos (ut illi aiebant) articulos multos. Interea erexit clerus suum athletam Wilsonum, ut D. Cromi puriori doctrinæ resisteret, ac quæcumque vera prædicasset ille, falsa esse affirmaret iste. Hoc illi filii prudentes hujus seculi tanto citius fecerunt, ut meliorem haberent ansam accusandi Cromum (quia per illum adhuc in prædicando erat talis controversia in civitate Londoniensi), ac ita ipsum, ut responderet pro se coram rege ejusve concilio, producerent. Quam rem post paucos dies effecerunt. Namque ante natalem Domini jussi fuerunt ambo non amplius concionari, priusquam rex aut illius consilarii causam audiret, ac ita rem componeret ut ipsis visum fuerit.

Post natalem Domini (anno 1540: nostri enim annum novum computare incipiunt in festo annuntiationis Mariæ,) quum dies constitutus esset, quo apparerent ambo, Cromus scilicet atque Wilsonus; Cromi hostes ex illius posterioribus concionibus adversus eum conscripserunt triginta fere articulos, tamquam impios ac hæreticos; quorum summa, quantum ego quidem judicare possim, hæc est: Nulla opera eo modo justificant quo Christus, nec ita satisfaciunt, ut ipse pro nobis Patri satisfecit. Nam ille est unica oblatio, et pretium redemptionis, etc.

Non est ulla veritas nobis credenda necessaria, aut obsequenda sub pœna peccati vel mortis æternæ, quin in scripturis sacris alicubi expresso revelata est, aut ex scriptis earundem vere, pie, ac juste colligi et deduci poterit.

Missare pro mortuis plane sacram scripturam adversatur, et superstitio

est : atque primum per visionem, imo illusionem (inquit) Sathanæ, in ecclesiam introductum fuit tempore Gregorii papæ.

Rex ipse cum suis episcopis in sua Christiani hominis Institutione fatentur, missas *scalæ cæli* a pontifice ordinatas mortuis omnino non prodesse. At illud genus missarum pro defunctis est præcipuum, propter orationes, etc. Quapropter si non prosint illæ missæ, multo minus aliæ.

Item si missa prodesset defunctis, tunc rex cum parlamento impie egerunt in monasteriis destruendis, ubi tam multæ missæ propter mortuos fundatæ erant atque celebratæ.

Qui docet homines sanctos precari, ut ipsi tantum orent pro nobis, sicut hic pro nobis oramus invicem, doctrinam profert neque necessariam nec utilem.

Ecclesia Christi est sponsa Christi. Atqui illa esset uxor superciliosa aut procax, quæ amplius loqueretur vel præciperet quam ejus sponsus.

Vocatis nos concionatores seditiosos, atque dicitis nos novam inferre doctrinam : sed mentimini. Ipsi enim estis seditiosi, qui superstitionem propugnatis ac humanas traditiones, neque verbo tantum Dei nobiscum vultis obedire, et Christi vocem audire.

Mirantur homines, quod inter nos prædicatores non convenitur. Attamen non est mirandum. Namque illi hominum mandata docent, nos contra solius Dei. Atqui si illi sua somnia, mendacia, humanas traditiones et frivola desinerent concionari, ac nobiscum solum Dei verbum annuntiarent, statim inter nos conveniretur.

Patitur ecclesia Christi et semper patietur persecutionem : sicut non ita pridem aliqui hic passi sunt. Et quamvis mundus conabatur illos persuadere, haudquaquam tamen eos potuerunt vincere. Neque nos vincetis, spero, quamvis nos persequamini. Nam poteratis dicere, vos vincisse nos, si efficere potueritis ut nos loqueremur uti vos ipsi. Atque tum mentiremur ut vos, ac diaboli sacellani essemus, ut estis vos.

Quum rex ejusque consilarii hos cum similibus recepissent articulos, quibus de accusabatur Cromus, illi inducias dederunt aliquas, ut ad eosdem responsum daret. Quod cum dederat Cromus (ut patet ex regia injunctione, quam illi imposuit populo recitandam), fuit proculdubio affirmatio articulorum suorum manifesta, constanter asserens, fuisse illos veros atque orthodoxos. Rex nihilominus, utrum interne expavescens aut vulgum timens, talem si virum gravem, in religione quasi patrem, interficeret, vel quocumque alio modo Deus operatus fuit ignoro, hunc igni non tradidit in holocaustum immolandum, ut Barnes et ceteros ; at illi misit chartulam quandam, ut eandem in omnibus sequeretur, uti jam mox auditurus sis. Sequitur namque copia ejusdem :

“Judicium regis de D. Cromo, 18 die Januarii anno Domini 1540.

“Postquam acceperat majestas regia responsum Edwardi Cromi, theo-

logiæ doctoris, de quibusdam articulis quibus de examinatus fuit coram delectis commissariis a regia sua majestate in illam rem designatis; postquam etiam admonita erat excellentia regis, eundem D. Cromum ita plane in corde suo persuasum esse, ut in illius responso manu propria subscripto ac regiæ majestati exhibito fatebatur: rex ex sua benignitate piissima, bonitateque solita atque clementia, pro hoc tempore contentus est rigorem ac severitatem suorum statutorum prætermittere, quæ sua majestas juste in illum Cromum exequi potuerit. Præterea regia majestas, in animo habens inter suos subditos Christianam quietem et tranquillitatem stabilire, per uniformem in concionandi munere concordiam, sic statuit ut nunc sequitur," etc.

Rex tunc D. Cromo injunxit, ut certo die Dominico in quadragesima Londini in cœmeterio D. Pauli (quod est summi templi cœmeterium) concionaretur, atque illic omnes suos præcedentes articulos recantaret. In fine etiam illius scripti regii hoc additum fuit, quod legere deberet Cromus, postquam verbatim recitasset revocationem scriptam.

Præterea hoc notum voluit regia majestas suis subditis omnibus, ut si idem D. Cromus posthac accusaretur de his articulis aut similibus, tum exequutam fieri in eum absque ullo favore juris severitatem.

Contra Cromi articulum de missa non profutura defunctis, objecerunt illi pro tribunali, se concionatum fuisse in illo articulo directe contra edicta regia, quæ statuerunt missam privatam digne retinendam in ecclesia Anglicana, propter multa commoda quæ recipiunt per eam Christiani. Sed non enumerat statutum illud, quæ fuerant illa commoda: ac propterea respondebat Cromus, intellexisse se commoda illa futura commemoratio mortis Christi, per ceremonias missæ ac orationes pro vivis: maxime quia rex deposuit tam multa cœnobia.

Non profuit illi hæc evasio. Namque hoc modo injunxit illi rex in sua chartula, ut illius articuli palinodiam caneret: "Missæ publicæ atque privatæ sacrificium sunt utile, tum pro vivis tum mortuis. Et quamvis missæ aliæque orationes et suffragia prosint defunctis, regia tamen majestas cum suo parlamento pie ac juste abolebant monasteria in suo regno." Qua ratione, non erat additum omnino.

Hic habes summam judicii regis de doctore Cromo in ista causa. Jam cum advenerat dies Dominicus quo ille revocaret, concionem piam fecit; at in fine ejusdem cœpit dicere ad populum, quomodo a majestate regia receperat scriptum, quod illis prælegere jussus fuit. Atque post lectum idem, ac populum brevi imprecatione Deo committens, ita discedit: cum rex haud dubie voluit, ut illam chartulam accepisset pro formula quadam doctrinæ, quam sequeretur in sua concione; atque etiam ejus extolleret sapientiam, literaturam, et clementiam supra sidera, eo modo quo doctor Barnes et duo illi alii, cum in festo Paschæ prædicarunt, ac nihilominus postea erant combusti.

Proculdubio non fuit animus regis, ut tam leviter prælegisset suam schedulam Cromus, atque tum ita discedere. Quapropter vereor ne non ita relinquat illum clerus. Nam statim postea interdictum fuit illi a rege, ne amplius concionaretur: sicut antea etiam prohibuit episcopum Worcesteriæ Latimerum, atque Shackstonum episcopum de Salisbery; qui per providentiam Dei, ut arbitrator, (ut patet etiam per hoc, quod Deus vivos tandiu illos servavit in hoc mundo periculoso,) a morte liberati erant per generalem illam regis veniam. Isti duo episcopi diu erant sub custodibus, quia adhuc nunquam in statutum illud, adversus veritatem anno 1539 editum, subscribere voluerunt: id quod reliqui episcopi Elchosaitæ Eceboli statim fecerunt. Sed quantum jam illi favet rex, ac quanti æstimat eorum sanam doctrinam et sinceram, vel in hoc apparet, quod non solum illis prohibuit concionandi munus, verum etiam ne veniant infra duo aut tria milliaria Germanica prope duas academias nostras, civitatem Londini, nec in propriam illorum diocesim. O nefandum nefas, ita adimere ovibus suos pastores bonos, ac lupos rapaces in eorum locum intrudere! Non poterit Deus hanc tyrannidem multo diutius, ut spero, permittere. At interim vides quomodo apud nos jam abundat iniquitas, ac ideo proculdubio refrigescit in multis caritas. Vale, in Domino observande mihi que semper carissime propter tuum opus in Christi evangelio. Deus noster Optimus Maximus te diu nobis incolumem conservet, ad ipsius ecclesiæ ædificationem et consolationem. Amen. Amen.

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## EPISTOLA CVI.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et animi constantiam in veritate a Domino, etc! Literas tuas pias ac consolatione plenas, ultimo Augusti ad me datas, ante tres dies recepi, præceptor colendissime: propter quas summopere arbitrator me tuæ humanitati devinctum esse, ut ita digneris ad me vermem, non amplius hominem (ut censet mundus), rescribere, ac etiam tam consolatorie et sæpe.

Scripsit mihi Falcknerus pro panno nigro et rubeo, quos per Conradum Eblie ad te mitto, ut sit in tua potestate atque arbitrio, utrum illos habiturus sit mutuo Falcknerus. Nam mihi jam debet fere centum florenos, proximis nundinis hic Francofordiæ solvendos, præter 45, quos nunc præterea mihi solvere debuisset (ut ille scribit) Christophorus Froshoverus, de quibus etiam dubito an eos recepturus sum: respondet namque ille, se velle solvere eosdem 45 florenos pro Falcknero, si habeat bonas nundinas, alias non item. Niger pannus continet ulnas Francofordienses 55; rubeus autem 50½. Niger est satis bonus et fortis pannus; sed omnes meos

meliores vendidi prius quam redditæ fuerunt mihi Falckneri literæ. Interrogavi post eas in principio nundinarum a Christophoro prædicto, ac negavit se habuisse pro me ullas, quia vix me novebat: postea iterum conveni illum, et invenit propter me Falckneri literas. Pretium quadraginta ulnarum pannorum illorum est 22 floreni. Misi tibi præterea pannum alium, quem reliqui in his nundinis meliorem, qui continet 45 ulnas. Eundem precor (si ita tibi visum fuerit consultum esse) ut habeat Falcknerus, si recusat alterum nigrum. Sed iste pannus est majoris pretii; 28 florenorum scilicet propter 40 ulnas, et 16 batz. pro floreno. Falcknerus hoc novit, quod ita solemus recipere pro quolibet floreno. Quem reliquit pannum, oro ut vendi cures alio aliquo homini, ac pretium ejusdem pauperibus (si quos habetis apud vos exules propter evangelium) eroges hoc anno. Si tu hoc recusas facere, propterea quod non habetis forte apud vos tales homines exules (aliam enim excusationem non admitto), tum volo eandem summam D. Calvino in eundem finem dare. Habeo porro jam in animo per prædictum Conradum tibi transmittere quintam partem panni coloris alii, quo solet magna pars nostratium vestiri. Illum pannum, ut fortissimum, tibi velim libenter dono dare. Si recuses eundem recipere (quod non spero), tum ad meam tibi adventum pecunias dabis. Est pannus 32 florenorum. Argentinae et hic jam incipio de eodem colore vendere aliquos, illis antea fere inusitatis.

Non possum has literas iterum neque meliori formula vel largiori transcribere propter mea jam negotia; solus namque hic sum. Argentinae etiam præter famulam non habeo servos. In Anglia omnes præterquam unum reliqui: habeo enim illic adhuc, qualis sit, familiam. Unum tantum huc adduxi famulum ex Anglia, qui tum videbatur omnibus ferventissimus esse; et certe, dum illic apud me agebat, erat vere pius: at postquam hic vidit simplicem evangelii cultum, maxime non habens suos familiares, ac copiam rerum et carnis in macello, ut apud nos, domum redire mihi videbatur cupere quam maxime. Quod cum intellexi, dimisi eum, postquam dedissem secum meas literas, per quas potuit cum alio homine sodalii nostri obtinere famulatum. Prius tamen ob oculos pro meo dono posui, quam fœdum sit a veritate per simulationem superstitionis deficere. Abiit nihilominus: sed spero illum adhuc sapere Christum ex parte. Habitat etiam cum homine quodam mercatore, qui in tempore libertatis ante tres annos apud nos profitebatur suo modo evangelium. Bone Deus! quid dicam? Non novi fere hominem melius sapere de religione (non loquor de instructoribus literatis) quam W. noster Peterson. Orat te iste ut suas literas Clariam mittas; quas meis literis præter has jam per Froschoverum ad te datis involvi. Sed postquam ab Argentina domum rediit, qua antea cum maximo periculo fugit, neque per herum suum cum maximis minis cogi potuisset, dicebat esse media et libera et nescio quæ. Quomodo vel quis eum dementarit, ignoro: sed hoc scio, quod ante meum discessum

ad missas in hominum gratiam non coactus ibat; id quod jam singulis diebus festis, per totum fere autumnum diem facit, ut mos est apud nos. Uxor ejus erat satis dives certe: habuit cum illa, ut opinor, plus quam tres centum aut quatuor centum nostrates angelos aureos.

Rogat te uxor mea, ut digneris Falcknerum precari 100 libras optimi butyri, aut 80 ad minus mihi mittere Argentinæ tam cito ut poterit. Si non potest curare ut tale vasculum ad meas ædes mittat, tum oro illum Jo. Burchero nostro in ædibus D. Miconii vel D. Isengriniæ agenti, ut Basileæ pro me mittat, ac quicquid exponit reddam. Dedi pro te Christophoro Froschovero caseum Anglicum sub hoc signo +, panno involutum lineo. Uxor mea voluit ut tibi tuæque uxori eandem mitterem, ut de nostro caseo, sicut nos de vestro butyro, experimentum faceres. At nolo ut inde ullas agas nobis gratias: non velim omnino certe, ut propter res tam parvas (uti propter uxoris munuscula frivola) scriptis referres gratias. Fratrem B. tuo nomine salutabo diligenter. Rem de qua præterea scripsisti non inteligo: ideo inde nihil dicam, ne animum ejus jam satis curis dejectum amplius dejiciam. Si accersitus forte aut vocatus fuerit domum, ac non veniat, omnia amittet, quæ jam habet certe. Inde nunc sollicitus est, sed maxime quia si ita res haberet, non est verisimile ut illam habeat quam ambit uxorem; piam quidem, sed propter perpetuum quendam morbum (ut audio) ad matrimonium ineptam. Bene vale. Francofordiæ, 18 Septembris, 1541.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

P. S. Non sum civis Argentinensis, ne forte quæ jam habeo in Anglia et Brabantia privilegia perderem. Senatus Argentinensis est mihi valde favorabilis. Do illis annis singulis 10 florenos; non dedi juramentum.

Accidit, D. observande, ut antequam sigillatæ fuerint hæ meæ literæ, satisfecit mihi Christophorus Froschover pro 45 florenis, quos debebat mihi Falcknerus in his nundinis solvendo. Obtulit sese præterea, se velle fideiussorem esse pro pannis quibuscunque quos vellem mittere prædicto Falcknero. Ideo non est opus ut apud te custodias pannos, quibus de antea hic tibi scripsi, me velle tibi prius mittere per Conradum Eblie, præterquam solum nigrum illum pannum de 28 florenis, cum tuis 8 ulnis de 32 florenis; ut antea memini ejusdem. Hoc etiam precor, ut digneris Falcknero dicere, in mentem mihi venisse, quam sæpe loquutus fuerit mihi pro panno qui est coloris . . .; ac ideo me misisse illi per prædictum Conradum 31 ulnas, præterea 31 ulnas cum dimidio panni albi, ac 20 ulnas de . . . Pretium est idem cum duobus prædictis pannis integris; de 22 florenis scilicet pro 40 ulnis Francofordiensibus. Oro te, ut si ullum horum omnium pannorum recuset, ut digneris eosdem in

tuam custodiam recipere, quousque ego tibi scribam per proprias meas literas, cui tradas illos; nisi tu nosti aliquem tibi familiarem, qui eodem pretio eosdem vult recipere, ac pecunias mihi in proximis nundinis Francofordiæ certo mittere per dominum Christophorum Fröschover. Ille namque hic schedulam Falckneri nomine mihi dedit pro 103 florenis et 6 batziis, qui sunt justa summa duorum pannorum integrorum cum tribus hisce ultimis dimidiis, de quibus hic supra mentionem feci. Omnes isti panni, de quibus mentionem feci in istis literis, præter tuas octo ulnas (quas non scidi ab eodem panno quem emit a me Conradus Eblie, ne fortassis volueris ulnam plus habere), sunt signati super plumbeum eorum signum hoc signo meo in margine +.

Recipies cum his scriptis sententiam Capitonis nostri de peccato originis. Nova non habeo in his nundinis ex Anglia, præterquam quod rex adhuc non reversus est Londino ex boreali parte regni sui, quo in mense Julii elapsi equitavit cum 1000 militibus, novo more, et multis castris, Gallico more, ad pacandum populum illic rebellem et superstitiosum omnino. Conati fuerunt illic ante quinque menses clanculum tumultum novum viri circa viginti (quorum duodecim fere erant monachi quondam), qui fuerunt Londini et Eboraci (qui sunt regni illius præcipui civitates) decollati, suspensi, atque nostro more tractati, in mense proximo Junii. Ante discessum regis decollavit etiam matrem cardinalis nostratis, cum duobus aliis ex nostris nobilibus natu maximis. Ex regio stemmate non audio ullos relictos præter nepotem cardinalis, ac alium puerum, marchionis de Exeter filium. Ambo sunt pueri incarcerati atque condemnati: causam ignoro, nisi quod aiunt patres eorum papæ atque cognato suo cardinali Polo literas misisse Romam. Filius regis ex tertia uxore vivit adhuc; de illo non loquor. Vivit adhuc spurius Edwardi regis, cujus filiam post interfectum Ricardum secundum<sup>1</sup> duxit Henricus 7 nostri jam regis pater. At paululum ante nostrum discessum missus erat a Calisiis (ubi antea erat vicem gerens regis ac, ut nosti, nimis prope Galliam) in Turrem Londoniensem, receptaculum talium, ac postea per parlamentum eodem tempore quo D. Cromwellus condemnatus: incarceratus manet, exspectans gratiam regis. Iste senex spurius erat Calisiis persecutor evangelii pessimus. (Edwardus reliquit duos filios, hæredes regni, in protectione istius Ricardi eorum avunculi. Interfecit secreto Ricardus iste hos duos elegantes pueros sui germani fratris, atque regnum fere tribus annis vi occupavit.) Alius ex proceribus præcipuus ac tyrannus crudelissimus non longe postea currendo equo suo non coacto cecidit: sed nunquam postea verbulum loquebatur; fregit namque collum suum miserrime. Iste erat comes de Essex, cujus rebus ac agris, cum magnis dominiis suis atque divitiis, potitus est statim Cromwellus; sed non diu, ut antea audisti scio, si receperis per Fröschoverum literas priores ad te datas.

[<sup>1</sup> Imo tertium.]

Argentinae, 25 die Septembris.

Rex ordinavit Thomam episcopum Cantuariensem et cancellarium regni (qui adhuc mente habentur pro nostris) suos vicem gerentes in australi parte Angliae. At illi statim post discessum regis propter timorem, ut arbitrantur evangelici nostrates, juvenem octodecim annorum propter Lutheranam opinionem in eucharistia Londini combusserunt. Non omnino negavit praesentiam corporalem, sed accidentiam panis (ut Wiclefus noster) non sine substantia manere illic asserebat. Iterum bene vale. Mortuus hic est, vel potius dormit, D. Zuinglii magni illius mundi luminis filius; multi-que alii ex collegio Argentinensi, quibus de maxima erat spes. Iterum tandem vale ac vive felicissime in timore Domini.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo atque doctissimo viro D. Henrico  
Bullingero, verbi Dei sinceri ministro.  
Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CVII.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

CONSOLATIONEM Sancti Spiritus in tua scientia, quae interdum multum habet conjunctum dolorem. Tuas literas mihi gratissimas vicesimo Novembris accepi, vir doctissime. Quod ex animo me ames ut fratrem (id quod antea saepius ex scriptis tuis intellexi), ingentes habeo tibi gratias. De missis ad Falcknerum pannis jam me poenitet, quod ille me sibi tot pannos misisse multum dolet. Pannum nigrum intonsum, de quo conqueritur, non misissem Falcknero (ut ex meis proximis literis arbitror te satis intellexisse), nisi quod tam sero Francofordiae traditae fuerant mihi ejus literae. Nihilominus pro 18 florenis non possum eum pannum illi dare, cum mihimet ultra 20 florenos in Anglia constiterit. Attamen quum jam isthic sit (maxime cum fila habeat tam crassa et lanam duram), pro viginti florenis si eundem retinere velit, ego ero contentus. Sin minus hoc lubens faciet, recipias iterum ab ipso illum pannum, te precor, atque eundem servato apud te, usquedum ipse rescribam ad te a proximis nundinis, vel antea. Volo namque fortassis cum in alium finem (si illum Falcknerus recusaverit) destinare.

Pannum tonsum non majoris pretii aestimavi quam 28 florenos. Pro eodem etiam pretio ipso Falcknero dedi talem pannum in nundinis Argentinensibus elapsis. Atqui de illo panno (quia vestris mercatoribus tam caro esse videtur) quid scriberem ignoro, nisi ut D. Falcknerum consulas eundem mihi remittere in quadragesima, per aurigam aliquem sibi notum, qui Francofordiam per hanc urbem petat. Haud dubito enim me

illum pannum hic venditurum ejusdem pretii aut pluris fortasse. Si hunc remittat pannum Falcknerus, gratificabit mihi valde, si simul transmittat tres sarcinas optimi papyri, quem conficit D. Froshoverus. (Sarcina continet 20 libellos: Germanice *ein Riecks* vocatur.) Namque talem papyrum cujus est illius maxime desidero. Has literas uno folio scripsi ejusdem, quem cupio, papyri: at si meliorem habeat, velim adhuc unam aut alteram sarcinam pro Milone Coverdalo atque aliis hic agentibus Anglis. Pro papyro isto in venientibus nundinis Froshovero aut D. Falcknero, volente Deo, satisfaciam. Cupio præterea, ut D. Froshoverus tibi pro me isthic opponat quindecim florenos et 12 batziones, propter dimidiatum pannum integri nigri tondi, in usus quos novit tua pietas destinati, si forte eundem mihi remittat Falcknerus; ac ego Froshovero vicissim Francofordiæ eosdem florenos fideliter reddam.

De ceteris pannis dimidiatis quæ scripsisti, mihi bene placent: ea lege videlicet Falcknerum eosdem servaturum, ut si illos vendere poterit, ad proximas nundinas mihi pecuniam solvat; sin secus, ut illi eos tradat cui tradendos illi postea Francofordiæ indicabo. Axiomata non ideo ad tuam eruditionem misi, ut super eisdem sententiam tuam rescriberes; tantum enim ut tua studia mea causa impedivisses non cupivi: ago tamen magnas gratias, quod, cum venero, super illis tuum iudicium mihi proferre non dedignaberis. D. Falcknerum, fratrem mihi carum, salutes obsecro, atque meo nomine propter butyrum illi gratias ingentes age; mihi enim hac hieme erit pro familia mea bono usui. Rogo ipsum præterea, ut papyri, de quo supra mentionem feci, memor sit. Petit idem a me, ut certiores illum facerem, an adhuc tuas literas a Gallo von Homberg acceperim: quas accepisse me (si memineris) proximis meis literis humanitati tuæ indicavi. Quartale fœnum Græcum per hunc tabellionem mittere in animo habeo, si ille non recusaverit idem secum ferre. Uxor mea salutem precatur tuæ; eandem meo quoque nomine salutabis. Deus omnis potentiae servet te a peste noxia, atque sub ala sua protegat te, ut adhuc regnum ejus latius per te propagetur in terra, atque tua merces sit tanto major in cœlis. Amen. Argentorati, 23 Novembris, 1541.

Tuus in Domino,

R. HILLES.

P. S. Ego misi fœnum Græcum Basileam: usque Joanni Bourchero Anglo, in ædibus D. Miconii aut Isengriniæ agenti.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
amico suo carissimo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CVIII.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM et constantiam in Christi veritate! Posteaquam a Venetiis salvus domum redii, literas tuas 17 Martii scriptas accepi, perlectisque gaudio affectus eram non parvo, te circa tam pium ecclesiæque opus utile laborasse, ut commentariorum aliquorum libros in Matthæum in lucem edere in animo habueris. Deus Optimus Maximus propositum tuum bene fortunet, atque eidem felicem det successum!

De tonso panno nihil cum H. Falcknero Francofordiæ actum est; atque de pretio non est cur speret me vel batzium unum libenter velle aut posse abscondere. Si tamen aliquid ejusdem panni superest, mihi illud huc mittat in nostris nundinis contentus sum; ac tam lubenti animo recipiam reliquum pannum quam pecuniam ipsam: non enim me fallit, qualis erat pannus ille. Ulnæ Francofordiensis vix pretium posui 11 batziorum cum crucifero; et si hic habuissem eundem pannum, pro duodecim batziis per integrum ulnam Argentinensem cito potuissem vendere.

Obsecro te, mi domine, ut ne diutius differem aliquid de eo constituere, quod propter pauperes exules de eodem panno destinavi; dimidium pretii ejusdem scilicet, aut, si mavis, totum. Domino namque Calvino in talem finem aliquas pecunias jam pridem dedi; atqui de te vel de isto panno nihil illi unquam memini, aut posthac mentionem facere volo. Idcirco quod non coactus in pauperes erogandum per te volui, perage, obsecro, sive pretium dimidii, aut, si ita res postulat, integri panni retinere velis: quanto plus enim per te erogo, tanto minus mihi ipsi in similem usum erogandum relinquo. Quicquid in hujusmodi rebus ago, sponte et hilari animo absque murmuratione facio. Ideo te precor, ut sive dimidium summæ, si tu mavis, vel integram summam, quod ego malim, tecum servare decernas, per tuas literas mihi id in nostris nundinis significare dignaberis. Cupio enim ut jam statim post receptas has literas ab H. Falcknero 31 florenos cum dimidio (16 batziis pro florenis singulis computatis) pro tonso illo panno reciperes; ut, quum venerit Falcknerus, non sit, quo opus fuerit ulteriori computatione inter me et illum circa eum pannum. Si objiciat, non tanti valuisse pannum, tum precor, ut quantum sit reliquum ab eo recipias, atque isthic amicis tuis, si poteris, vendas; aut, quod malim (ne tuis studiis foret impedimento), mihi huc per aliquem mercatorem transferri cures: atque ego tibi vicissim tantam pecuniam Tiguri fideliter mittam.

Quod tuis literis Petrum Hurtzel, imprimis autem Andream Rapenstein, ita mihi commendas gaudeo; atque si tantum cognovisset uxor mea in proximis nundinis, non postulasset C. Froshoverum pro illis

fideijussorem. Oro tamen ut ne ægre ferant, quod per meam uxorem hac in re actum sit. Illa namque nunquam antea eos viderat, neque, quod memini, unquam illos a me commendatos, ut digni sunt, audierat. Isti duo boni homines Francofordiæ me fideliter tractarunt in præcedentibus nundinis: debuerunt enim tum mihi circiter 133 florenos, quos omnes præter tres mihi per D. Conradum Ebleum miserunt. Henricus autem non mecum tam bona fide agit: ille namque debuit mihi præteritis nundinis (præter prædictum pannum tonsum) circa 200 florenos; ex quibus loco batziorem (in Rabpemintze) 46 tantum florenos et 14 batzios Basileæ solvit pro amico quodam meo: atque eisdem tam intempestive solvebat, ut amicum illum meum oportuisset ab Argentorato servum suum cum 20 ex eisdem florenis 46 in quadagesima misisse Basileæ, quia Falcknerus in tam parva etiam re, quod promisit, non præstitisset.

Butlerus frater patrimonium suum in Anglia totum, ut per literas accepi, in quadagesima proxima vendidit: sed omnem suam pecuniam tum non adhuc recepit. Metuo autem, illi, ne postquam per sororium suum illum aulicum hoc quod fecit ad aures regis pervenerit, denuo exire regnum interdicator. Eliotus studet juri civili, vel, ut rectius dicam, regni nostri legibus: tantumque profecit in eo ordine, ut jam munus habeat, unde proventus fere 200 florenorum annuatim accipiat. Bartholomæus autem Trehernus ab aula cum multo labore secessit in rus, ubi filiam ducturus est cujusdam nobilis qui favet piæ doctrinæ: cumque illa virgine habebit annuales redditus 120 (ut audio) florenorum per annos 60 ex agro quodam per totidem annos certo pretio a socero suo elocato. Præterea in illius regionis oppidulo quodam docere grammaticam, ac ita parvulos instruere instituit.

De statu totius regni non habeo quod certi scribam, præter id quod arbitror te ante tres menses audivisse, regem scilicet decollasse uxorem suam Catharinam Howard, quam statim duxit post repudiatam Annam Clevensem. Hæc Catharina condemnata erat propter magnam adulterii suspicionem (ut fertur ab omnibus Anglis) cum duobus nobilibus, qui iidem etiam cum ipsa rem habuerunt priusquam duxit illam rex. Decollata fuit tum præterea domina de Rochford, vidua illius nobilis, qui propter incestum cum sua germana sorore (regina Anna) morte plectebatur, ut nosti. Ista vidua, ut aiunt, conscia fuit impudicitiae istius Catharinæ decollatæ nuperrime. Dormiebat enim illa sæpius cum regina; atque cum noverat eam semel diu abesse a cubiculo apud foricam, eodem tempore, ut aiunt, quo illic etiam fuit unus istorum nobilium qui decollabantur, istum nihilominus negotium regi non aperuit, etc.

Tradita est etiam perpetuæ custodiæ in Turri Londinensi ducessa Norfolkicæ, vidua senex; item D. quidam Gulielmus Howard, frater ducis Norfolkicæ: quia sciebant reginam Catharinam fuisse scortum, cum rex amore ejus fervebat, nec illi hoc indicarunt ante consummatas

illas subitas nuptias. Unus illorum nobilium nunc propter adulterium cum regina primum suspensus, tum decollatus atque dissectus, ex cubiculariis regiis erat, et ante duos annos vel paulo minus uxorem cujusdam viri, qui cervos inclusos custodit, in campis silvestrioribus vi rapuit (nefandum scelus), tenentibus eam ad ejus jussu tribus aut quatuor ex servis suis impiissimis. Pro hoc flagitio nihilominus a rege condonatus erat, posteaquam a rusticis traditus fuerat vinculis propter hoc facinus, et homicidium præterea in resistendis illis, cum vellent illum primum cepisse. Deus, qui justus est, apud nos non semper connivet ad scelera, sicuti nec ullibi.

Citra periculum rerum mearum aliquid de Christiana religione inscribere non potes: præterea, si id liceret, non sum dignus tali gloria. Idcirco habeo tuæ benevolentiae multas gratias propter tuum animum in me tam bene affectum; atque precor te, ut hunc honorem alii cuipiam, qui eo dignus sit, deferas. Caseum tuum ante sigillatas has literas accepi, teque tam multam mea causa insumpsisse pecuniam doleo; præcipue autem quod de febris laboras. Sed justa judicia sunt omnia opera Domini, qui quos diligit suos corrigit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. Obsecro te, ut octo illas ulnas panni, quas habes, dono a me accipias, nec pecunias mittas: velim namque ex animo, ut apud te eas retineas, ac panno illo utaris, si lubet, in signum, qualecunque sit, quod in Domino tuam pietatem amo et vere colo. Cum iterum perlegissem has barbaras literas, tanto pudore correptus eram, ut easdem frangere fere decrevi ac omnino nihil scripsisse ad te: id quod certe fecissem, nisi tantum me provocasses ad scribendum de statu nostrum omnium.

Jam vale in Christo, mi domine colendissime: posthac enim non habeo in animo tibi rescribere, nisi fortassis per manuensem aliquem, cum me urget necessitas. Salvum te et uxorem tuam piissimam vult mea uxor. Conjugem tuam meo etiam nomine salutare ne dedignaberis. Iterum vale in Deo, qui est nostra portio in terra viventium, atque spes nostra in futurum. Amen. Argentinae, 10 Maii, 1542.

Tuus nosti quem,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
amico in Domino mihi colendissimo,  
dentur literæ. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CIX.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LIBROS tuos, præceptor colendissime, una cum literis accepi; et pro illis animo meo majores habeo tibi gratias, quam calamo exprimere possim. Atqui si scissem te mihi dono libros illos daturum, ejusmodi certe Francofordiæ mihi comparassem, et omnino ne verbum quidem de illis fecissem tibi. Cur etenim post tam magnas mea causa isthæc impensas factas essem tuæ humanitati præterea oneri? Utinam te citius, mi domine, consulissem de legendis auctoribus evolvendisque historiis. Primum enim legi Bernar. Justinianum de Venetorum rebus gestis, historiam Tripartitam, et Ecclesiasticam Eusebii, ejus Præparationes Evangelicas, atque quales sint Demonstrationes. Non ita pœniteret me hæc legisse, nisi quod jam video ex tuis literis, ut tempus quod in illis volvendis insumpsi magis utiliter potuissem conterisse.

Eusebii Demonstrationes tædio affecerunt me aliquo, quia passim tam insulse (ut ita dicam) sacræ scripturæ exponuntur, maxime in negotio Verbi et contra Judæos. Videtur porro de libero arbitrio, conjugio sacerdotum, quintoque Matthæi capite ubique male sentire. Inveni tamen quæ in eo libro mihi optime arridebant; puta de novo testamento, Lib. I. cap. 5, 6, atque de septuaginta Danielis hebdomadibus, Lib. VIII. cap. 2, ejus sententiæ. Hos libros priusquam Tigurum veni percurrebam atque Tertullianum: quem reperi qualem eum mihi commendasti. Non mihi tam propter styli difficultatem ingratus erat, quam propter ejus pietatem eximiam, simplicitatem, rectumque in negotio Eucharistiæ, sicut in multis aliis articulis, judicium maxime gratus atque utilis. Ex illo multa collegi (sicut de historiis ecclesiasticis), quibus possim conterraneis meis pluribus obturare os, semper loquentibus, Omnia munda mundis: spiritus est Deus: a nobis requirit solummodo cor nostrum atque animum scientia bene imbutum,—et similes Epicureas voces.

In istum auctorem fortuito incidi hic in foro venalem, eaque occasione (non sine Dei, ut opinor, providentia) eum emi ac perlegi. Quia autem ille, mihi vix antea ex nomine notus, tantum fructum attulit, primam ansam præbuit quæstiones illas meas tibi cum adessem effundendi. Nec tamen (Deo gratias) ignoro hujus passim prorsus rejiciendam esse sententiam; id quod a multis notatum est ac tu melius nosti: alicubi autem cum judicio legendam, etiam in libello de Præscriptione hæreticorum, ut cum ait non disputandum cum hæreticis, nec permittantur habere nec conferre cum catholicis sacram scripturam: item, quid apostoli prædicaverint non aliter probari debere, quam per easdem ecclesias, quas ipsi apostoli condiderunt, etc. Quamvis ipse loquatur de vere hæreticis atque de suæ

ætatis ecclesia, quæ (ut ille ait) idem fuit quod scriptura sancta, quæ de proprio nihil intulit, ut aliquid contrarium ei et in scripturis deprehensum retractione, adjectione, vel transmutatione remediarent.

Postquam demum a vobis redii, Cyprianum primum, tum Lactantium perlegi, quorum lectionis omnino non me pœnitet. Hunc propugnatores habeo contra adversarios causæ ejusdam meæ, imo Dei, ut ego arbitror: illum autem, ut tu præindicasti, non sine magno fructu pietatis cognovi.

A morte Annæ reginæ apud nos decollatæ usque ad meum discessum graviter detrahebant famæ meæ Londini aliquot ex meis vicinis, quia recusabam nummulum unum (in honorem Dei, ut dici solet) pro consuetudine parochiæ annuatim dare, propter magnas cereas ante crucifixum et sepulchrum in templo affigendas. Primum per parentes et amicos (quorum consilia in hoc negotio apud me valere plurimum illis videbantur) benigne mecum agebant, citabantque consuetudinem annorum nescio quot quingenta, cum centum tantummodo annorum consuetudo apud illos virtutem legis habebat. Respondebam me nescire consuetudinem contra Christum, qui dicit, Deum spiritum esse, etc., Jo. 4. Objiciebant statim, edocti a parocho: Ergo Deum ullis rebus externis coli negas? Non: Christus enim, qui non consuetudo sed veritas est, ait: "Sic luceat lux vestra," etc. Atque idcirco arbitror eum, Jo. 4, addidisse, "Et in veritate." Quam clausulam sic illis explanavi. In veritate, id est, vere et secundum verbum Dei; innocentia scilicet, pietate, misericordia, et vitæ sanctimonia, sine qua nemo videbit Deum. Externis autem, mere ab hominibus ad cultum inventis aut excogitatis, omnino non coli divinam majestatem (Matth. 15), quæ nullius indiget, nec illis frivolis et corruptibilibus delectatur. Tum post aliquot menses (prout spem ullam rerum vicissitudinis habebant) cum minis redeunt sæpius, atque diocesis nostræ episcopo, ut resipiscerem, me accusare minati sunt: id quod, quia pertinax eram, fecerunt. Jussit autem eos episcopus ut paululum quiescerent (sic dictum erat mihi saltem), ac tandem pro illorum animo omnia succederent. Expectabat enim diem bonum brevi futurum, sed non supervixit ut videret; vexatus namque nimium a D. Cromwello et aliis circa suspiciones frivolas, quod non faveret regiis conatibus in abolenda pontificis primatu et demolitione monasteriorum, misere obiit, dolore fere consumptus, ut videbatur. Sed redeo ad institutum.

Anno secundo ante meum discessum ex Anglia, publice mittuntur edicta regis ad episcopos et ex laicis parochiarum omnium præsides, ut propter superstitionem vulgi non permitterent ullas cereas in templis coram imaginibus accendi vel affigi, nisi solummodo ante crucifixum atque in festo Paschatis coram sepulchro Christi. Accersunt me statim præsides parochiarum, atque in templo interrogabant me, utrum adhuc pertinaciter manerem in proposito contra injunctiones majestatis regię. Respondi eas literas non me spectare, de quibus jam ante victoriam triumphare mihi

sunt visi: ego namque, inquit, non sum episcopus nec parochiæ præses; nec si essem tali munere præditus, mihi mandant illa edicta, ut vestra sustentarem lumina, sed ne ea e templo expellerem, quod ego non conor. Porro ex istis literis, inquit, a rege profectis magnam concipio spem, post modicum temporis non futurum vobis etiam liberum istas vestras cereas ne coram crucifixo quidem vel sepulchro amplius accendere. Qui etenim ex aliis superstitiosis luminibus, is idem finis ex illa traditione est exspectanda, cum omnibus manifestum sit eandem plantationem esse a terreno pontifice plantatam atque a Patre cœlesti eradicandam, sicut et illa quæ jam nunc ad mandatum regium exstirpatur. Tum dimiserunt me loquentes, Dicis te non conari sacra lumina e nostro templo extrudere, cum tamen malo tuo exemplo omnes (maxime juvenes tui similes et pueros leves) post te trahere, si auderent, moliaris; negans facere quod tui atque uxoris parentes, homines graves et sapientes, cunctique honesti vicini facere non dedignantur. Id quod certe verum est: nam mater mea (ut jam audio) pro me nummulum illum solvit per annum aut biennium, ut placaret canum rabiem, atque ne ego (quod metuebat) in gravius periculum incidere.

Post hæc de hac re nihil auidi, præterquam quod postero die quam discessi a Londino huc versus vel saltem Antverpiam, regis vicarius in rebus ecclesiasticis Wintoniensis, tum primum constitutus, cui fortassis ex fama notus fui (extendit enim se diocesis sua usque ad medium pontis Londoniensis), palam examinaturus aliquot ex meis vicinis, ante meum secessum captis, de me aliquid ex illis expiscari conatus est. Et uni eorum coram omnibus in palatio adstantibus dixit: Atque tu, vir insipiens, in quem finem tot homines admisisti in domum tuam quotidie, cum sis artifex tam pauper et inops? Respondebat interrogatus, Nulla erat ad ædes meas talis frequentia hominum, maxime suspectorum. Quid, inquit episcopus, coram claudicantem claudicas (vel aliquod simile proverbium habebat): non fuit apud te quotidie Rich. Hilles, docens te et tui similes? Negabat accusatus omnino: et gravissimi inimici mei, qui et divites fuerunt, noluerunt publice prodire libenter, secundum regni nova statuta, ac coram omnibus haberi pro vicinorum suorum delatoribus. Episcopus etiam, fortassis nesciens me absentem fuisse, palam hæc de me percontatus, et loquutus est ut fugerem, ac ita ne amplius rabidas oves suas veneno potarem. Nunc habes, mi domine observandissime, quid volui cum dicerem, Lactantium causæ meæ defensorem habere me gavisum esse, aut saltem non me poenitere, quod perlegeram cum.

Mirabar tamen, quid sibi voluit de iniquatione dæmonum disserere, et de eorum cum mulieribus congressu, lib. II. cap. 15; de virtute eleemosynarum, lib. VI. cap. 13, 25; de affectu iræ, quam etiam Deo ipso attribuit, libro eodem, cap. 15, 18, 23; de non utendis floribus nec unguentis, cap. 32, quæ nominat illecebras voluptatum et arma inimici hominis: item de

operibus bonis cum malis conferendis et ponderandis; de vita justorum super terram a die iudicii cum regnante Christo per annos mille, qui per eos annos universas gentes dabit in servitutem electorum, lib. VII., qui tamen postea etiam ipsi paulisper latebant iterum sub terra propter metum resoluti dæmonum principis, qui eos obsidet, et gentium multitudinis, quæ adversus eos rebellabit: et cetera similia in epitome sua.

Cyprianus quoque in multis locis nimium severus esse videtur, præcipue libro IV. epistola 2, ubi de sero pœnitentibus agit. De purgatione peccatorum per elemosynam mira etiam effutit, et de examinatione bonorum per ignem ibidem. Dubitari præterea potest (meo saltem iudicio) an possint ita conciliari ejus passim loci de satisfactione, ut videretur de Christi justitia pie et pure sentire, præsertim lib. I. ep. 7; lib. III. ep. 14; de meritis martyrum atque justorum, Ser. 5; præterea, quæ in epistola ad Quirinum scribit, de libero arbitrio; de eodem et de primatu Petri, ep. 3, lib. I.; de intellectu hujus vocabuli (aqua), quod ubique apud eum significat in sacra scriptura baptismum; de mixtione sacri calicis cum aqua, quam Christum in cœna instituisse affirmat, lib. II. ep. 3.

Decrevi apud me Origenem propter ejus vetustatem (cum proxime vacavero) perlegisse; sed jam mutavi sententiam, quia de eo in tuis ad me literis nullam fecisti mentionem. Atqui in ejus locum mihi assumam aliquod opus Augustini, vel forte in prophetas Hieronymum, nisi quod contra tuum iudicium: audiveram semel D. Capitonem in Esaiæ perlectione graviter eum notantem atque dicentem, Hieronymum præterquam rhetorem omnino nullum fuisse; quod prius non credideram: ceterum suas rationes habere videbatur, cur merito ita argueret illum.

Si iterum aliquando ad me scribere dignaberis, consule mihi, quæso, qui sit modus commodissimus retinendi ea in memoria, quæ semel legi. Adhuc soleo capita plurium locorum communium sententiarumque in unum colligere librum: hoc autem est mihi molestum, quia lentissime scribo. Porro libellos tuos cupio, domine, de auctoritate scripturæ, de officio episcoporum, et de origine erroris; eosque, si tibi melius videbitur, simul compactos<sup>1</sup>. Oro te, ut simul cum istis libris mihi etiam biblia D. Leo. Judæ mittas, si absolvatur adhuc, vel postea quamprimum nactus fueris occasionem idoneam. Sed primum pone pretium, et illud ab H. Faleknero accipias: alias prorsus non recipiam eos ab aliquo. Te demum quam maxime oro, ut eundem H. Faleknerum et Petrum Hürtzelum meo nomine salutes, ac illis referas, sic se habere statum inferioris Germaniæ, ut vix credam venturos aliquos pannos Anglicos ad Francofordiam proximis nundinis propter bella inter Cæsarem et ducem Geldriæ. Idcirco eorum ambo precor, ut pecuniam quam mihi debent (quamvis modica sit) mihi vel uxori meæ (si forte tum abessem) hic Argentorati solvant, vel solvi curabunt per aliquem civem Tigurinum. Nunc enim illis maxime in quadagesima

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *compactos.*]

egeam, quia nec pannos neque nummos hic habeo. Omnem etenim pecuniam, quam corradere undique ex meis potui, in Angliam misi ad amicos, qui omnem eam pecuniam in pannos impenderunt, et eosdem Antverpiæ transportarunt, ubi adhuc sunt: neque audent amici eos in superiorem Germaniam transferre propter sæva bella, quæ Deus Optimus Maximus cito pacare dignetur propter Christum Dominum et spem nostram. Amen.

Salutat te uxor mea quam accuratissime atque uxorem tuam piissimam, cui etiam multas ago gratias propter sua magna in nos collata officia, quum isthic apud te vivimus. Scripsit tua aut D. Megandri conjux ad meam uxorem pro re aliqua; atque profecto nescimus quid deberet esse. Ideo peto, ut certiores nos faciant quid velint, et erga proximas nundinas curabitur diligenter. Ego intellexeram quod voluerunt hic emi lineum (Gallers Swelche) nigrum, nisi quod viliori pretio apud vos (ut omnes ferunt) habetur multo. D. Megandro, D. Theodoro Bibliandro, et D. Pellicano me quam humiliter commendo, et uxores eorum nostro nomine salutare ne dedigneris. D. Erasmo etiam et conjugii suæ quam officiosissime commendatum me habe. Et si in qua re tibi, mi domine carissime, vicissim obsequi possim, imperes; habebis me paratissimum. Scribere amplius autem tuæ humanitati (ut norit) non statui, et causam nosti: at jam propter tua munera egregia coactus sum, ideoque quæ barbare et inepte effutio, boni consulas oro. Obsecro autem te propter Dominum, ut, quantum in te sit, apud senatum vestrum Jo. Burcheri fratris et conterranei nostri promoveas causam, de qua jam nuper scripsit a Basilea ad tuam pietatem Butlerus frater meus et vobis, quod scio, dilectus ac carus.

Post nundinas Francofordianas nova ex Anglia non accepi. Tunc autem (ut Petrum Hürtzelium tibi referre precatus sum) scripserunt mihi amici, ut inter Scotos et nostrates subito ortum erat bellum, quod in confinibus Angliæ borealibus et Scotiæ meridionalibus inceptum iri ferebatur; an a nostratibus vel Scotis, non certo scitur: alterutrum ita excusant et accusant. Porro hoc certum est, quod propter quandam Scotorum incurSIONem, in qua aliquot ex nostris interfecti fuerant, rex noster Scoto bellum brevi indicere minabatur. Scotus non libenter hoc audivit, sed legatos pro continuanda pace misit in Angliam. Rex sub his conditionibus (ut fertur a nostris) pacem annuebat: si rex Scotiæ (ut olim factum est ab aliquot sui prædecessoribus) in singulis nostris parlamentis regi et successoribus honorem deferret, velut ad superiorem suum et potentatui sublimiori: si promitteret se Romanum pontificem cum suis monachis, quamprimum poterat, deponere, et nostram in ceteris superstitionem (quam probe nosti) in regionem suam admittere: deinde si regi nostro satisfieri curaret pro damnis in aquilonari regionis parte acceptis, atque pro magnis illis sumptibus quos tunc fecit parando per terram militem et per mare navium classem. Dum hæc enim in Augusto et Septembri tractabantur inter istos monarchas, apparantur ab utroque ad bellum omnia necessaria. Breviter renuit Scotus

fere omnes istas conditiones præter summam quandam pecuniæ, quam regi Angliæ concessit pro pace renovanda et propter impensas factas. Tunc rex, in curribus et equis (ut vereor) multitudineque hominum confidens magis quam in Dei nomine, misit in Scotiam virorum ultra centum et viginti millia; quæ (ut jam ex Anglia ultimo Novembris per literas accepi) iterum ex Scotia reversa est: sed causa cur rediit ita inter optimates tunc clam detenta fuit, ut vulgo apud nos non erat nota. Interim hic fertur ab his, qui in Gallia mercaturam exercent, quod nostri in Scotia stragem 14000 hominum acceperunt. At quam vere dicunt adhuc incertus sum, quamvis aliquid tale contigisse ex conjectura suspicor. Scio te omnia hæc fere a Joanne nostro Burchero antea audivisse: de his enim, prout accidebant, illum certiores feci. Attamen ne putares me tuum desiderium oblivioni vel negligentia tradidisse, de iisdem rescribere tibi (qui de me in multis optime sis meritus) operæ pretium duxi.

Nuper Deus ademit mihi per mei duos vel tres debitores, qui (ut ex Anglia audio) defecerunt, et per aliam occasionem, circa 200 florenos, tanto citius fortassis, quia non isthic adsum rebus meis ipsemet prospicere: sed hoc sit lapidi dictum. Præterea jam infra mensem pollicitus sum dare annuatim (si Deus non omnia adimat mihi) certam pecuniæ summam peregrinis aliquot, qui nuper hic, expulsi e patria propter Christum, venerunt: ita ut nunc non possim tantum tibi pro pauperibus exulibus exponere, quantum ex animo libenter fecissem, si hoc a me cupiisses. Nihilominus ne desinas, oro, me commonefacere officii mei, et invenies me pro posse paratum. Scio enim te non petiturum, ut ex necessitate sed ex abundantia pauperibus erogarem. Atque ego novi quid Paulus a divitibus cupit I Timoth. 6, et quid Christus ubique. Caro tamen, divinarum et cœlestium obliviosa, ac terrestrium cupida et tenax, non poterit nimis officii sui commoneferi. Mihi ergo (quia hoc ipsum et aliis utile sit) scribe quicquid vis libere. Spero autem me exhortationem et commonitionem prout decet ferre. Vale in Christo Jesu, viveque Deo feliciter: atque Ricardum tuum, ut soles, dilige. Argentina, 18 die Decembris, 1542.

Tuus,

R. HILLES, *Anglus.*

*Inscriptio deest.*

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## EPISTOLA CX.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

DEO laus! Quam possim humiliter me tuæ pietati commendo, mi domine colende. Literas tuas per Falcknerum nuper accepi, quibus te excusas, quod non tanta potueras tum temporis respondere prolixitate, quanta, ut ais, for-

tassis expectabam. At ego vicissim respondeo, me omnino tam prolixum, sed mihi vere utile et gratissimum responsum, non cupiisse, ne tibi fuisset nimis molestus, ut fui dubio procul. Propter Joannem Bourcherum ex animo habeo tibi gratias, præsertim quod tanto citius, ut loqueris, ob meum patrocinium illum juvisti. De rege Scotorum D. Joanni Butlero paulo post natalem Domini scripsi, eum certe mortuum esse, atque Antverpiæ fuisse inter aliquos famam eundem ex vulnere interiisse: id quod in meis literis non erat notatum, certissimum tamen et ab ipsis Scotis confessum, regem eorum post suos ab Anglis captos nobiles aliquot statim obiisse. Ex eo tempore nihil certe ex Anglia accepi, præterquam quod rex noster absque mora in Scotiam illos nobiles remisisset, ut pro se apud Scotos orarent, et regnum illi reddi aut offerri a Scotis suis viribus omnibus conarentur. Sed, ut jam ab Anglo nobili hic audiui, nihil fere a Scotis impetrati sunt, sed ad regem redire suo conatu plane deceptum. Alii tamen nostrates Antverpiæ jactarunt, proceres Scotiæ ad istorum nobilium preces aut industriam in Angliam Scotorum cardinalem misisse. Iste autem Anglus hic mihi retulit contrarium fere: videlicet, Scotos novum regem sibi constituisse ex suis, Gallorum regem in opem implorasse, et nostrum totis viribus in animo habere adhuc depellere. Non audio regem Angliæ Cæsari confœderatum esse, neque amicitiam Gallo renunciasse; quamvis eum hoc propter Scotos, si illis succurrat, brevi facturum esse verisimile sit. Nihilominus mihi his nundinis ex Anglia scriptum est, Scotos, qui naves aliquot a nostratibus eripuerunt, a proceribus Scotiæ prohibitos esse, ne bona quibus onerata fuerunt divenderent, priusquam scirent in illa etiam re quid placitum sit nostri regis. Poterit tamen in ea re latere aliquid doli, ne scilicet rex Angliæ se muniat fortius, atque in bellum paret citius.

Bene vale, et me uxori tuæ carissimæ omnibusque tam piissimis quam doctissimis viris, mihi per tuam operam isthic notis, commendatum quam diligentissime habeto. Deus te tuique similes diutissime conservet, et orate pro me. Amen. Jam Nurembergam (post mensem, Deo volente, rediturus) profecturus sum ad vendendos pannos meos, quos propter Juliacensem duccem non sunt ausi huc his nundinis mittere amici mei, qui Antverpiæ res meas curant; atque ideo miserunt eos Nurembergam ad nundinas jam appropinquantes. Iterum vale et vive feliciter. Amen. Francofordiæ, 24 die Martii, 1543.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Henrico Bullingero, theologo  
pientissimo, amico meo imprimis  
caro et colendo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CXI.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM in Domino, mi colendissime præceptor et frater in Christo spe nostra! Mitto hic tuæ pietati coronatos decem Italicos, quos cupio ad occasionem et tuum placitum pauperibus (in Christo divitibus) erogari exulibus, quam maxime, si qui sunt, qui apud vos indigeant. Uxor mea jam brevi, post tres hebdomadas scilicet, exspectat tempus pariendi prolem, ac te tuamque uxorem vehementer orat, ut vestris precibus eam commendetis Domino, cujus virtus in infirmitate perficitur. Præteritis nostris nundinis dedi tuos 4 florenos propter libellos Henrico Falcknero, cui precor me commendatum habeas: dicasque illi precor, quod quamvis mihi sanctissime promiserit se omnem pecuniam (summa erat fere centum et viginti quatuor coronati), quam mihi his Francofordiensibus nundinis debuerat, coronatis aureis solvi curaturum; me tamen ultra quatuor a domino Christophoro non accepisse, sed alia pecunia, ut solet, quam honestissime mihi solvebat. At ita se res habuit: Henricus Falcknerus primum mecum pepigit 175 florenos nostris Argentinensibus nundinis dare. Deinde orabat me, ut in Francofordienses istas differem solutionem, quum omnem summam coronatis aureis solveret, ut ex ejus schedula propria, illius manu scripta, apparet. Hoc illi concessi, ea tamen conditione, ut promissum servaret, ut decet mercatorem: dixit enim se cum illis 175 florenis lucrum posse facere emendo arraas et merces hujusmodi. Ego tamen hoc incommodum ex hoc accipio, quod ante hunc diem (si coronatos illos ex Argentinensibus nundinis misissem cum mea alia tum temporis pecunia) panni novi cum illis pecuniis fuissent empti in Anglia: præterea, cum in hac urbe Argentina inter amicos cum illis 175 florenis, quam parata pecunia mihi debuisset Falcknerus dedisse, cito mihi comparassem coronatos aureos pro 23 batziis, cogebar Francofordiæ Judæo 23 batzios et  $\frac{1}{4}$  dare. Sic duos florenos, præter usum pecuniæ, perdi. Sed spero eum alia vice quod promiserit præstiturum. Non est mihi otium plura scribendi, præterquam quod rex noster ante menses 2, ut Joanni Bourchero scripsi, combussit uno die tres pios homines. In mense enim Julii duxit viduam nomine Latemeri cujusdam nobilis; et hujusmodi sceleribus solet celebres facere nuptias suas semper. Vale in Christo. Argenterati, 26 Septembris, 1543.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

P. S. Oro te, ut, una cum literis his hominibus Germanis inscriptis, reddas alios 10 coronatos Gallicos et meas alias literas Joanni Bourchero.

*Inscriptio deest.*

## EPISTOLA CXII.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM et pacem a Christo nostra spe! Scias, domine observande, quod, uti in tuis literis, 13 Octob. datis, mihi significasti, Henr. Falcknerus ad me scripsit brevi postea de pretio pannorum meorum conquerens. Ad easdem Falckneri literas jam responsum hisce inclusum mitto ad te, precorque, ut per tuum maximum otium id legendo ei interpretari dignaberis. In hoc namque mihi gratificabis multum. Namque, ut nosti, nescio Latine satis scribere, multo autem ineptius Germanice; phrasin enim linguæ vestræ nescio adhuc assequi. Sed ad institutum meum veniendum est.

Si dominus Falcknerus (postquam ei meam mentem ex meis literis exposueris, sive exponi per alium dignatus fueris) pannos meos iterum tibi reddat, oro te, mi domine, ut recipias atque conserves eos in ædibus tuis usque in adventum Joannis Bourcheri, cui ego scribam meam mentem quantum ad pannos illos spectat, quid debet facere cum eis. Bona enim fide non possum eos dare viliori pretio (ut nunc est ratio temporis) quam Falcknero feci. Si ego animum totum applicarem ad lucrum, plus potuissem lucrari in mille florenis super aliis mercibus collocatis (maxime hoc tempore belli) quam in duobus millibus florenis in pannos impensis. Semper autem pro oculis habeo quod dicit apostolus 1 Tim. 6. de his, qui volunt in hoc seculo esse divites. De quatuor illis florenis, quos per Falcknerum ab Argentinensibus nundinis tibi misi, nunquam fui sollicitus: sed de illis scripsi potius, ut scirem, an redditæ fuerunt tum literæ juvenis illius qui apud me est, quas simul cum pecuniis per Falcknerum amandavi. Tractabant illæ literæ de impiis aliquot statutis circa id temporis per nostrum parlamentum editis. At si receperis eas literas, bene est. Juvenis enim ille, cui nomen est Franciscus Warnerus, sæpe me interrogavit, an redditæ fuerint; respondebam me de hoc non dubitasse, quia per Falcknerum nos eas amandavimus. Uxor mea tibi tuæque conjugii ex animo omnia bona precatur, dicitque se nullum habere dubium quod ei enitenti eo citius auxiliatus est Deus propter vestras bonas preces. Secundo die hujus mensis Christi ecclesiæ peperit filium pro muliere proceræ staturæ satis magnum (ut aiunt mulierculæ), quem nominavi statim Gersom. Quotidie exspecto literas, sed nulla nova ex Anglia. Salutatur valde diligenter uxor mea præ omnibus uxorem tuam piissimam: dicit quoque quod cupit nescio quid, ut illa, cum jam habeat tam multos bellos liberos secum, orabit pro conjugio D. Megandri, ut illa quoque pariat proles. Salutes oro meo nomine doctos illos apud vos omnes, quibus Christi ecclesia tam

multum devincti sunt, reddatque illis in illo die mercedem multam Dominus noster Jesus, Princeps ille pastorum, tibi autem maxime. Amen.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo ac pientissimo theologo D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ concionatori primario, mihiq̄ue impri-  
mis observando. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA CXIII.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS DEO! Salutem et pacem a Domino! Literas tuas mense Junii datas, vir observande et in Christo carissime, per Faleknerum nostris hic nundinis accepi, habeoque tibi gratias maximas pro responsione tua ad libellum Cochleii, qua me donasti: legi enim eandem mense Augusti, et me in vera Domini nostri et Servatoris religione non modicum confirmavit: sed etiam quam plurimum me tuæ pietati devinctum arbitror, quod me dignatus fueris admonere jam secundo in tuis proximis per D. Froshoverum literis, ut ita mundo utar, ne quid amittam cœlestium; ut Dominum Deum ante omnia et super omnia diligam, et ne rebus perituris, negotiationi et pecuniæ, nimium immergar. Nunc scio quod caritas Christi in te maneat, quia præceptum ejus servas, ut decet bonum pastorem. "Si frater tuus," inquit Dominus, "in te peccaverit," etc. Ne dubites, præceptor dilecte, quin quo magis mei officii admoneas negligentiaeve reprehendas, tanto pluris tui faciam et ex animo diligam. Fateor me variis forteque nimis negotiationibus occupatum esse; domo tamen præterquam nundinis Francofordiensibus raro absom: indeque est, quod rarius incumbo lectioni sacræ quam cupio, quia famulum neminem habeo: omnia mea negotia fere solus facio, maxime hic Argentinæ; semper etiam fere occupatus sum literis et rationibus describendis, et hujusmodi rebus. Proxima tamen hyeme, divina gratia, totam bibliam sacram, quam mihi dedisti, præter novum testamentum, perlegi quanto potui studio. Ex hac sancta lectione, si nihil pluris, hunc autem fructum cepi, quod cum prophetæ secundum hanc vestram versionem deceptorem aut impostorem denominare vulerunt, mercatorem eum vocabant. Hinc disco, sicuti tu etiam dicis, quod periculosa res est et lubrica mercatura, in qua vocatione quam citissime labi possim: utinam non sæpissime lapsus essem! Porro ex illa lectione pœnitentiam didici. Tu, domine, juva me tuis orationibus sicut et illis piissimis et cre-

bris tuis tempestivis admonitionibus; quibus revera (uti scribis) pro amici et fratris officio facis, proque salute mea invigilas: pro hoc reddet tibi Deus mercedem in die illo! Amen.

Quod superest, libellum tuum, quem mihi proxime per dominum Froshoverum misisti, ab uxore hic post reditum meum accepi, et quam cito mihi vacabit, Deo volente, perlegam. Multas enim laudes a nostratibus, qui evangelio favent, habet: Michael enim noster (de Milone Coverdalo loquor) statim post meum ex Anglia adventum in has partes eum libellum Anglicum fecit; ego tamen magis delector lectione Latina. Pro eo libello habeo tibi etiam magnas gratias: sed doleo te mihi semper dona mittere, cum hic nihil boni habeam, quod tuæ caritati remittam. Uxor quoque mea habet tuæ gratias (sicuti non dubito a Falcknero audisti) pro vetere illo numismate, concordiae typo. Nova ex Anglia, si quæ sunt, multo melius referet tibi Joannes noster, harum literarum lator, quam ego ea meo hoc barbarissimo stylo et incongruo, ut vereor, describere tibi potero. Idem in hisce meis inclusis duodecim coronatos Italicos pro pauperibus exulibus afferet una secum. Eisdem distribuas precor adventante anno, prout occasionem habueris; et pro me ores Dominum, ut hanc oblationem parvam benigne respiciat, utque nobis omnibus misereatur. Amen. Dominum Theodorum, D. Pellicanum, D. Megandrum, ceterosque vestros tum pios tum doctissimos viros meo nomine salutare non dedignaberis. Salutem te mea uxor una cum conjuge tua piissima, cui etiam meo nomine salutem dicas oro. Et Dominus Jesus spes nostra det tibi, ut ministerium tuum implere pergas usque in finem; ut inde cum apparuerit ille, pastorum Princeps, deportes immarcescibilem gloriæ coronam. Amen. Argentinæ, 26 die Septembris, 1544.

Tuus in Domino,

R. HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo ac pientissimo theologo domino  
Henrico Bullingero, Figurinæ eccle-  
siæ concionatori primario, mihique  
imprimis observando. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA CXIV.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! Salutem in Domino et Servatore nostro Jesu Christo! Tametsi de tuo in quæcumque membra Christi amore nunquam dubitaverim, et in me singularem et sepe sum expertus benevolentiam, nihilominus non cessas tu tuis muneribus eam quotidie testatiorem facere. Quæ profecto

eatenus mihi semper gratissima sunt, quatenus signa sunt illius in me amoris, a quo me diligere summopere optavi; hactenus vero injucunda, quod voluissem te hac in parte sumptibus pepercisse potius, præsertim cum modum referendi quem habeo non sciam, et ut scirem, tamen hoc facere non patitur tua humanitas. Verum de his alias: nunc ad præcipuum hujus epistolæ caput accedendum videtur.

Significatum est enim mihi nuper ex literis Joannis Burcheri conterranei mei, vehementer expetere se jus civitatis vestræ, a quo tamen secundum laudatam vestræ urbis consuetudinem et plebiscitum tantisper prohibetur, quoad testimonium aliquod a viris fide dignis editum proferat, quod illum nec vago concubitu genitum nec ob scelus aliquod contra rempublicam commissum e terra sua aufugisse commonstret; quin idcirco potius, quod in doctrinam sinceram et Christianam consensisset, eandemque aliquot ex fratribus libere sit professus. Jam vero quoniam testimoniales hujuscemodi literas ab Anglia usque impetrare nimis magno constaret, et alioqui Joannes Burcherus a magistratu Tigurino (qua præditi sunt humanitate) quorumcunque spectatæ fidei et probitatis hominum, qui in his regionibus versentur, testimonia de se benigne admittenda confidat; petiit is a me, ut testimonia illi conquererem saltem duorum satis spectatæ fidei ac pietatis Anglorum. Horum alter vocatur Gulielmus Swerder nobilis, in quo cum studio eruditionis pietas et modestia vitæ conjunctæ sunt. Alterum tibi ipsi ex meo elogio et ipsius item antehac missis ad te literis nonnihil cognitum esse puto. Is vocatur Milo Coverdalus, vir sane qui carus est, et honesto loco habetur apud cunctos verbi ministros, ceterosque viros doctos hujus regionis, ludoque literario præfectus est in Tabernis montanis, quod oppidum non procul ab Wissenburgo distat, ubi subsecivis horis propter latiore propagationem regni Christi varia, partim tua, partim aliorum eruditorum hominum, religiosa scripta in nostram linguam transferendo illis, qui ex plebe veritatis studiosi sunt atque aliquò obediendi Dei voluntati zelo atque studio accensi, summopere prodest inque salute eorum promovet: unus ex eorum numero qui, Mosen imitati, magis optant exilium et alia adversa pati cum populo Dei, quam læsa conscientia in natali Ægypto mercede impietatis gaudere. Sed ut tandem hanc rem paucis absolvam atque in arctum contraham, quando (inquam) iste Joannes Burcherus non ita pridem ad me scripserit, nec id solum, sed et alter Anglus bonæ fidei confirmaverit, supra nominatos Gulielmum et Milonem minime ambiguos testes esse posse, si velint, quod propter veram religionem tantummodo nullumque aliud facinus coæctus fuerit Joannes rejicere opimam suam fortunam, quam prius in Anglia habebat quam in Helvetiam veniret, ut ibidem (quod nec te non omnino clam est) laboribus manuum victum sibi quæreret; accessi Gulielmum Swerderum nunc Argentorati agentem, rogans ut, quandoquidem illi probe cognitum esset, Joannem Burcherum illibatæ famæ fuisse, afflictumque evangelii nomine,

uti antea est ostensum; non dedignaretur illum de Joanne testimonium suo chirographo confirmare, quemadmodum factum ab eo cernis.

Cum vero idem Burcherus a me quoque petierit, ut in itinere, dum proficiscerer aut reverterer a Francofordia, a Milone Coverdalo quo in Tabernis montanis simile testimonium compararem (imo amplius quoddam, quia, sicut mihi relatum est ab harum literarum latore, is hunc Anglorum, qui in Germania degunt, omnium optime novit), non potui istud absque meo incommodo ullo pacto præstare. Nam etsi non infitior Tabernas montanas non procul abesse a via regia, qua ab Argentorato iter est Francofordiam, tamen quia per illam Rheni ripam minus tutum est iter, illis præsertim qui apud se pecunias habere putantur, quam per agrum Marchionis Badensis, neglexi fratris mei Milonis testimonium; idque tanto citius, quod spes sit te pro tua in afflictos Christi pietate ac benevolentia ita hoc ipsum, quod cum hac epistola mittimus, testimonium consuli senatuique prudentissimo vestræ civitatis commendaturum, ut pro idoneo sint habituri, atque Burcherum nostrum in numerum civium suorum recepturi.

Jam vero, quod ad meum testimonium attinet, fateor hominem mihi ante ejus discessum ex Anglia mansisse semper prorsus incognitum: longe quippe dissitus erat locus, ubi is natus est, ab illa in qua ego natus fui quamque incolebam civitate, nimirum 7 aut 8 milliarium Germanicorum intervallo. Increbuit illic tamen hæc fama de ipso apud eos, qui apud nos habebantur evangelici, quæ etiam ad aures meas, cum jam adhuc in Anglia habitarem, devenit, non illum alia de causa solum mutasse, quam quod orthodoxam tueri sententiam in negotio eucharistiæ deprehensus esset; ceterum alias pie perpetuo et modeste, ubicunque habitaret, se gessisse: atque sane, quemadmodum nunquam, ex quo mihi de facie notus fuit, ullum de se specimen in moribus præbuerit, cur deberem secus de eo statuere, ita profecto nec unquam me de illo quicquam a quoquam mortalium audire contigit quod huic famæ adversaretur; quamvis et in Anglia, et postquam huc ad habitandum commigravi, crebro mentio illius incidisset, tum cum locus etiam commodus se offerret vituperandi, si quid in eo fuisset admodum vituperio obnoxium. Quin et hoc insuper de ipso testari licet, vidisse me literas illius satis prolixas ad dominum Cromwellum, primum consiliarium regis, virum qui eo tempore in regno Anglico secundum ipsum regem auctoritate præditus est maxima, in quibus exposuit integram exilii sui causam, quamque inique fuerit acceptus a sanguinariis episcopis ac ecclesiastico ordine: ex quo certe scripto nec mihi nec alteri cuiquam aliqua suspicio diversa suboriri poterat, quam hunc ob evangelium solum persecutionem sustinuisse, non autem ob aliud aut maleficium aut male sani dogmatis propugnationem; siquidem (quod adhuc probe memoria teneo) præcipuus atque adeo unicus orationis scopus eo tendebat, ut quandoquidem inique multis modis tractatus esset, sic

quod parum abfuerit, quin sententiam mortis in eum impii episcopi tulissent, dignaretur pro sua apud regem auctoritate illi impetrare, ut sine veritatis abnegatione (illud enim perpetuo negabat se facturum) fieret sibi copia ab adversariorum rabie tuto Angliam rursus incolendi. Hinc ergo facile est colligere, et tum cum legerem omnem dubitationem ex animo meo sustulit, nunquam in componendo hoc scripto tantam tamque diligentem operam eum collocaturum fuisse, uti collocasse constat, dum viro in tantum dignitatis atque auctoritatis fastigium constituto, qualis erat tum temporis D. Cromwellus, totam exilii sui causam in una epistola demonstrare conabatur, si non præcipua, imo unica occasio fuisset in provinciam vestram fugiendi illa quam tum propter veritatis professionem sustinebat persecutio.

Quocirca te, carissime domine Bullingere, per Christum obtestor, propter quem proculdubio jam exulat, ut non tantum juves illum in hoc, ut fiat vester civis; quin etiam in aliis negotiis quibuscunque contingat eundem tua ope aut fideli consilio indigere, ut facilem ac benignum te illi exhibeas. Deus autem, qui, ut nosti et verissime doces, nullum pietatis officium sua mercede destituit, copiosam referet in futuro seculo gratiam. Quod si ego vicissim aliquo hujusmodi officio erga quemquam tuorum tibi gratificare potero, spero te me deprehensurum non minus paratum ac promptum, quod novit Dominus noster Jesus Christus, vita atque spes nostra, in quo incolumitatem et omnia secunda tibi precor in gloriam nominis sui, inque proximorum salutem. Amen.

Nova nescio ulla de nostra regione, nisi quæ tuæ pietati referre poterit harum literarum lator. Uxor mea tibi tuæque conjugii fidelissimæ quam officiosissime se commendatam habet: gratias etiam tibi agit pro pia illa preceatione quam nuper tuis ad me literis pro Barnaba filiolo nostro ad Deum fudisti; item pro calceamentis Helveticis Gersomo meo datis. Salutes, oro, meo nomine dominum Theodorum Bibliandrum, D. Pelli-canum, D. Gasparem Megandrum, D. Erasmum Smidt, et præcipue tuum Gualterum, ceterosque viros doctos, qui de ecclesia Dei tam bene meriti sunt. Deus Optimus Maximus vos omnes diutissime incolumes nobis servet ad nominis sui gloriam! Amen. Argentinæ, 15 die Aprilis, anno 1545.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo ac pientissimo Theologo domino  
Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ec-  
clesiæ concionatori primario, mihi quæ  
imprimis observando, dentur literæ.  
Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CXV.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! Salutem et pacem in Domino! Diu quum sit postquam ad tuam pietatem literas dedi, non meum est diutius a scribendo abstinere. Primum quidem gratias tibi ago immensas, domine, quod dignatus fueris illos libros, quos ad me proxime misisti, mittere legendos, quamvis eos non mihi dono dedisses. Sed quoniam ita tibi placuit, accipio eos grato animo, et quod reliquum adhuc in illis est, quod non adhuc legerim, Deo volente, perficiam legendo. Deus Optimus Maximus det ut cum magno fructu legere eos possim, sicuti tu illos maximo cum labore ad gloriam nominis Dei et ecclesiae aedificationem edidisti.

Ludovicus Lavaterus (nescio qui fiebat) non mansit cum D. Matthia Zolco, sed, ut mihi dixit, nunc est apud D. quemdam Marbachium, qui, ut ex tuis literis in mense Octobris datis, intelligo, is est, apud quem non erit Ludovici patri gratum ut ageret. Causam dicis, quia Lutheranismum spirat Marbachius: sed hoc non est novum apud nos, quod concionator aliquis Lutheranismum saperet, quia omnes hic fere praelectores atque praedicatores praecipue Lutheranismum spirant et respirant in alios; ita ut vel Lutherus eos in errorem suum pertraxerit, aut fascinati a mundo se simulant Lutheranos esse. Ideo si hoc spectaremus, non est opus ut Ludovicus tuus hospitium denuo mutaret, dum tale iterum (si apud aliquem doctum hic viveret) habeat. Et quantum ad me, domine, profecto vix sit mihi hic aliquis notus, qui commensales pro pecunia retinet, apud quem putarem eum melius esse quam apud dominum Mattheum Zolcum. Nam illum solum audivi a Gerardo Frisio ab aliisque laudatum, et alios non item a scholasticis commensalibus, inter quos tamen paucos novi postquam huc veni habitandum. Ego paratus sum et ei obtuli, si Ludovicus a me hoc cupiet, pecuniam tua gratia exponere, pro quarta parte anni aut dimidiato, pro mensa illius juvenis. Tamen, quia pater ejus dives est, puto nullum illi damnum esse, si prius Joanni Burchero ibi det, ut ego pro eo hic possim eandem summam dare postea. Nam certe ego non per unam fere hebdomadem unquam pecuniam apud me detineo, sed potius expono in aliquas merces statim. Sed ne precor aegre feras, domine, quod nunc tam libere tibi scribo, quia solum tuae pietati indico quo in statu nostrae res sunt, quantum ad usum pecuniae. Interim tamen nullo modo recusabo prius exponere hic pecuniam, quam apud vos recipiam per Joannem Burcherum, etsi summa triplo tantum fuerit quantum, opinor, erit. Si quae fuerint hic nova aut ex Anglia, ea rescies ex literis conterranei cujusdam mei, qui hic studet, cui nomen est D. Joannes Hoperus, quondam ex aula regis nostri, nunc autem Christi Regis regum discipuli, et ardentis zelo et piissimi, nominisque tui inter omnes

theologos studentissimi. Hic in ædibus meis ægrotabat fere ad mortem, et tum cum nostro videre spiritum statim emitteret, pientissimi Christiani pectoris verba et confessionem circa negotium eucharistiæ omniumque Christianæ fidei articulos coram multis adstantibus sæpissime prodidit. Deus Optimus Maximus ei det gratiam, ut ad finem usque perseveret, quo salvus fiat. Amen.

De obitu D. Megandri dolebam primum, quum literas tuas legi; nunc tamen, quum inspicio statum istius mundi et felicitatem eorum qui in Christo moriuntur, incipio Deum pro eo laudare. Interim tamen resarciat Deus detrimentum, quod, uti scribis, patitur aut sentit ecclesia Tigurina ex discessu ipsius. Joannes Burcherus mihi scripsit nuper, quomodo tu aut tua uxor pia nobis voluisset caseum jam ad festum natalis Domini mittere. Sed gaudeo vos non ita fecisse: plura enim munera et beneficia a vobis accepimus, quam quod possimus vobis iterum rependere. Ideo parce rebus tuis, precor, domine, et nihilominus ne dubites de animo nostro erga te: diligimus enim te, ut solebamus, in Domino. Salutatur te et tuam uxorem castissimam uxor mea, ego item, et etiam viduam (si adhuc vidua sit) domini Megandri, præcipue autem dominum Pelli-canum, D. Theodorum Bibliandrum, et D. Gualterum tuum dilectum, ut dignus est. Vale in Christo Jesu, Domino et spe nostra, in quo vive diu feliciter. Amen.

Argentinae, 28 die Januarii, 1546.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

P. S. Ludovicus dicit, quod cum D. Marbachio convenit pro 30 florenis pro mensa per annum. Sed de hoc proculdubio ipse in suis literis certiorum te fecit diu antehac.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo et pientissimo Theologo domino  
Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiae  
concionatori primario, mihi que impri-  
mis observando. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA CXVI.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! Salutem et Dei pacem, quæ superat omnem intellectum! Literas tuas, præceptor et dilecte in Domino, primo hujus mensis datæ, hodie a tuo Ludovico recepi: retinuit eas enim apud se usque ad meum a

Francofordia reditum. Quod tuis 6 Februarii datis nihil adhuc responderim, non possum me non ab iugritudinis aut pigritiæ vitio plane purgare. Non enim, ut tu me excusandi causa scribis pro tua clementia solita, tales fuerint illæ tuæ prorsus, quibus fortassis respondere non fuit necesse: fateor namque quod ita repletæ erant admonitionibus sanctis et piis mihiq̄ adeo necessariis in vocatione (si ita vocari potest, ut nunc ea utitur mundus, mercatura) tam periculosa versanti, ut si nihil in illis præterea videretur responsum requirere, deberem saltem propter eas per literas diu antehac tuæ pietati sive Christianæ caritati, quibus merita sit, gratias agere. Sed O me infelicem, qui ita negotiis secularibus fere obruor, ut officium meum erga patrem et medicum spiritualem et sanctum ita obliviscar! Oro itaque te, mi domine in Deo observande, ut pro me (sicut ex omnibus tuis epistolis novissimis colligo te facere) Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum precari non dedigneris pergere, quod me divitiarum spinæ non ita pungant, quod animum a studio bonorum vel meditatione cœlestium avocent. Brevis certe est, ut ais, supra terram vita nostra, morimurque quotidie. Hæc etiam præ oculis semper, sive otiosus seu occupatus, comedens et bibens, imo quum dormiens somnio, habeo. Deus Optimus Maximus det (id quod per preces tuas dabit citius spero), ut non horum potius recordar, aut mortem quasi desiderem, potius quia vitæ hujus miseriarum et curarum, quibus in divitiis corradendis ac conservandis misere affligimur, finem ponere dicitur, quam quod cupiam cum apostolo dissolvi et esse cum Christo. Ita in me sua sæpe quærit caro, et non solum gloriam et vitam Christi. Sed de his non est nunc mihi otium fusius ad te scribere, sicut voluntas est mihi.

De statu Angliæ plura et commodius omnia a latore præsentium rescies, quam ego scribere commode possum. Interim tamen certio rem te facio, quod nostra ætate, qui nunc sunt saltem in principatus et magistratus loco, gubernacula tenent viventibus, non est verisimile quod isthic evangelium pure et serio recipiatur. In bellum enim toti intenti sunt, rex, principes et episcopi fere omnes illius regionis. Cæsaris etiam gratiam omnibus studiis servare cupiunt, protestantium simplicitatem pro inerti stultitia fere æstimant, eorum amicitiam, (a fœdere enim eorum credo certe propter liberiores veritatis confessionem quam faciunt abhorrent,) modo non cogantur religionem in præcipuis admittere, ambiunt, non quia illos puto diligunt, sed ut nunc in eorum bellis et odio, quibus a Gallo afficiuntur, illos participes habeant. Deus autem, qui omnia novit, scit an fallar in hoc, ac utinam falsus sim. Præterea Wintoniensis nuperrime libellum de novo quidem, et satis mordacem et contumeliis plenum, contra Bucerum edidit, quo illum ex omni parte contemnit, doctrinam illius insultat, vestram autem pro omnium impiissima habet. Qualis autem sit ille liber, qui has ad te defert literas, pluribus tibi referre potest: ipse enim perlegit eum in ædibus meis.

Alia, quam mihi scribis de impuris illis avibus, Tridenti nunc congregatis, nunquam speranda sunt. Deus itaque quæ tu statim ibi precatus fuisti, largiatur et det, ut qui jam sauciatus est antichristus gladio Spiritus oris Dei, cito plane conficiatur per adventum Domini nostri. Amen. Ne cesses interim oro me, ut soles, crebrius, cum vacat tibi propter necessaria tua studia, admonere et (prout conjicias me mereri) arguere ac increpare, quo sanus in fide per Dei gratiam ad finem usque permaneam, fiduciamque firmam habeam in adventu illo glorioso et tremendo.

Pro Ludovico fratre adhuc nihil exposui; paratus autem semper sum tua patrisque sui jussa hac in re obsequi. D. Hoperus tui studiosissimus nunc in Anglia est, brevi, si Deus vult, ad nos ac postea ad vos rediturus. Oremus Deum nostrum, ut feliciter eum reducat: cupit enim, et nunc hoc solum in absentia sua a nobis conatur, aliquid procurare pecuniæ, si licet, quo possit hic semper aut apud vos Domino in sanctitate et cum bona conscientia procul a Babylonis impuritate vitam degere. Uxor mea tibi et tuæ conjugii precatur omnem felicitatem, dicitque quod miserit per D. Froschoverum nescio quid frivoli propter uxorem tuam castissimam. Habemus etiam tibi ambo tantas gratias pro caseo illo de quo tu scripsisti ac si illum misisses certe. Salutes, precor, dominum Bibliandrum, D. Pellicanum, D. Gualterum, et reliquos omnes vestros in Domino mihi carissimos: doleoque, si non ita voluisset Deus, quod nunc non possum amplius ad D. Erasmus commendationibus vel recommendationibus uti: D. enim Froschoverus dixit mihi, cum fatis concessisse. Vale in Christo, spe nostra unica, viveque semper in eo felicissime. Amen.

Argentinae, ultimo die Aprilis, 1546.

Tuus,

R. HILLES.

*Inscriptio deest.*

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## EPISTOLA CXVII.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! Salutem et perseverantiam in Domino Jesu Christo, spe nostra! Ad literas tuas 28 Octobris 4que Decembris datas nunc tandem respondeo. Primum autem immensas habeo tibi gratias, mi domine observandissime, quod mihi dignatus fueris donare commentariis in Lucam, sicuti antea in alios evangelistas et apostolos. Deum Optimum Maximum precor, ut in eis assidue meditari possim, atque (ut hortaris) jugiter potissimas vitæ meæ

partes studio pietatis bonisque operibus dedicem. Ora autem Dominum pro me, obsecro, ut ita faciam, et ut Domino adhæream usque in finem.

Lavatero fratri dixi quæ jubebas vel cupiebas saltem, et non dubito quin bene tempus suum hic semper collocabit, et in discendis bonis literis diligens erit: utque hoc faciat, non deerit mea exhortatio assidua. Vereor ne, ut scribis, tempus adest, quo Dominus iniquitates nostras visitabit per bellum crudele, dabitque nos puniendos aut castigandos in manus hostium. Audio enim (spero tamen quod non ita est) quod dominus de Buires nunc Franckfordiæ missas erigere conatur in aliquibus ecclesiis; permittit interim adhuc, qui volunt evangelium audire et veritatem sequi, id libere facere.

In Anglia nuper, ut scripsit tibi Joannes Burcherus puto, est aliqua mutatio, et erit proculdubio major adhuc. Ducem enim unicum, Norfolkiciæ scilicet, habuit Anglia jam ab annis aliquot. Illum cum filio intravit in carcerem rex, quia (ut aiunt) cum rex deberet mori, primatum pontificis erigere conatus est: nuper autem audio (sed inde non recepi literas adhuc) decollati sunt illi ambo, pater et filius; successitque, ut aiunt, in locum eorum, Turrem dico Londinensem, spiritus sanctus, imo papisticus potius, ille episcopus Wintoniensis. Deus det, ut omnia hæc ad gloriam nominis sui et ad propagationem evangelicæ doctrinæ inserviant, sicuti multi nostrum putant. Potest autem fieri, postquam Deus visitaverit peccata illius regni. Regina enim moderna et dominus de Herford, principis filii regis scilicet avunculus, bene favent piæ et sanæ doctrinæ, et papistica inventa odiunt.

Salutes dominum Bibliandrum, D. Pellicanum, D. Gualterum, ceterosque mihi isthic notos, præcipue autem piissimam tuam conjugem, cui etiam mea uxor se commendatam habet. Vale, et vive semper feliciter. Argentiniæ, 26 die Januarii, 1547.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

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[Epistola CXVIII. Germanice scripta in hac editione òmittitur.]

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## EPISTOLA CXIX.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! Salutem et pacem in Domino Jesu Servatore nostro!  
Literas tuas mihi gratissimas ante 2 menses ad me datas me accepisse

scire te cupio, mi domine colendissime; habeoque tuæ pietati gratias immensas, quod me ita in memoria habeas, atque ad studium innocentiae et justitiæ literarumque sacrarum incessanti lectioni jugiter adeo hortaris. At quia in hisce tuis non video, quod ita necessarie responsum requirit, præterquam quod gratias debuissim agere pro libro Germanico, quem una cum literis accepi, etiam propter hoc, quod mihi non dedignatus fueris scribere de iis quæ cupiebat a vestris legatus ille Galliae regis, id usque nunc distuli. Atque te oro ne hoc mali consulas: vix enim habeo otium ad omnium literas absque magno meo incommodo statim respondere.

Aiunt hic pro certo esse, ducem Electorem Saxoniae a Cæsarianis captum esse: et ita conveniunt dicta eorum, qui hoc dicunt et referunt, ut valde verisimile sit, ac ab omnibus pro vero creduntur. Attamen nuper mihi (sed non credo certe vera esse ista) scriptum est a Colonia, talia quidem nova per nuntium ex Hessia et in Hessia ipsa ubique sparsa fuisse; Landgravum vero explorasse nova falsa fuisse de captu ducis, atque ideo nuntium illum, qui primum hæc retulit (dixit nuntius se præsentem tunc in prælio fuisse, cum caperetur Elector) Marpurgi male pro meritis tractasse. In eisdem autem mihi scriptum est ab Erferdia 1 Maii ad Coloniensem quendam, nomine Johan Pelmke zum Rynberch, scriptum fuisse in hæc verba:

“De novis nostris ut certiolem te faciam, carissime, scias Cæsarianos 24 die Aprilis exercitum ducis Saxoniae inexpectato, quasi festinando, aggressos fuisse, atque ex ducis peditibus 2000, equitibus vero 150 occidisse, Electorisque filium gravi vulnere percussum esse, sed aufugisse tamen sine mortis periculo: item quod eo tempore ubique rumorem fuisse, ducem ipsum cæsum esse; cum autem supra humum non vulneratum inventum fuisse: id quod toto ejus exercitui magno erat gaudio. Porro 25 die Aprilis, dominum quendam, qui Herr Wylm Thomas nominatur, in copiis Cæsaris cum aliquot millibus ex Bohemia venisse, atque a Cæsarianis vi rapuisse 15 bombardas una cum curribus argento oneratas, qui a ducis Saxoniae copiis ante amissi erant; atque ex Cæsarianis 5000 homines occidisse: ita ut Cæsar ipse coactus esset retrocedere versus Eger, etc.”

At ego omnia ista pro fabulis habeo. Ex Anglia nulla nova habeo præter ea quæ ad Joannem Burcherum ante mensem fere scripsi. Bene vale, ac nos omnibus vestris piis collegis una cum uxore tua fideli commendatos habe. Argentinae, 19 die Maii, 1547.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo theologo domino Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiae concionatori primario, mihi quæ imprimis observando, dentur literæ. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CXX.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! Salutem plurimam! Tertias a te, amice et domine carissime, literas a reditu meo e patria me accepisse tandem scito, exhortationibus plane divinis ad patientiam perseverantiamque atque omnigenas virtutes plenas, præter alia multa, quæ in illis continebantur. Propter quas immortales ago gratias, ipsumque Deum Optimum Maximum precor, ut quod recte monueris, imitari concedat.

In primis literis prædictis multa quidem agis de Josia Simlero, quem e sacro fonte sustulisti: cui paratissimus sum tui gratia præstare quod petis. Verum ut posthac pecunias a me accipiat, quas isthic resolvi debeant, non in rem meam fore puto, posteaquam Joannes Burcherus noster vos reliquit, neque posthac spes habendi arçuum ulla supersit. Quindecim tamen illos florenos, quos tibi pro hoc anno missurus eram in eos quos scias usus, si a patre ejus acceperis, ego eosdem hic filio dabo, daturusque sum quando illi lubuerit. Verum tamen, si juvenis pecuniis egeat, ego hac conditione ei daturus sum, ut huc a vobis per fidum remittantur.

In secunda quidem tua epistola scire cupis, ut valeat nunc doctissimus Joannes à Lasco. Id quod de hujus hominis conditione scio, per civem quendam hujus civitatis intellexi, ad quem autumnò præterito scripsit. Tum enim adhuc Emdenæ erat in Frisia, atque valuit, verum ob præsentem Germaniæ statum tristis admodum et cum stupore admirabundus.

Nunc ad tertias tuas et postremas literas. Librum quem ad archipræsulem Cantuariensem miseris, brevi perferri curabo tuto; verum ante mensem Julium in nostris nundinis id vix fieri possit, nisi per veredarium id vellem, quod magni pretii esset; nam pro singulis semiunciis quinque cruciaries Antverpiam usque dandum est, præter vecturam inde ad archiepiscopum. Si vel hora prius allata fuisset, misissem per Antverpiensem quendam parvo, qui tum meæ domi erat.

Quod in Angliam reverti velim, certissimum est, Deo concedente, cum uxore et liberis ad autumnales Francfordienses nundinas futuras. Ob preces amicas habeo gratiam, quod Deus nostrum secundet iter. Cupis præterea scire, quomodo et per quos poteris ad nostrates scribere me absente. Joannes Burcherus, amicus noster communis, commodissime literas nostras mittet. Nam nos statuimus una merces exercere in annos duos aut tres, aut ultra etiam, si forte videbitur; atque hanc ob causam commodas sibi hic emit ædes, quas primum inhabitabit, posteaquam reversus fuerit a nundinis Francfordiensibus futuris. Res Anglorum item per D. Joannem Hoperum quam commodissime scire usque potes, quamdiu apud vos manserit: cui atque conjugi piæ salutem oro ex me dicito. Do-

minum Theodorum item, virum doctissimum, dominum Pellicanum, doctorem Gesnerum, matronam item piam Megandri olim uxorem, unaque uxorem tuam, jube salvere plurimum. Mea item uxor prænominatos omnes, sed te præcipue uxoremque tuam, salutatur ex animo.

Nova, quæ ultimo ex Anglia suscepti, sunt hæc: nempe ausos esse aliquot secundam accipere uxorem priore nondum mortua, sed repudiata, imo binas etiam una habere uxores. Quæ licentia edicto publico regis et concilii prohibita est, ut fieri debet. Cancellarius item, ut vocant, regni oratione nomine regis apud iudices totius regni habita monuit, ut serio animadverterent in similes. Sunt item papistæ, qui mendaciis fictis populum in regem et regni proceres conati sunt instimulare. Mendacia hæc sunt, nempe velle regem novo et inaudito genere tributi populum aggravare, ut scilicet si quis uxorem duceret, medium coronatum regi penderet: pro baptizando item infante et mortuo sepeliendo similiter; atque varia id genus mendacissima. In hos etiam quam vehementer invectus est, monens iudices, ut quam celeriter his occurrerent mendaciis, atque auctores errorum et scelerum punirent. Hanc orationem una cum edicto in fine Maii hic accepi, misique dudum ad amicum nostrum Joannem Butlerum, ut is perlectis utrisque mitteret ad dominum Joannem Hoperum, qui posset ea vobis Latine exponere. Sunt alioqui Anglice impressa.

Antequam has obsignavi, ex Anglia accepi episcopum Wintoniensem, doctorem Edmundum Redmanum, et alium quendam Roberson, Londinum a concilio regio advocatos, nescio adhuc quam ob causam. Bullonia pueri et mulieres omnes emissæ sunt; timor enim forte ex parte est Gallum Bulloniam oppugnaturum. Scripsit tamen hac mense ad me dominus de Cobham, regiæ majestatis Angliæ Caleto deputatus, se non plane intelligere verisimile esse Gallos cum nostratibus hoc anno velle belligerare. Præterea nostros magnam præparationem in Scotiam præ manibus habere: ibique nuper oppidum quoddam, quod vocatur Haddington, devicerunt, et distat ab Edinburgh 12 solummodo milliaria Anglicana, et idem Angli quotidie muniunt, sicut et plura alia castra in Scotia.

Te, uxorem, liberos, ipsi Servatori et Liberatori nostro unico commendo. Bene vale, viveque diu feliciter in Domino. Amen. Argentinæ, 18 die Junii, 1548.

Tuus ex animo,

RICARDUS HILLES

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## EPISTOLA CXXI.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! S. D. plurimam! Miraris (sicuti ad me scribis in proximis tuis ad me literis, 24 Martii datis) me mihi temperare posse, quominus tibi scripserim ab eo die quo reliqui Germaniam, maxime cum ad me literas dederis nunc alteras. At si sarsero (inquis) quod hactenus cessatum est, excusationem quamlibet recipis: sin secus, ne ingeniosa quidem apud te valebit, etc. Respondeo, mi domine et amice observandissime, me ideo ad te toto hoc tempore non scripsisse, quia vix habui otium, postquam huc veni, ea perficere et scribere quæ necessitas postulabat ut peragerem. Germania enim non admodum mihi conveniebat: nam aer meæ complexionis contrarius, imo inimicissimus fuit; diæta et vinum illius regionis non multo plus mecum conveniebant, maxime autem in hyeme hypocausta; ita ut nunc, postquam Angliam ingressus sum, maxime autem a mense Februario, mihi videtur meas esse exhaustas vires, virtutem pene nullam reliquam esse. Propterea delinç (nisi Deus mihi valetudinem sanam restituat, cujus non apparet indicium) pauciores adhuc ad te dabo literas (maxime quia nemini fere quam ad te soleo Latine scribere, quia mihi molestissima res est), quam hactenus per hoc biennium feci. Neque velim ut illud ægre feras, quia per dominum, Joannem Butlerum et Joannem Burcherum tam commode de statu regni Anglici, de bello Scotico, rebusque meis cognoscere potes, quam ex mei ipsius literis. Interim adhortationes tuas vere pias suspicor, et quæ ex sacris abunde in tuis profers, tam piorum exempla quam minas Domini erga impios verbi divini contemptores, observabo diligenter: Deumque Optimum Maximum assidue precibus interpellabo, ne me inducat in tentationem propter peccata mea præterita gravissima, sed me liberet ab omni malo.

Propter decades tuorum sermonum duas, quas puto dominus Joannes Hoperus mihi tuo nomine hic dabit, habeo tibi gratias permagnas. Cupio etiam vicissim tibi aliquid boni abhinc mittere; sed raro eduntur in hac regione libri theologici præter lingua nostra vulgari: cujus generis cum videro aliquem lectu dignum, ad contraneorum meorum in Germania aliquem mittam pro domino Joanne Butlero, ut is libelli summam tibi Latine poterit interpretari. D. Bartholomeo Trehernio tuo nomine salutem dixi, præterea quod tu cupiebas ut illum hortarer, Domino fidelis esse et constans in veritate ut pergat: id quod certissime facit; vir enim vere pius est, Deumque timens. Conabatur quod potuit (erat autem ex civibus parlamenti postremi unus) ne mixtura fieret in reformatione cœnæ Dominicæ: sed in ejus potestate non erat suis senibus concivibus hoc persuadere. Ideirco, ut D. Joannes Butlerus tuæ pietati ex meis literulis amplius referre potest, habemus communionem eucharistiæ uniformem per totum

regnum, more autem Nurembergensium ecclesiarumque aliquot Saxonicarum; vestros enim ritus circa sacramentorum dispensationem nolunt adhuc admittere. Neque dubito, quin dominus M. B. et alii docti viri ex Germania et Italia, qui hic sunt apud reverendissimum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, ac in academiis nostræ regionis prælegunt, docent, imo suadent et persuadent non ita opus, forsitan etiam decens non esse. Ita nostri episcopi et magistratus videntur impræsens saltem bene facere, dum propter pacem publicam conservandam et Lutheranis nullum offendiculum objiciant, istis vestris Germanis theologis doctissimis aurem præbeant, judicium suum istorum subjiciant, et ita cæremonias aliquas pontificias retineant.

De literis tuis 19 Novembris 1548 scriptis nihil possum responsi dare, quia in his cupis, ut tibi si possem significarem, quomodo tuas literas et librum tuum acceperit D. Cantuariensis. At mihi cum illo neque sui similibus proceribus, vel tanta auctoritate præditis viris, nulla est familiaritas aut conversatio, ut ego talia scirem. Ac propterea rogo, ne mali consulas quod toto hoc anno nec quicquam tibi de illa re significavi. Omnes symmystas tuos, præcipue autem uxorem tuam una cum tota familia tua, salutare meo nomine dignaberis. Uxor quoque mea tibi tuæque conjugii castissimæ salutem precatur plurimam. Dominus Jesus te servet in æternum! Amen. Londini, 4 die Junii, anno Domini 1549.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro domino Henrico Bullingero, amico mihi imprimis caro. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA CXXII.

RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! S. D. P. Literas tuas humanissimas, mi domine observande, ultima Augusti datas, nunc primum ante biduum accepi una cum sarcinula quadam epistolarum pro domino Joanne Hopero et aliis quibusdam fratribus tuis et amicis, quas statim illis tradidi, quibus fuerunt inscriptæ per te. De meis autem literis ut pauca scribam: primum magnas tuæ caritati gratias refero, quod me adhortari ad pietatis studium atque a mundi hujus nimis curis dehortari non desinis. Deberemus enim, fateor, nos mutuis istiusmodi scriptis ac sermonibus nos invicem admonere. Quod consensio sit vestrum et domini Joannis Calvinii in re sacramentaria, libenter audio; neque dubito, quin dominus Hoperus permittet eandem me perlegere brevi. Salutationes tuas ad D. Bartholomeum Trehernium et D. Bernardinum

lubentissime, quamprimum potero, perficiam, atque illos tuo nomine orabo, ut cupis, quod, quamvis nunc ad eos scribere tibi non fuit otium, ne eam illi ob rem ad te omittant scribendi officium. Uxori meæ tuo nomine multam salutem precatus sum, et illa tuam pietatem vicissim resalutat, ac bene proficere in literis sacris ad Dei gloriam ecclesiæque ædificationem quam affectuosissime optat. Illa jam a mense Augusto valde laborabat gravibus morbis, ita ut de vita ejus diu nos omnes desperavimus. Sed vivit Dominus, qui ad inferos deducit et reducit, et nunc illam respirandi tempusculum dedit, ita quod incepimus de illa spem aliquam concipere, quod brevi melius se habebit et tandem se recipiet. Pro hoc precor te atque omnes istic symmystas tuos et fratres, ut orare Dominum dignemini sedulo. Primum enim matricis suffocatione diu, deinde deliquiis animi per unam integram fere hebdomadam subinde, postremo ad hunc usque diem quaterna febris graviter laborabat.

De statu nostri regni præsentis scio quod ex literis carissimi fratris Joannis Burcheri certior sis. In summa, speramus adhuc nobiscum mansurum Christum, quamvis ante mensem multis videbatur præ se ferre se longius voluisse ire, imo ultra mare. Sed virtus Domini in infirmitate perficitur. D. Pellicanum, D. Bibliandrum, et ceteros qui me apud vos norunt, præcipue autem D. Butlerum una cum uxore illius ac tua piissima conjuge, salutabis. Et domino Butlero, si placet, istam chartam impressam hisce inclusam dabis, ut legat et tibi interpretetur. Bene vale. Dominus Jesus te diu incolumem nobis conservet. Amen. Londini, 17 die Novembris, 1549.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae  
ecclesiæ concionatori præcipuo, et  
amico mihi imprimis caro, dentur  
literæ. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA CXXIII.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! S. P. Hodierna die, mi domine carissime, literas tuas quasdam ad dominum Joannem Hoperum datas tradidi; nec dubito, quin brevi, si opus fuerit, ad easdem responsum tibi dabit. Literas illas tuas, quæ fuerunt inclusæ in Joannis Burcheri literis præsentis mense ad me datis, intelligo: plerasque enim alias tuas epistolas jamdudum subinde a Burchero accepi, atque easdem, quamprimum potui commode, illis tradi procuravi, quibus

erant inscriptæ ; similiterque semper facere, cum opus fuerit, me habebis paratissimum.

Proximo mense Maio literas tuas, 13 Martii ad me datas, accepi una cum exemplo decadis 3, de quo ibi mentionem facis : habeoque tuæ pietati permagnas gratias, quod ita mei memor esse non dedigneris. Libellum adhuc non legi : placent tamen mihi multum argumenta quæ inibi tractare polliceris ; maxime autem de negotiationibus libenter audio. Quia scio te gaudere quod Angliæ status feliciter satis habet, certiozem te facio, quod nunquam antehac talis erat ætate nostra spes de evangelii puriore doctrina, promotione, et de antichristianis cæremoniis ac traditionibus plene subvertendis et eradicandis : ita ut Baalamos aliquot veritatem prædicare populoque Dei benedicere quotidie exspectamus. Et fama est, Wintoniensem episcopum brevi e Turri Londonensi, ubi duobus aut tribus annis fere detentus fuit propter ejus pertinacitatem, jam liberatum iri, atque puram Christi doctrinam publice asserturum ; quo tamen animo, novit Deus, forte illubenti. Quomodocunque tamen fiat, nos interim gaudemus omnes hic quotquot evangelio favemus, quod prædicabitur Christus Jesus clare. Sed de hujusmodi plura nuper ad dominum Joannem Butlerum scripsi, quem precor salutare meo nomine digneris, atque etiam illius uxorem piam.

Quantum ad literas tuas ad alios, vel aliorum ad te datas spectat, quod cupis perficiam libentissime. Hortatus autem sum jamdudum Burcherum prædictum de eisdem diligenter. Atque non dubito, quin quod cupis libenter faciet, modo pecuniam, quam pro talibus literis exponere debet postis, recipere poterit Argentina. Conjux mea, quæ nunc (Deo gratiæ!) convaluit a gravissimo morbo, tibi tuæque uxori piissimæ commendatam habet ex animo, etiam illæ, quæ fuit olim uxor domini Megandri, et ceteris isthic ei notis. Non dubito, quin Dominus cœlestis Pater pro illa tuas aliorumque pias preces exaudivit ; agebat enim quasi animam bis aut ter alternis noctibus in præterito mense Decembri, cum scripseris ad me et ad alios etiam hic. Scribis quod voluptate aliqua cares, dum nihil scribo ad te, et quod delectaris meis literis. Igitur nunc tandem rescribo, quamvis materiam ullam, unde igitur ita delectatus fueris, equidem non video, præter in hoc, quod scripsi modo raptim de spe quam hic habemus omnes pii de promovendo regno Dei et Christi.

Quod literæ tuæ aliquando tardissime hic redduntur, diu delitescentes in itinere, causa est quod Joannes Burcherus eas subinde nautis tradit Argentina, etiam aurigis et vectoribus qui merces per Rhenum deferunt Antverpiam. Hoc autem præcipue facit, quum sarcinulæ literarum utcunque magnæ sunt : cogeretur enim alias postis dare pro singulis uncis quæ habent ponderis decem cruciferos Spiræ, neque multum minus etiam Antverpiæ et Londini, si per postam abhinc amandarentur. Antverpiæ enim posta accipit pro folio papyri Londino deferendo stiferos duos Bra-

banticos, et præterea Londini tantum; hoc est 4 stiferos pro folio uno integro papyri: sed cum mercatoribus literas deferendas tradimus, neque hic nec illic damus aliquid.

Dominus Bernardinus et Bartholomeus Trehernius te plurimum resalutant. Oro autem te, mi domine, ut me commendatum habeas omnibus isthic mihi bene volentibus, nempe D. Gualtero, D. Bibliandro, D. Pellicano, Zuinglio, Ludovico Lavatero, et aliis. Quo in statu sunt D. Hoperi res, qui ante duos menses a regia majestate episcopus Glocestriæ nominatus est, ex ipsius proculdubio literis intelligis. Perseverat ille per gratiam Dei assertor evangelii constantissimus, et de negotio eucharistiæ secundum vestram orthodoxam doctrinam ubique hic liberrime concionatur: suadet, imo persuadet omnes. Nostri etiam semper, quotquot ex animo veritatem diligebant, in illam opinionem eucharistiæ propensi erant. Ad uxorem tuam castissimam meo nomine salutem dicere precor in Domino Jesu, qui nos semper dirigit in via veritatis. Amen. Vale. Die 25 Junii, 1550. Londini.

Tuus ex animo,

RICARDUS HILLES,  
*Anglus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo atque pientissimo Theologo, domino Henrico Bullingero, amico mihi carissimo, dentur literæ. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA CXXIV.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! S. D. plurimam! Hodie, mi domine colendissime, una cum tuis, 24 die Februarii proxime elapsi datis, literas tuas ad uxorem domini Joannis Hoperi (cui etiam easdem statim tradidi) accepi. Quod adeo cupis a me in tuis prædictis, ut de statu ejus (domini Joannis Hoperi scilicet) scriberem diligenter, respondeo, me non habere, quæ de ejus tribulatione tuæ pietati significarem, præterquam quæ ad communem nostrum amicum, dominum Joannem Butlerum, die prima Februarii prædicti scripsi. Eadem non dubito quin tibi ante hunc diem retulit. At nunc (Deo gratiæ!) idem D. Hoperus liberatus est ex custodia pristinaeque conditioni restitutus. Prius tamen in aliquibus rebus, quæ hic apud nos pro adiaphoris prædicantur, de sua opinione et sententia cessit. Et hac quadragesima rubro pallio episcopali vestitus, postquam more nostrorum episcoporum initiatus vel inauguratus fuit, coram regia majestate concionatus est: vestitum suum multis una approbantibus et condemnantibus, prout suæ affectiones

se trahebant. Nunc Glocestriam profectus est dominus Hoperus, ubi episcopatus ejus sedes est; sed brevi, ut audio, redibit. Doleo Germanos bona sui parte consensisse in concilium Tridentinum. At nostrates arbitrator per gratiam Dei tam firmi sunt et in veritate radicati, maxime in articulis illis qui contra primatum Romani episcopi faciunt, ut nunquam nostra saltem ætate consentient in idem concilium Tridentinum.

In literis tuis 20 Augusti ad me scriptis bona nova profers de Italia, quod evangelium recipere incipit. Deus augeat eorum qui isthic vivunt fidem in Dominum Jesum Christum, et quod in aliquibus eorum bonum opus incepit, perficiat quoque in diem Christi. Amen. Habeo tibi permagnas gratias pro decadibus sermonum tuorum, quos mihi dono dedisti. Hoc beneficii recompensare non possum facile. Aliqua tamen ex parte, cum occasio sese offeret, tibi pro decadibus illis 3 et 4, sicuti pro prioribus libris, quos jamdudum mihi multos dedisti, satisfaciam certe. Meo nomine uxorem tuam castissimam una cum reliquis meis ibi amicis salutare dignaberis precor. Conjux mea te tuosque omnes, maxime uxorem tuam resalutat. Bene vale in Domino nostro Servatore Jesu Christo. Die 22 Martii, anno 1551. Londini.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

*Inscriptio deest.*

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## EPISTOLA CXXV.

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RICARDUS HILLES HENRICO BULLINGERO.

LAUS Deo! S. D. P. Heri, fidelis et amice carissime, prætor una cum nonnullis ex senatoribus mercatoribusque quibusdam Londini civibus, vocatus est ad regis regiam Grinwichiam; jacetque hæc ad Thamesim rivum, atque a civitate mille passus Germanicos. Ubi autem eo venirent, præsentibus regis honorabilissimis consiliariis, dominus Thesaurarius ejusdem concilii præses orationem ad eos fecit, cujus finis ita se habet; nempe regem nostrum maxime pium adeoque sanctissimum Edouardum Sextum (qui quidem nunc ex hoc mûndo miseriarumque valle discessit, terrestrique suo tabernaculo destructo, æterna in cœlis mansione, non dubito, fruitur) recordantem quod etsi potentissimus princeps esset, mortalem tamen esse, atque ob id magis, quod nuper infirmus esset atque ægrotaret, studentemque non parum tranquillitati paciæque, quo recte possit hæc Anglicana gens regi et gubernari post discessum suum; consideransque quod ambæ sorores suæ (quarum natu major Maria immaculatæ evangelii doctrinæ non bene favet) fuerunt per statuta quædam, quæ auctoritate parlamenti etiam tempore sui patris facta sunt, illegitimæ adjudicatæ filiæ, illegitimo nempe ma-

trimonio natæ; vehementer rogabat honorabiles suos consiliarios, ut inter se convenisse velint, si Dominus majestatem suam e medio tollat, admittant reputentque pro legitimo hærede ac successore suo filium (dummodo vivente adhuc rege aliquem habuerit) dominæ Franciscæ nunc Suffolciæ duchessæ, quæ filia dominæ Mariæ est, majestatis regiæ amitæ, quæ olim Gallorum regina fuerat; atque postea dominam Janam, doctam sane ac piam generosam, quæ hoc ipso anno nupsit domino Guildfordo ducis Northumberland minori natu filio, si quidem hæc Francisca nullum legitime natum masculum haberet, vivente adhuc rege Edouardo. Commemoravit præterea, omnes regis honorabiles consiliarios, una cum fere omnibus hujus regionis proceribus nobilioribus, juramento et subscriptione manus suæ, scripto quodam quod de eadem re ageret, fideliter promississe, obligassent<sup>1</sup> firmiter se rem per regiam majestatem, cum ægrotaret, motam executuros ac perfecturos. Quamobrem cupiebant prætorem atque Londini senatores similiter conformes esse, atque huic scripto (id quod libenter fecerunt) subscriberent<sup>1</sup>: ita ut, etsi Omnipotens Deus, profecto propter horrenda peccata nostra, e medio nostri sanctissimum principem Edouardum regem sustulerit, de quo omnes, qui ejus majestatem cognoverint, dicunt se nunquam præstantiorem aut magis piam mentem mortali in corpore perspexisse; tamen non omnino misericordia sua vacamus, quod nunc ordinaverit talem tam pio regi successorem, sub quo maximopere speramus (non enim, laudandus igitur Dominus, contrarium cernimus) nos suos subditos nihilominus piam atque vitam quietam et tranquillam in omni pace, virtute, justitiaque degituros; verbumque Dei purum semper in hac regione sincere prædicari debere, veramque evangelii doctrinam in summam fidelium hic inhabitantium consolationem defensam iri, quod Omnipotens concedat nobis Dominus. Amen.

Cum hucusque scripseram, in Domino observande, supervenit dies decimus Julii, quo publice hic promulgatum est, nomine prædictæ dominæ Janæ nunc Angliæ reginæ, quod rex prædictus Edouardus mortuus sit, quod mater reginæ prædicta Francisca filium nullum habuerit, ideoque imperium hujus regni ad illam (Janam reginam intelligo) devenisse, id quod bene vertat Optimus Maximus Deus. Amen.

Magnas ago tibi gratias pro libello quem mihi dono dedisti, quem una cum literis tuis 10 Martii datis accepi; precorque Deum Optimum Maximum, ut sicuti in ipsis preces pro me effundis, fideliter fide et caritate omnibusque bonis operibus pergam, calcatis interim hujus mundi lucris iniquis et voluptatibus inhonestis. Et si qua in re hic tibi gratificari poterim plusquam in tuis ad alios literis tradendis, tibi, quemadmodum cupis, fideliter et libenter meam collocabo operam. Tu pro tua humanitate magni pendis, id quod in tuis scriptis intelligo, quod tuas literas iis reddi procurarem, quibus inscriptæ sunt. At ego pro nullo

[<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.]

beneficio, multo minus pro tantillo, in te a me collato gratias expectare æquum esse judico. Uxor mea te tuamque conjugem ex animo salutatur, et bene precatur tibi tuisque liberis omnibus. Dominum Pellicanum tuumque generum Ludovicum Lavaterum meo nomine salutabis plurimum, maxime autem D. Theodorum Bibliandrum, cui dicas, precor, me libellos suos duos D. Checo et D. Hopero tradidisse, prout in literis suis mense Martii ad me datis cupiebat. Ago etiam illi ipsemet gratias ingentes, quod me tali munusculo dignatus sit gratificare. D. etiam Butlero fratri mihi in Christo carissimo salutem dicas oro, certioresque eum facias precor, me literas suas 18 Maii datas mense Junio accepisse: responsum autem scribere non mihi nunc vacat, nec multum opus est ut rescribam, quia quod respondendum erat, in prioribus meis ad illum literis copiose satis scripsi. Vive et vale. Londini, die 9 Julii, 1553.

Tuus totus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
verbi divini concionatori, tradantur  
literæ. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CXXVI.

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JOANNES AELMERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

CUM omnia quæ in nostros conferuntur beneficia, ad nos quoque eadem pertinere existimare solemus, ornatissime vir, merito sane me multis nominibus multum tuæ humanitati debere mihi persuadeam oportet. Primum quod hanc clarissimi marchionis nostri familiam tuis longe doctissimis monumentis illustrare, et optimis tuis consiliis in vera religione retinere, omni studio, labore et diligentia contendas. Multum enim (mihi crede) et Buceri sanctissimi viri, quem vivum colebamus ut patrem, mortui autem memoriam constantissime retinemus tanquam summi numinis apostoli, et tuæ etiam literæ, quas ad illustrissimum herum nostrum missitastis utriusque, profuerunt tum ad illam quam amplexi eramus religionis constantiam confirmandam, tum ad magis magisque incitandum et incendendum eorum animos, qui vel temporis diuturnitate remissiores, vel rei quam profitemur satietate fastidiosiores, vel animorum levitate et inconstantia negligentiores, cœperunt esse. Vestræ enim auctoritati cedendum gravitatemque sequendum esse semper arbitrati sunt. Et quod ad me ipsum attinet, cum et illius et tuas mihi semper dominus meus literas, quas a vobis læta sane fronte nunquam non accepit, tradiderit, me felicissimum

judicare solebam, qui τοιοῦτων τῶν κειμηλίων custos esse possem. Quoties enim cas perlegi, toties cum duobus carissimis Christi ecclesiae luminibus loqui mihi videbar. Deinde singularis illa animi tui affectio, qua meam discipulam complecteris, me cogit si nullo alio modo, at saltem literis meis meam erga te observantiam profiteri. Quid enim vel illi utilius vel marchioni gratius vel mihi optatius praestari posset, non modo abs te, sed vel a quoquam alio tanta doctrina et pietate praedito, quam ut ea, quam pater amore ut filiam, et ego dilectione ut discipulam, prosequor, eas vitae praeceptiones ex uberrimo sacri tui pectoris fonte ad se dimanare sentiat, quibus ad bene beateque vivendum perduci posset? Quam autem sint utilia senum consilia ad hanc, quae jam ipsa est 14 annos nata, aetatem moderandam et regendam, tu pro tua prudentia probe judicare potes. Nam ea aetate omnes, ut est apud Comicum, a labore sunt proclives ad libidinem, et facilius rerum jucunditate et naturae corruptione ad voluptatem, quam Plato τῶν κακῶν δέλεαρ appellat, precipites feruntur quam ad ea studia persequenda quae ad virtutis laudem comparata sunt. Quanto igitur pluribus haec aetas laborat morbis, tanto cum diligentiores tum etiam prudentiores medici quaerendi sunt, ut quae naturae corruptione aetatisque infirmitate illis insita sunt, ea optimorum virorum industria, labor, et studium aut tollat aut corrigat: nam ut luxuriantibus segetibus depastionem et ferocientibus equis fræna paramus, ita his teneris animis nec senum consilium nec gravium virorum auctoritas deesse debet. Praeclare igitur ab humanitate tua factum est, quod hanc nostram Spartam tua prudentia ornare volueris. Quo in argumento si perrexeris, et illi quiddam utilissimi et patri ejus gratissimi feceris.

Haec ad tuam humanitatem scribere tum tuum singulare in meam discipulam studium, tum Joannis ab Ulmis, integerrimi et doctissimi adolescentis, importunitas me adduxit. Extimescebam enim te tantum virum tam sedulo in vinea Christi occupatum interpellare: sed cum ille pertinaciter insisteret, et tuam incredibilem humanitatem praedicasset, omnem pudorem et timorem ex animo ejeci. Aequo igitur animo et laeta fronte haec suscipe, quaeso, et quicquid hic a me peccatum est, meo in te amori et familiaris mei importunitati tribue. Vale, colendissime vir, καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτοσχεδιάζοντι συγγίνωσκε. Deus te ad Nestoris ducat annos suae ecclesiae causa.

Tuae amplitudinis studiosissimus,

J. AELMERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo patri, Tigurinae ecclesiae antistiti, haec tradantur literae.*

## EPISTOLA CXXVII.

JOANNES AELMERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM et pacem in Domino Servatore nostro Jesu Christo et vitam in eodem felicissimam, etc. ! Literas tuas accepi, vir gravissime, cum amoris et humanitatis, tum veræ sanctimoniam et pietatis plenissimas, quibus me duplici nomine felicem describis, tum quod talis mihi contigerit discipula qualem tot eximiis suis dotibus ornare voluit Deus, tum quod ex ea sit familia, quæ et bonis literis faveat et sincere religionem ex animo colat. Hac in parte assentior tibi, clarissime vir, quod hac ratione μακαριότητα ἀλλὰ ἀνθρωπίνην sim consecutus; sed multo me tamen beatiorum puto, quod tecum aliqua intercesserit mihi necessitudo, quam quanti faciam Deus πάσας πάντων καρδίας ἐρευνῶν novit. Semper profecto hactenus is mihi animus fuit, ut non modo omnia omnium disciplinarum genera habuerim carissima, sed etiam earundem professores et artifices unice diligam. Novi enim quam belluina hæc nostra esset vita, si optimis disciplinis et artibus ingenuis hominum ingenia non excolerentur. Et cum earum omnium suavitate delecter, tum theologiæ amore rapior ejusque admiratione obstupescere soleo; necnon ejus professoribus tantum defero honorem quantum alioqui nec mortalibus ullis. Ex iis enim tamquam ex limpidissimis fontibus omnis emanat pietas, religionis cognitio, et vitæ innocentia. Horum doctrinæ nituntur omnes boni viri, eorumque dictis quasi sacratissimis Dei oraculis applaudunt. Hinc secundum Deum paratur fides, addiscitur caritas, augetur spes, et omnia denique quæ ad Christianismum attinent nascuntur. Cum igitur tam opulenter in te suas opes congeserit Dominus, ut non tuum ipsius animum instruere<sup>1</sup>, sed et aliis alioquin erraturis doctoris et ducis in ecclesia loco sis; te et Dei, qui ita fuit tibi propitius, et tui ipsius etiam causa deamare, exoculari, et suspicere debemus: sic enim Paulus hortatur his verbis, “Sic nos æstimet homo tanquam ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei,” etc.; et alibi, “Qui bene in ecclesia præest duplici honore dignus est.” Unde docemur non minus Christi ministris deferre honoris et reverentiæ quam iis qui sacratissima fidei et salutis mysteria a Deo ipsi prius docti tractant, tradunt, explicant.

Reliquum est, ut pro tua quæ nobis satis perspecta est humanitate proximis tuis literis discipulam meam facias certiorum, quis ornatus quique corporis cultus virgines Christum colentes deceat: in quo argumento D. Elizabethæ regis nostri sororis exemplo uti poteris: illa enim ut virginem decet vestita ex omni parte incedit; et nulla tamen tam præclara virginis adducitur exemplo, in tanta evangelii luce, aurum, gemmas, capillorumque plicaturas deponere, multo minus contemnere. Audiunt con-

[<sup>1</sup> Qu. non modo—instrueres.]

cionatores his reclamare rebus, sed nulla tamen vitam suam corrigit. Præterea musicis organis quatenus vacandum est, illi præscribas velim: nam et hic quoque apud nos supra modum offenditur, dum ad ostentationem omnis suscipitur labor et impenditur studium. Si hæc fusius tractaveris, nonnulla fortassis tua auctoritate virtuti fiet accessio.

Vale, clarissime vir, et plurimos tibi concedat annos Deus Optimus Maximus. Londini, ex ædibus ducis Suffolciæ, qui prius marchio fuit. 23 Decembris.

Tuæ pietatis studiosissimus,

JOANNES AELMERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro, D. Henrico Bullingero,  
hæc tradantur literæ.*

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## EPISTOLA CXXVIII.

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JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM a Domino, exoptatissime! Etsi nulla consuetudo inter nos intercessit, nec te unquam vidi, clarissime vir; tamen ex libris editis videor mihi te cognoscere, et ex scriptis ad dominum meum dominum marchionem Dorcestriæ literis; præcipue autem ex commemoratione et sermone de te habito cum Joanne ab Ulmis, pio juvene et tui studiosissimo, qui cunctantem me et leviter initio refragantem pene tandem coegit, ut aliquid ad te scriberem. Si quid igitur peccatum est ista audacia καὶ αὐτοσχεδιάσµατι, et (ut plane dicam) inanitate orationis; in eum culpam conferas quæso, tametsi ingenue fateor me, desiderio te plenius cognoscendi, eadem aliqua ex parte teneri. Dominus Jesus Christus tuo semper adsit ministerio, teque suo Spiritu omni ratione tueatur et gubernet. Spero te mei meminisse in tuis ad Dominum precibus.

Brodgati prope Lecestriam, quarto calend. Junii, 1551.

Tui tuæque pietatis studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo Theologo D. Henrico Bullingero,  
Tigurinæ ecclesie servo.*

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## EPISTOLA CXXIX.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. in Domino! Quæ de tua singulari perferuntur humanitate, eadem literas tuas spirare video. Etsi igitur hoc tempore certa res nulla ita magni offerebatur momenti, tamen nactus cui ad te darem prætermittere sine meis literis nolui. Quod in tam bonam a te partem superiores meæ ad te literæ acceptæ sint, tuum in eo perspicio erga me studium: atque ita me jam animasti, ut si nihil grave aut valde serium, tamen vel ut hæc inter nos jam inita consuetudo confirmetur, ad te scribam. Salutem tuo nomine (quomodo ad me scripseras) ita domino meo (jam Suffolciæ duci) dixi, ut ad te dederit literas. Profecto nihil gratius ejus præstantiæ facere poteris, quam si, quomodo semel fecisti, pergas filiæ suæ pia tradere morum præcepta. Etsi enim ita est instituta, ut summa sit spes ejus ad pietatem profectus, tamen tuæ παρακλήσεις faces quasdam admovent, dum secum semper suum adferunt pondus, vel quia ab alieno profecta sunt, vel quia a te tali viro. Commendas mihi Joannem ab Ulmis cum ceteris Helvetiis: utinam eis adesse possem quantum vellem! Verum licet eo modo adhuc Deo visum non est ut possim; operam tamen meam, diligentiam, et studium semper invenient paratum ad eos juvandum quomodo possum, imprimis autem Joannem ab Ulmis, quem novi, meaque sententia integer est juvenis et moribus ἀφθάρτοις. Vale. Christus te omni ratione tueatur, tuoque semper adsit ministerio. Mereris mei (quæso) in tuis precibus.

Londini, 28 Decembris, 1551.

Tui studiosus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
fratri suo carissimo.*

## EPISTOLA CXXX.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM in Domino, exoptatissime pater! Cogitanti mihi, quidnam ad tuam humanitatem potissimum scriberem, occurrit Joannes ab Ulmis, gratum tibi fore significans, si de religionis progressu apud nos et confirmatione certiore te facerem, aut de instituta ducis Suffolciæ mei domini familia. De religione autem, post demolita et proculcata idola, labefactatam atque abjectam εἰδωλομανίαν, postque accessionem ad veram

evangelii lucem gratia Dei jam revocatam, quam ingressi viam quamque sequenti sumus rationem, et quem tenebamus ordinem per hosce quatuor annos, tibi non ignotum esse puto. Jam vero inpraesentiarum liber (qui regius dicitur), in quo cultus divini ratio et Deum precandi modus pervagatus apud nos, omnibus publice usurpandus, continetur et explicatur, fertur certis in locis emendandus: quibus quotque in locis, mihi nondum satis constat. Erant certae pro mortuis preces, quae non ita videbantur convenire. Praeterea in sacrae coenae institutione nonnihil aut commutandum aut penitus eradendum. Libellus quoque de ministrorum electione et ordinatione (quam vocant) editus, partim inepta, partim impia in se continere videbatur. In expectatione sumus, ut (adjuvante Deo) emendentur saltem aliqua ex parte, si claram quamque par est non attingant puritatem, quam optare licet, sperare plene fortassis adhuc non poterimus. Sed (gratiae Deo) in spem vocamur, impiam superstitionem prorsus abolendam.

De instituta ducis familia, potius mihi es etiam atque etiam rogandus viam praemonstres, quam ipse optimam judicas, quam ut nostram rationem ego tibi exponam. Deque eo Joannes melius potest referre. Unum est, de quo meam tibi sententiam expediam et propositum; tum autem tuam de eodem a te requiram tuumque consilium. In hujusmodi honoratorum aedibus lusus esse scis, non solum qui corpus vel animam moderate et pie oblectent, sed qui otium etiam inducant, et ignaviam ἀσεβείαν τε gignant: cujusmodi sunt aleae et chartularum ludus. Jam dux famulis interdixit omnibus, ne ullo ejusmodi ludo periclitentur nummo. Ipse autem et honoratissima ejus conjux cum suis amicis clam in cubiculo non solum concedi sibi cupiunt ut ludant, sed nummo etiam periclitentur. Ego vero in eo sum, ut nullo modo concedam licere Christiano ita periclitari nummo quovis ludo, ut victor discedat aliquo percepto lucro, vel victus aliquo accepto damno. Atque isto modo disceptatur frequenter. Qui ab illis sunt, haec fere praecipua adferunt: Non cupere se rem alienam, sed perinde esse ipsis luerentur vel eo adficiantur damno: sine nummo frigere lusum; quare excitanda quasi sopita natura: neminem cieri, nisi proposito βραβείῳ: in aliis permultis sumptus redundantes et minime necessarios esse, ut in victu, ut in cultu, etc.; idcirco in hoc quoque genere nonnihil consuetudini permittendum, neque tam stricte agendum, nec ad calculos omnia conscientiae et officii revocanda, cum nemo sine crimine vivat,—etc. in eandem sententiam: licere igitur paululo periclitari, modo ingens jactura non fiat. Ego contra, non adduci me posse ut arbitrer humanam mentem in periclitando tam esse aequabilem et ἀδιάφορον, ut neque lucrum plus spectet quam damnum, nec damnum magis vitet quam lucrum. Alioqui, periclitans non esset lusus, sed animi potius constans propositum ad libere dandum. Praeterea, si cui tam aequabile contingat propositum,

tum male illum facere, quod tam æquam sententiam dimoveat, et ad *ἀνωμαλίαν* traducere conetur, ut nummo adhibito in periculum veniat, ne tranquilli antea, sedati, et pacati adfectus (si ita esse possint, quod minime credo) concitentur, et subito emergat rei expetito alienæ, iracundia, invidentia, jurgia, etc. Frigeat igitur sane ludus, et (ne in pejus ruat) satis sit præmii ipsa in quovis genere exercitatio (quæ præcipua res est, aut esse debet), tum quasi laudis corona (si ita videtur) victoria. Qui his non potest induci et satis commoveri, a malo proficisci, quod præterea est. Aliud autem in publicis esse ludis, qui sua habent certa constituta *βραβεῖα* exercitationis gratia et certaminis alioqui laudabilis et necessarii, rei que publicæ causa. Quod ad τὸ περισσὸν in victu et cultu pertineat, si victus nimis sit exquisitus et redundans, cultusque nimis excultus ac sumptuosus, aut alioqui *περισσότερον*, illud τὸ ἐκούσιον *περισσὸν* et quæsitum peccatum esse. Alias autem interesse multum inter nummum non necessarie periclitatum et ejusmodi aliqua ex parte necessarium sumptum, quia fines differunt. Vestes enim reliquusque cultus ad eum creatæ sunt et elaboratæ finem atque usum, ut induantur ab aliquibus ac deterantur: tantum ἐν τῷ περισσῷ καὶ παρὰ τὸ πρέπον *περιέργῃ* peccatum esse, et quando personæ conditionem sumptu superent. Idem de victu quoque judicium faciendum, nisi quod usus magis sit necessarius. Nummus autem ad usum est comparatus, et ex legis præscripto, ut res æstimet humanas, quomodo Aristoteles in Ethicis et Politicis præclare ostendit. Præterea, ut cultum aliquem habeamus necesse est: ut nummo periclitemur non est necesse, quia lusus et exercitatio alioqui per se exercitatio est, non adhibito nummo. Et cum in cultu ac victu modus sit conservandus κατὰ τὰς τῶν προσώπων διαφορὰς, in lusu non item. Nam perinde est παράνομον coram Deo in omnibus, quatenus ab omnibus ad meliores et magis necessarios transferri potuit usus. Et quia propter insitam vitiositatem semper ad mala proclives sumus, etiam cum pie proponimus; tamen, nisi Deus sua adsit gratia, exit illud propositum in vitium: ideo quando adhibita omni quanta fieri potest diligentia nemo sine crimine vivat, de industria quærere peccandi aut male agendi opportunitates, in eisdemque sibi indulgere non debere, a pietateque Christiana alienissimum esse. Licere igitur ne tantillo quidem periclitari luci causa, et ita uti damnum inde cuiquam accidat: posse enim in meliores insumi usus, quantulumcunque sit, vel obolus quidem. Nullam esse causam, quamobrem adhibeatur nummus, si non avaritiæ gratia aut certe luci causa, cum lusus per se lusus sit, ne γρὺ quidem adhibito, etc. Isto fere modo et in hanc pene sententiam controvertitur sæpe. Multum me quoque movet, quod lucrum ejusmodi nulla recte instituta republica video probatum. Quod nonnulli ex scholasticis concedant, nimis mihi videtur jejunum, ut ne dicam ineptum, quamquam saniores omnino improbent si luci causa fiat, vel convivium superet, aut tale aliquid, unde nihil damni, sed

lucri potius multum ex mutua consuetudine ἐτ ἐκ τῆς φιλανθρωπῶπου ἐκείνης ἀγάπης proficiscatur; quumque de illo sumptu antea fere convenit utrinque, ut quasi stata sit summa quæ impendatur. Sumptus autem in lusu minime necessarius, fortunæque nititur temeritate. Leges vero civiles quomodo adversus ejusmodi statuant, jusque repetendi quod eo deperit modo, tu multo melius scis. Apud nos tamen quod sagittando lucretur, peti lege potest, et actio valet pro victore contra victum, quomodo in contractibus quæ lege civili et nostra positiva atque edictis probantur.

Jam vides meam audaciam: ne nihil ad te scriberem, has meas ineptias ad tuam dedi humanitatem. Sed tamen hæc levia, et (ut ab aliquibus æstimatur) ridicula, gravia aliquando ducunt et seria ex damnis datis atque acceptis, præter cetera quoque *συμβεβεκότα*. Imo seria semper esse ego judico. Nam quicquid eo perit modo (sic enim nominare libet), quantumvis sit minimum, in meliores tamen magisque necessarios insumi potuit usus. Ego video quotidie multa hinc sequi incommoda, nullum autem commodum; quæ tametsi in ipsa non insunt re (cum aliqui non ita abutantur), tamen periclitatum nummum ea cerno incommoda sequi fere semper, ut corpus consequitur umbra. Atque hæcenus de mea sententia.

Propositum autem hoc est: impræsentiarum fero, sed ita, ut reprehendam quoque, quotiescunque se offerat *εὐκαιρία*, privatim tamen aut coram paucis sermone, non palam prædicando publice. Semel autem publice denuntiabam e suggestu sub natalitiis superiore anno; quia cum maxime Deum elementissimum nostrum Patrem celebrare debeamus et Domino gaudere, ut scis, tum præcipue indulgentes sibi ludicris et *πονηροῖς* omnis generis sese oblectant, et malis congaudent, atque diabolo imprimis inserviunt ex alta Saturnalium institutione, ut videtur, quod tu melius scis. Non loquor jam de ea, in qua ego sum, familia; nam ibi non ita se res habet. Sed certe quomodo apud vos sit, aut aliis in locis, ignoro. Apud nos autem *κοινῶς* per totam regionem (licet non jam separatim singulis in ædibus), eo maxime tempore et illis feriis, pessimis et nefariis abundamus exemplis a nostraque professione alienissimis. Atque eo accrevit prava consuetudo, ut nisi eo tempore et per hæc ferias hilares se præbeant (ita enim loquuntur), eoque modo hilares, quo fieri potest pessimo, aut certe cujus erubescant tempore quadragesimali, ut dicitur; non modo ignavos se arbitrentur et ineptos ad quidvis, sed religioni pene eis est, quin aliqua ex parte ita se gerant: seque putant eo modo hilares esse propter natum Dominum. Hoc apud plebeios et rusticos nondum institutos etiamnum tenet. In nostra autem familia nihil est ejusmodi, nec quicquam ita magnopere indecorum; de qua post. Verum *κοινὸν τὸν τρόπον* exposui per totam fere Angliam, nisi certis in locis. Et ideo plenius commonstro, quia te eo delectari Joannes adfirmavit. Si igitur nimis verbosus videar, in eum transferenda est culpa, mihi autem danda venia. Ut persequar igitur. Aulici et potior pars plebis (jam gratia Dei

melius instituti), licet plane intelligunt sui non esse officii ita se gerere; tamen partim, quia consuetudo inolevit, et ne videantur ignavi et non boni socii (quomodo vocant), partim vero ac præcipue, ut ego judico, quia nondum eo progressi sunt, ut possint τὴν σπιλουμένην τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσθῆτα perfecte odisse, neque sincerum Dei timorem insitum animo adhuc sentiant, ut se vincere et crucifigere in animo habeant, multo minus cupiant.

Sed ut redeat oratio, unde digressa est, rationemque explicem, quomodo meos reprehenderim pro concione semel, quidque inde sequutum: sic habeto. Cum palam totum istud genus culpasssem, eosque (sed κοινῶς καὶ γενικῶς) qui nummo periclitarentur; in malam vidi illud accipi partem, propterea quod in ducis mei domini familia non ludunt famuli, aut certe nullo modo periclitantur nummo, quod cognosci poterit. Quoniam autem dux ipse et ejus conjux cum suis amicis clam in cubiculo luserint, mei quoque fuisse clam tantum eos admonere putaverunt. Sed consilii mei rationem audi; nam illa reprehensio aperta non statim a me initio facta fuit, sed multo post, eo quo subjiciam modo, eaque consideratione et cautione. Quum igitur id sæpius fecissem, et nihil viderer proficere, licet non haberent quod μετὰ λόγου τινος contradicerent, præmonuissemque me palam tandem aliquando et aperte reprehendere velle, si denuo etiam in cubiculo luderent, modo periclitarentur nummo; alioqui lusum nullum ut exercitium et ingenii et corporis damnare, sed illud genus, cum periclitarentur nummo (quia nullam idoneam causam ejus minime necessarii sumptus adferri ab eis viderem) ferre diutius non posse, in eandemque sententiam cum permulta prædixissem; ad tempus destiterunt: quo gavisus in spem vocabar magnam. Postea autem ad natalitia Domini subsecuta, perspiciens eos ad ingenium incipere redire; prout occasio tulit, reprehendebam publice cum rem ipsam, tum personas, quo superius posui modo, hoc est κοινῶς, nulla certa nominata persona aut delineata. Tum offensionem tamen commemoratam inde ortam intelligens, deinceps conticiui; clam tantum et separatim, quotiescunque de eo sermo habetur, redarguens. Atque isto modo fero et permitto, quia non reprehendo publice et pro concione. Quum autem me nimis strictum existiment, eoque prætextu sibi ipsi interpretes in aliis esse volunt, contra atque consueverunt antea, ac dicant, Hac quoque et illa in re Haddonus non potest nobis consentire, cum perinde ἀδιάφορα sint ut lusus quem ipse pene solus reprehendit; eoque modo ad vere mala acclinent: ne (inquam) eo modo divagentur, et ad mala nullo modo ferenda prolabantur; fero invitatus, quomodo superius exposui; fero coactus, ut in ceteris et gravioribus lucrifaciam; fero, ut qui lupum teneat auribus. Cerno autem aliquem fructum ex ista concessione, quæ tamen revera nulla est concessio, sed aliqua ex parte officii remissio et rigoris potius in officio, quia non publice reprehendo, licet separatim et in colloquiis semper eodem modo improbo. Quia tamen vident me concedere ipsis nonnihil etiam contra

meam sententiam, et arbitrantur me suam ἀρρωστίαν leviter tractare, in aliis audire volunt libentius et obsequi.

Jam exposui (plenius fortassis quam per tuas occupationes par erat) meam cum sententiam de ipsa re, tum propositum in eadem toleranda et modum. A te peto, ut clare ad me de ista re perscribas, et plene tuam explices sententiam, et quid mihi sequendum judices, quid probes quidque minus, quatenus id, quoque modo, ut tibi videbitur; consiliumque des quantum mihi tolerandum in ejusmodi rebus, et quousque connivendum censes. Sed tuo otio: nolo enim interpellare te gravioribus occupatum. Nisi te aliqua ex parte ex me ipse existimarem (quatenus tenui homunculo licet et literis quasi initiato) ornatissimum virum et doctissimum omnique eruditionis genere perfectum; non ausus fuisset te, vix ternis istis a me literis salutatum, hoc inturbare modo. Sed sit sane quomodo se cunque res habeat: tu enim ipse in culpa es, quia me ita voluisti. Audebo certe præterea, et a te quæso, salutes mihi observandissimum illum D. Bibliandrum, quem etiam mihi videor perspectum habere ex suis editis libris. Valete, duo ecclesiæ lumina. Christus vos tueatur suoque vobis Spiritu adsit et vestro ministerio.

Richemonti, prope Londinum....Augusti, 1552.

Tui studiosus et observantissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro simul ac doctissimo domino  
Henrico Bullingero, fratri in Christo  
longe colendissimo.*

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## EPISTOLA CXXXI.

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JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. BENE longas ad te antea dedi literas, breviores jam eoque magis, quia minus firma valetudine esse te scribis. Prætermittam civilem illum et pene aulicum gratias agendi morem, propterea quod ægrotus aut certe valetudinarius esses, et tamen ad me scriberes. Paucissimæ, sic habeto, gratissimæ fuerunt mihi tuæ literæ, humanissime et observandissime, non solum quia mecum consentire videris plene, sed etiam propter descripta initia, progressus, et ordinem apud vos jam observatum: quæ omnia scire mirum in modum cupiebam. De Schmutzio tuo cum duce meo domino egi; qui tua causa valde benevolum fore pollicetur, et collaturum in eundem, quomodo ante Joanni ab Ulmis. Opus erit, ut aliquando id in memoriam revoces ejus dominationi, quia ego discedo brevi et

emigro ex ejus ædibus, evocatus a regia majestate ad certum munus in republica obeundum, licet non tam amplum propter privatum commodum et emolumentum, tamen in quo statuo pro mea virili evangelium promovere. Hoc eo dico, ut de Alexandro Schmutzio cum scribis, non ita scribas ad ducem quasi ego adessem, sed quasi absim, quia id cogito. Tametsi enim non possum omnino disjungi ab ejus dominatione, et semper; tamen maxima ex parte id erit, quum primum expedire possum æs alienum contractum et contrahendum propter primi anni fructus persolvendos. Sed Deo visum est efficere, ut ejus dominatio ita me complectatur, et ego vicissim eandem ejus dominationem observem et diligam, perpetuo ut non possim me sejungere, quin aliquando invisam. Plenius tamen ipse poteris scribere de Schmutzio aut ejusmodi, quem commendare ejus dominationi vis, quia arbitraris me non adesse. Et non dubium est, quin in bonam partem ejus præstantia (qua est humanitate præsertim in tui similes) accipiet. Valetudinem tuam et te ipsum totum Deo commendo. Adhortari libenter vellem, eandem ut tueare quomodo possis et scias debere. D. Bibliandrum salutes meo nomine vehementer quæso. Deus adsit tibi suo Spiritu, tuoque ministerio.

Tui studiosus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

*Inscriptio, locus, et datum desunt.*

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## EPISTOLA CXXXII.

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JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

PERMULTA mihi scribenda essent ad tuam humanitatem, si animi mei sententiæ indulgerem: verum propter multiplicia negotia, quibus impressentiarum obruor, vix quicquam possum. Neque sane ea omnia literis recte mandari possent, isteque Joannes Schmutzcius multo melius sermone referet. O summam acceptam a nostris cladem! O veram pietatem repudiatam! O divini numinis in nos juste commotam iracundiam! Non audeo amplius; reliqua intellige. Non tam summa fuimus in spe veræ religionis restituendæ, quam sumus jam in metu impiæ et nefariæ idololatriæ revocandæ. Funde, quæso, preces pro me meique similibus. Pauci ejusmodi homunciones coguntur testificari de vera pietate et religione. Duces nostri omnes ista sunt obruti clade et in carceres conjecti: de episcopis sentio et ejusmodi. Adsit nobis Deus: nos quoque inaniter sermonem habemus: nam quid fiet, nisi Deus aliter mutet, constitutum est. Tantum ut profiteamur in quem credimus, quamque tenemus religionem, a nobis est oblata conditio suscepta resistendi<sup>1</sup> adversariis. Qualis erit finis,

[<sup>1</sup> MS. *restituendi.*]

Deus novit, et ultimum an hoc sit quod ad tuam humanitatem scribam necne. Valde doleo non potuisse me tam plene Schmutzio tuo providere per Suffolciæ ducem, quam vellem et sperassem, nisi hoc ita cecidisset, quod non possum sine lacrymis commemorare. Condone igitur mihi, quod de eo non plura scribam. Non dubito quin ad te perlata est totius tragœdiæ quasi series. Ipse dux retinet suum verum Deum, et spero retinebit suam sententiam plene de vera religione, adjuvante Deo, maxime invito diabolo, et summe elaborantibus suis membris in transversum agere ejus dominationem: quod ut melius faciat, commendo ejus dominationem tuis precibus, et meipsum commendo et mei similes. Quæso salutem mihi dicas D. Bibliandro. Deus adsit vobis suo Spiritu ad finem, et per vos suum illustret nomen semper, quomodo hactenus fecit. Londini, 30 Nov. 1553.

Tui studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Observandissimo in Christo patri  
D. Bullingero.*

### EPISTOLA CXXXIII.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

STATUERAM tuam humanitatem videre, et præsentî præsens has reddere, quæ ad te sunt scriptæ a D. Hopero. Verum hic repertis quibusdam piis et fratribus in Domino, non possum ad tempus discedere. Mei igitur esse putavi non apud me diutius retinere literas hominis tui studiosissimi. Do eas Parkhursto, isti fratri in Domino, qui de nostro Hopero referre potest quantum fere quivis alius: fuerunt enim conjunctissimi cum animis tum locorum vicinitate. Ipse autem te videre cogito (adjuvante Deo) aliquando tandem, et reliquos observandos in vestra ecclesia viros: inter quos salutes mihi, quæso, reverendum in Christo patrem D. Pellicanum. Nam ad optimum et præstantissimum Bibliandrum impræsentiarum scribo in eandem sententiam, quam has ad te dedi. Deus tibi adsit omni ratione, et ad suæ ecclesiæ commodum servet. Argentorati, 7 Idus Jul., 1554.

Tui studiosus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo et observandissimo D. D.  
Henrico Bullingero, Tigurina  
ecclesia antistiti.*

## EPISTOLA CXXXIV.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. Ea in tuis ad me literis perspicio, observandissime vir, de quibus nihil dubitabam, tuum dolorem propter ecclesiae Anglicanae cladem, tuumque in me studium et benevolentiam. De priore nihil dicam, ne vulnus recrudescat. De posteriore autem, cogitatione potius complector, quam verbis exprimo, quid mihi dicendum esset, quia te scio non libenter audire velle. His igitur praetermissis, quod de Hopero tuo certio rem te facere me vis, tutone possint ad eum perscriptae tuae literae perferri, et ei reddi, de rei certitudine mihi exploratum non est; nec fieri potest, ut certum sciam, quia detrusum se scribit jam in imos carceres, famulumque ab eo detractum. Tamen multae viae sunt, et permultae rationes excogitatae, ut audio, quibus boni ad eum mittunt, ipseque vicissim ad illos. Quare hic cum quodam ex suis collocutus sum, qui mihi ostendit se curare velle, ut tuae literae perferantur Londinum, et ut dentur pio alicui, qui, si potest tuto reddere, dabit; sin autem, permanebunt non redditae. Jam facias quod tibi videtur. Sed sine dubio magnam ei adferent consolationem tuae ad eum literae: nam id est quod conqueritur cum multis, se non posse ab eis audire; et fere putat se a suis deseri, quod maximus est dolor afflictis (ut ipse scis), imprimis autem ingenuis hominibus et a natura bene institutis. Bene jam refero ad disciplinam in genere: nam naturam non plene hic deponimus, sed consolationes in adversis praeter solum Deum quaerimus. Ab eis autem maxime, qui proxime ad Deum accedunt, hoc est, a piis, id quaerere non est ita alienum a pietate (cum intermedia non sunt repudianda, praesertim cognata), tametsi deberemus a solo Deo et ejus solius Spiritu pendere. Non opus est plura ad tuam prudentiam et pietatem. Quicquid statueris, si mea opera uti vis, paratissimum invenies. Vale in Domino plurimum. Argentorati, pridie calendas Septembris, 1554.

Tui studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

P. S. Est Banchus quidam, qui ad te scripsit de domina Jana. Ostendit mihi tuas ad eum rescriptas literas, ex quibus intelligo, nonnihil eum ad te scripsisse, quod tuae prudentiae non est visum edere. Bene est quod ita statuisti, et a te quaeso ne ullo modo edas, neque describi sinas a multis. Nam etsi me ignorante conscripsit, tamen certe scio creabit mihi summum periculum, si ejus nomine edatur aut appareat, quia eum ex Anglia adduxi, et mecum atque meus est. Si constaret certa esse omnia, vera et explorata, atque ad Dei gloriam facerent si in vulgus exirent, tum ad periculum me pararem. Sed magis metuo, ne omnia non

sint ut posita ab eo sunt, sed quomodo hausit ex rumore et aliqua ex parte zelo commotus: quod editum plus veritati derogaret fortassis et nostræ causæ, quam adjuvaret, præter certum periculum quoque et discrimen, quod aliis immineret. Neque satis salva conscientia possent omnia tueri fortasse, cum pro veris posita essent nonnulla, quæ non ita reperientur. Sed quod ad ipsam dominam Janam attinet, et quæ ejus nomine dicuntur (ut ejus ipsius *παράλειψος* ad quendam lapsum et sermo habitus cum Fecknamo), puto (et aliqua ex parte scio) vera esse et revera ab ipsa profecta. Satis jam erit, cum tuæ prudentiæ ostenderim, id quod ipsa per se perspexit, hoc est, non edenda, imprimis autem reliqua nullo modo; idque ne fiat, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Si visum fuerit posthæc ut excant, fieri potest quancumque libet. Verum hoc tempus adhuc est ei rei alienissimum, etiamsi constaret vera esse omnia: nam nimis multa habemus vera, ut non opus sit rumore sparsa tantum (et fortassis omnino ficta) colligere. Quod adversarii aliqua ex parte calumniantur de nostris: quid facient si justam habuerint causam? Quæso a te audiam brevi, ut intelligam has tibi redditas, et certior fiam de illis non editis nec edendis.

## INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro, et patri in Christo  
observandissimo, D. Henrico Bul-  
lingero, Tigurinae ecclesie antistiti.*

## EPISTOLA CXXXV.

## JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. QUIA literæ absentium sunt quasi præsentium colloquium, ideo non illibenter ad te scribo, vir observandissime et humanissime; eoque magis, quod non solum ex tuis ad me literis tuam in me perspicio benevolentiam, sed ex aliorum etiam sermonibus ad me perfertur de tuo in me studio; non modo quale geris erga omnia Christi Servatoris nostri membra, verum etiam de peculiari quodam, tua animi inductione suscepto erga me, quod (aiunt) ostendis sæpe de me percontando. Gratia Deo, qui hanc in te voluntatem erga me inseruit.

Certiozem te facerem de Anglia, si ulli boni nuntii venirent. De malis autem non plane constat adhuc; et quæ perferuntur melius iste tabellarius referre potest: in summa, omnia retro labi et ruere in pejus.

De me inæque conditione multa possem dicere, sed nolo humanitatem tuam non necessariis turbare. De Bancho autem illo, de quo ante ad te scripsi, habeo quod jam vehementer pro eo a te petam. Ejus necessitatem mea tenuitate hactenus sublevavi; jam vero istorum injuria tem-

porum et adversariorum rabie exutus sum fere omnibus, atque in me ita debacchantur meique similibus<sup>1</sup>, ut quid præterea sequuturum sit, Deus novit; cujus me voluntati dedo et providentiæ, ut optimi Patris et summe commiserantis. Quod ut faciam continue et ad finem, a te magnopere peto, ut eundem pro me et mecum preceris. Causam autem istius adversariorum furoris esse audio propter testimonium palam a me veritati datum in synodo illa Londinensi habita superiori anno. Interea autem conquisiverunt illi summa et accuratissima cum diligentia aliquem alium prætextum plausibilem; quem cum non possent invenire, tandem denuntiant hæreticum propter libere editam sententiam contra nefariam illam suam opinionem panis conversi in corpus Dominicum, etc. Libere editam sententiam nomino, non solum quia libere a me proferebatur, sed etiam quia aggregatio illa debuerat esse liberrima et sententiæ in eadem expositæ. De quo plenius declarare potest tabellarius iste Chamberus, carissimus in Domino frater, quoque modo adversarii, summo odio elati contra veritatem, se gesserint contra æquum et bonum, contra omne jus et fas.

Sed ut ad Banchum revertar: satis bene secum agi putabit, si cum typographo esse poterit honesto et pio viro, atque correctoris loco esse et emendatoris: tuæ autem vocis testimonio hoc fieri posse sperat. Non opus est apud tuam humanitatem multis eum eulogiis commendare, aut facultatem quam habet ad ejusmodi munus suscipiendum. Eruditus est Latine, ut ipse iudicium possis facere. Græce non est rudis; moribus est pacatis, vera religione fervens, literarum studiosissimus. Mea sententia beneficium conferes in eum, apud quem collocare poteris. Et tamen beneficium in me collocatum aliqua ex parte arbitrabor Banchi causa, quia, ut videtur, non potero eum diu alere meis impensis ut vellem, nisi aliter res cesserint quam in præsentis apparent et sunt. Ista potui tectius involvere, sed non putavi mei esse ita facere, quin potius nude omnia et plane humanitati tuæ explicare. Deus tibi adsit omni modo, teque conservet ad suum nomen illustrandum et suæ ecclesiæ commodum. Argentinae, quinto Idus Decembris, 1554.

Tui studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

P. S. Valde bene volo excellentissimo viro D. Bibliandro, et observandissimo patri D. Pellicano. Salutem mihi dicas eis utrisque, ab humanitate tua peto.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro, et observandissimo in  
Christo patri, D. Henrico Bullin-  
gero, ecclesie Tigurinæ antistiti.*

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

## EPISTOLA CXXXVI.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. GRATISSIMÆ mihi fuerunt tuæ literæ, observandissime, cum propter *συμπάθειαν*, quam in meis adversis ostendunt, tum propter pietatis tuæ studium erga me et amorem jam mihi perspectum vere paternum. Post duas hebdomadas quam superiores meas ad te dedissem, literæ ex Anglia mihi redditæ sunt, quæ declarant me penitus exutum, quomodo ante fuit expositum, sed tamen aliunde spem jam aliquam apparere. Mei igitur putavi te certiozem de eo facere primo quoque tempore, ut quemadmodum antea dolorem mea causa cepisti, ita gratias jam agas Deo Patri nostro mecum: quem non dubito quin mecum comprecatus fueris, meque ei commendaveris et causam meam.

Et de Bancho est quamobrem magnopere tibi gratias agam. Leverus enim, carissimus noster frater, mihi ostendit D. Sultzerum constituisse, ut Banchum mittam ad nundinas Francofordienses Basileam: nam is Parchum quendam convenit (typographum puto) apud quem Banchum collocabit. Plura vellem, sed subito interpellor de nuncio, qui has perferat extemplo primo mane. Quæso igitur a te, ut in eam partem accipias quam mea soles omnia. Nam hæc arbitrabar me debere in præsententi potius quam nihil, ne majori tibi dolori et sollicitudini essemus quam par est; quia non modo ex tuis literis perspexi, sed ex aliis intellexi, de sollicita diligentia quam suscipere statueras, si hoc non successisset pro Bancho. Deus te diu conservet ad suæ ecclesiæ commodum et multorum consolationem.

Argentina, 8 Januarii, 1555.

Tui studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro et observandissimo in  
Christo patri, D. Bullingero, ec-  
clesiæ Tigurinae antistiti.*

## EPISTOLA CXXXVII.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. OBSERVANDISSIMÆ et mei amantissime, ad te hic mitto capita quædam concionis habitæ ab eo quem *ἐπιγραφή* ostendit. Fieri potest, ut multo plura eo tempore complexus is sit; sed verisimile est in hanc

sententiam omnia. Ego de Anglico, quomodo ad nos adferuntur, ad verbum, quantum potui, expressi. Hominisne admiremur inauditam audaciam ad fingendum, an singularem impudentiam ad mentiendum, an vafrum et versatile ingenium ac mentem (ὡς εἰπεῖν) ἀθεωτάτην, quem tot cædes, tanta læsæ majestatis crimina tanto tempore ἐφ' ἐνεκάτθετο θυμῷ, istaque simulatione et dissimulatione fovere ea potuit et alere? Puto nunquam fando auditum fuisse de tali Vertumno ac hominis monstro et reipublicæ peste, si conferatur ejus ante multos annos editus liber, plane contrario argumento, idque cum tanta δεινώσει et asseveratione, ut nihil in speciem possit magis. Sed ejusmodi portenta commeriti sumus, qui pius et veridicus pene contempsimus. Deus commiseretur nos jam et exaudiat vota suorum, quomodo pro sua bonitate solet, et rebus non solum adflictis sed deploratis etiam et desperatis (quod humanum attinet auxilium), opem ferat. Multa illustria exempla commonstrant, ita eum fecisse; nec dubito, quin suo tempore faciet. Interea suis omnia in bonum cooperantur. Non dormitabit, nec dormitet, qui custodit Israel. Et illud excellens gestum a Mose positum in Exodo et a te repetitum, in Judiciis autem et Prophetis tam sæpe commemoratum, valde consolabile est.

Tuam pietatem hoc tempore pluribus non detinebo. Spero meas superiores tibi redditas antehac, testificantes de fructu tuarum literarum ad D. Sultzerum pro Bancho: qua de re iterum tibi gratias ago pro eodem Bancho. Deus tibi adsit omni modo.

Argentina, 15 Januarii, 1555.

Tui studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

P. S. Valde te salutatur Abelus mercator et nostras et noster. Fuit vobiscum initio hyemis. A quo exemplar habeo ejus scripti, quod ad te mitto.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Excellenti doctrina viro, et patri in Christo  
observandissimo, D. Henrico Bullingero,  
Tigurinae ecclesiae antistiti.*

EPISTOLA CXXXVIII.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. REVERSO ex Frankofordia mihi redditæ sunt tuæ literæ, vir observandissime, testificatrices tui in me animi et summi amoris. Ostendis enim, te in negotiorum undis scribere ad me: quod partim gaudeo, partim doleo. Nam literæ tuæ, etsi breves, illustre tamen exemplum continent

et consolabile de Jesu et Jehoiada: doleo autem me tibi impedimento fuisse tam bene et vehementer occupato. Scio enim tibi curam incumbere multarum et gravissimarum rerum, teque distractum esse pene continue maximis negotiis. A te igitur peto, ne te sevoce posthac vel momentum temporis mea causa a rebus gerendis, nisi quando respirandi tempus et otium tibi erit. Etsi enim ego possim ad tuam humanitatem scribere sæpius, nullo publico impeditus jam onere, id est, munere; tua tamen non est eadem et par ratio. Itaque etiamsi libentissime a te audio et summo cum desiderio, tamen æquo animo feram, si non respondeas, nisi superius commemoratis temporibus et modis. Qua de re tibi ex me sermone etiam tabellarius iste referet. De tuæ pietatis studio et captis laboribus pro Bancho intellexi quoque ex Chamberi nostri relatione. Nondum convaluit, sed melius se habet. Se tibi debere plurimum semper fatebitur, et ego tibi maximas ago gratias ejus causa. Gratiarum autem relationem Deo committimus, qui solus cumulate potest; quem precor, te ut conservet et gubernet ad ecclesiæ suæ commodum et utilitatem. In quo bene vale. Argentina, 24 Aprilis, 1555.

Tuæ pietatis studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

P. S. Salutavi Sampsonum nostrum tuo nomine et alios.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Excellenti doctrina et pietate viro, et  
patri in Christo observando, D.  
Henrico Bullingero.*

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EPISTOLA CXXXIX.

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JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. D. OBSERVANDISSIME in Christo, cogitanti mihi sæpius ad te scribere per hosce aliquot menses nihil occurrit, quod dignum videbatur ut literis mandaretur, propterea quod variabili ἀσυστασία rumores spargebantur. Jam vero constat, acerbum illud divinæ justitiæ flagellum sublatum esse de hac vita, hominem nostra memoria crudelissimum et sanguinem sanctorum maxime sitientem. Etsi autem nostra peccata commerita erant tantum malum et judicium severius propter torporem et ἀχαριστίαν, quæ maxima ex parte nostram pervaserat patriam, cum concederetur liber evangelii cursus; tamen Pater noster cœlestis et idem omnipotens Deus ostendit benignitatem suam ac potentiam quomodo solet. Præclarum illud

par, D. Ridleus et D. Latimerus, paulo ante se obtulerunt Deo spectabile atque eximium sacrificium; quorum cineres et aliorum, qui ante emigraverunt et apud Dominum et Servatorem nostrum vivunt, puto devocasse Dei sententiam in superius commemoratum Dei flagellum. Alia non habemus certa aut explorata (quod sciam impresentiarum), te digna. Quinetiam commemorata te arbitror jam ab aliis plenius aut ante cognovisse: tamen mei esse quoque arbitratus sum, ad te de eisdem scribere; nam mihi videtur jam diu, quod tecum collocutus fuerim. Quæso salutes mihi D. Gesnerum. Mei meminisse vis in tuis precibus et conditionis patriæ nostræ: quod non dubito quin facias. Deus tibi adsit tuoque ministerio, et te conservet ad suæ ecclesiæ commodum. Argentinae, 7 Decembris, 1555.

Tuus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro et observandissimo in  
Christo patri, D. Bullingero, ecclesiæ  
Tigurinæ fidelissimo pastori.*

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EPISTOLA CXL.

JACOBUS HADDONUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. IN DOMINO P. ! Dedi ad te antea, sed dubito jam tibi redditæ fuerint neene; non quod velim te gravissimis occupatum interpellare, multo minus abstrahere ad momentum mihi respondendo: neque res tanti momenti fuerunt de quibus scripsi, ut responsionem requirerent. Certiorem te fecerunt de illis nunciis, quos tum habuimus ex Anglia; jam vero multo minus est quod scribam te dignum. Sed tamen has ad te do, quia diu mihi videtur, quod cum tua collocutus sim humanitate, aut a te audierim ipso. Burcherus noster a vobis rediens mihi quærenti de te narravit non bene te valere. Cum autem adhuc nihil audiverim, jam de te ipso valde aveo intelligere, quomodo valeas. Nihil præterea peto: nec id quidem nisi tuo otio. Multæ causæ sunt quamobrem de tua valetudine pervelim audire. Neque mirum si de te privatim etiam sollicitus pene sim, cum tuum in me animum ita esse perspexi, ut ex quorundam nostrorum sermonibus ad me de te intellexi. Non dubito, quin ista tempora tibi possint, ut piis omnibus, dolorem gignere, atque efficere ut multa et altissima ducantur suspiria. Sed quid facias? Qui sedet in altissimis respicit humilia in cœlo et in terra, qui vult suos exerceri, sed non destitui omnino suam patietur ecclesiam: quin ut homo ille peccati jam aliqua ex parte patefecit per te tuique similes, ita conficietur tandem spiritu oris Domini. Amen.

Amen. Deus tibi adsit suo Spiritu, teque tueatur ad suæ ecclesiæ commodum. Argentinæ, 12 Martii, 1556.

Tui studiosissimus,

JACOBUS HADDONUS.

P. S. Omnia bona et fausta, ad Dei voluntatem, apprecor D. Bibliandro, D. Pellicano, et D. Gesnero.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro et observandissimo in Christo patri, D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori fidelissimo ecclesiæ Tigurinæ.*

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EPISTOLA CXLI.

JOANNES BANCHUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

MIRABITUR fortasse amplitudo tua, præstantissime pater, in his me turbulentis temporibus ad se, quod antehac nunquam fecerim, scribere; eoque maxime, quod nec ulla mihi cum ipsa intercesserit notitia, et nunc sit de iis rebus instituenda oratio, quæ maximum mihi periculum, si literæ ante interciperentur quam qui perfert Anglia exiret, crearent. Hæc ego non existimavi ejus generis esse, id ut deberet, quod instituerem, retardare, cum et pium id ipsum esset, et dignum profecto, quod cum ab aliis omnibus, tum imprimis ab amplitudine tua, propter eam, qua nobilissimam apud nos Grayanam familiam amplexa est, caritatem benevolentiamque cognosceretur; quam quidem monumentis ipsa suis non dubitavit etiam illustrare. Hæc autem familia licet eversa jam et fere extincta sit, propter salutare nomen Servatoris nostri, causamque evangelii; tamen qui pii sunt et vere Christiani non ita dolere de ruina tam illustris familiæ, quomodo lætari eo debent, ejus fuisse extremum actum vitæ in nomine Jesu testificatione terminatum: eoque magis, quod qui cum Christo Domino in regno Patris requiescunt, non sint oculis suis miseram gentis nostræ et luctuosam eversionem usurpaturi. Nos, nos miseri, qui et audimus quotidie nomen Servatoris contumelia affici, et cædem aspiciamus eorum teterrimam, qui propagare ipsius gloriam regnumque dilatare studuerint.

Sed ad Grayos, de quibus colloqui in hoc tecum sermone sane institueram, et propter tuum in ipsos singulare studium, quod est in monumentis tuis plane divinis declaratum, et propter meam etiam in mortuos caritatem, quibus sedulo sum in vita meam observantiam probare conatus.

Jana igitur ducis filia vere gemmea, non tam propter incredibilem literarum scientiam, qua ceteris fœminis una præstitit universis anno ætatis suæ

decimo septimo; quam propter singularem, qua viros puella in militia Christi superavit, fortitudinem, quemadmodum nullis machinis, quas admoliti papistæ sunt, expugnari, nullis decipi eorum insidiis posset, ex colloquio quodam suo, quod ad amplitudinem tuam mitto, intelliget.

Est autem hoc habitum ab illa colloquium cum egregio et callido papista D. Feknamo, de quibusdam religionis nostræ controversis capitibus, de quibus docte sententiam suam ingenioseque explicavit. In hac autem fidei confessione ad finem usque perstitisse, ex iis satis intelligi potest, quæ illa paulo ante, quam affecta supplicio est, protulit; quæ ego attexenda aliis esse putavi, quod digna mihi, quæ omnes cognoscerent, viderentur. Præterea vero quam illud ejus esset vere aureum pectus lumine verbi Dei collustratum, ex duabus epistolis perspicui licebit; quarum alteram ipsa ad nobilissimam virginem D. Catherinam sororem, ut ad sacrarum literarum studium inflammaret, alteram vero ad apostatam quandam, ut ad Christum Dominum revocaret, scripsit. Hæc ego omnia de vernaculo nostro sermone in Latinum convertenda curavi, ut non frustra omnino positam eam operam amplitudo tua censeret, qua illustrare illam familiam ad pietatisque studium incitare voluit. Ego enim testis esse possum, si non locupletissimus, at certe oculatus, incredibilem ex monumentis tuis fructum, cum Grayos omnes, tum imprimis Janam percepisse; quæ quidem sextæ decadis tuæ fere apices omnes non solum diligenter observaverat, verum etiam memoriæ mandaverat.

Dux etiam ipse, quantum temporis potuit a regni negotiis, quibus implicatus erat, suffurari, tantum in sacris libris posuit, imprimisque in legendis tuis, cujus se lactea eloquentia mirifice delectari solitus est dicere. Ex qua quidem lectione maximam cepit utilitatem tum, cum in carcere immanes quædam belluæ, ut a fide et confessione veri Christi avocarent, sint adortæ. Sed movere eum nullo modo potuerunt: ad extremum enim halitum usque Christum Dominum est confessus; atque quo tempore raptus ad supplicium est, licet consiliarium papistæ ex grege porcorum adhibuerint porcum, qui catholicam ecclesiam, qui missam, qui patres, longoque tempore confirmatam consuetudinem clamaret, is tamen nullam aliam voluit, quam quæ morte Christi perfecta est, agnoscere expiationem, hac se fide sustentavit, et in hac tandem fide vitam ipse suam terminavit.

De universa hac religionis in Anglia eversione et antichristiana rabie dicerem, nisi de ea te certiores facerent ii, qui Tigurum quotidie ex Anglia commeant, opulentissimum omnium bonarum literarum emporium. Quod igitur reliquum est, a pietate tua magnopere etiam atque etiam peto, ut hoc meum officium boni consulat, meque in numerum suorum accenseat, et Dominum oret, ut Anglia nostra ab ea possit papistarum tyrannide, qua nunc oppressa est, tandem aliquando liberari. Vale, excellentissime Bullingere, quodque facis, regnum Christi monumentis tuis perpetuo illustra. Londini, 15 Martii, anno Domini 1554.

## EPISTOLA CXLII.

JOANNES BANCHUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

NIHIL mihi unquam in vita accidit jucundius, quam quod humanitas tua dignata sit non solum in numerum me suorum recipere, verum id ipsum quoque humanissime scriptis literis declarare: quas quidem ego quoties lego (lego autem sæpissime), videor mihi duo in iis observare, quæ in primis ad laudem valent. Primum singularis apparet humanitas tua in eo, quod tu talis cum sis, qualem omnes jure admirantur, in tot tantisque occupationibus tuis non sis ad me, qui sum obscurus homo, scribere gravatus. Deinde rara est in eo prudentia tua, quod id non existimes publicari debere, quod possit quam plurimis obesse: quod non est a nobis antea animadversum. Jam vero sentimus scriptis quibusdam libellis vehementissime esse commotos adversarios in Angliâ, dareque operam, ut ab eorum, ab quibus omnia sperabamus ad victum cultumque necessaria, secludamur liberalitate: nec quicquam jam reliquum esse videtur, nisi ut aut nos Angli, qui patria caremus propter verbum Dei, manuum opera utamur, aut bonorum virorum opem imploremus, quo in studiis permaneamus; ut si quando nos Deus in patriam reducat, possimus dogmata papistarum refutare, populoque et genti nostræ, quibus insidiis fuerint ab illis circumventi et decepti, explanare. Pii homines, a quibus sumus hucusque adjuti et sustentati, in carcerem aut omnes sunt causa nostra conjecti, aut si qui sint vinculis liberi, ita diligenter a papistis observantur, ut nihil nobis possint sine summo periculo conferre. Unde fit, ut in magnis nos difficultatibus in hoc tempore constituamur; eoque est ventum, ut sibi quisque quemadmodum prospiciat, providendum esse videatur. Quod ad me attinet, nihil est quamobrem in constitutis studiis sperem me consistere posse; cum is, qui hactenus me aluit, sit ipse in eandem, in quam ceteri Angli, difficultatem contrusus, ut et suis omnibus sit exspoliatus, nec unde aliquid speret, possit in tanta adversariorum malitia reperire. Is est D. Jacobus Haddonus, vir ob suam in pauperes beneficentiam dignus qui plurimis divitiis cumularetur. Cum igitur talis sit conditio mea, ut pergere in proposito mihi cursu studiorum propter inopiam non liceat, id libenter quod proximum est sequerer, ut ei me vivendi rationi darem, quæ sit otio literario conjunctissima; qua in re quoniam intelligo amplitudinem tuam commendatione sua magnopere mihi prodesse posse, humanitate fretus ea, quæ sit in literis ad me tuis apertissime declarata, operam operamque tuam audacter imploro. Est Froshoverus apud vos typographus, de cujus grammatophorus hic probitate diligentiaque in typographia sua multa prædicat, mihi que suavitatis in eo ut elaborarem, si qua me via vellet, ut corrector essem emendatorque eorum, quos typis ipse suis imprimeret, librorum, admittere. Quod

ipsum ut efficiatur, plurimum valere commendationem tuam arbitror. Quapropter si hoc mihi amplitudo tua concesserit, singulare beneficium accepisse videbor, daboque operam ut ne indignum commendasse videatur. Bene valeat humanitas tua, excellentissime et mihi in Christo observandissime domine. Argentorati, Decembris 9, (1554).

Pietatis tuæ imprimis studiosus,

JOAN. BANCHUS, *Anglus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendissimo in Christo patri D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ apud Helvetios ecclesiæ antistiti vigilantissimo.*

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EPISTOLA CXLIII.

JOANNES BANCHUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

Ex literis pietatis tuæ, non ad me scriptis illis quidem, sed de me ad singularem patronum meum et dominum in Christo observandissimum D. Haddon, perspexi, in causa mea non minus laborasse, quam si filius fuissem, non autem alienus, et nisi ex literis tibi minime omnium notus. Quas igitur pietati tuæ pro suis de me susceptis laboribus gratias agam, non plane reperio. Illud autem cum cogitem, natum te esse ut fratres adjuvares vereque Christianum te ostenderes, illum nimirum qui omnia sua studia referat eo, ut omnibus sit adjumento, non solum præsentis ætatis hominibus, verum etiam posteris; profecto nulla in re animadverto summis te viris cedere, pietate vero erga fratres et incredibili diligentia omnes facile exsuperare. Quidam sunt homines, doctissimi illi quidem, et sane pii, sed qui libenter a studiis se abstrahi non patiantur, etiamsi ex illa studiorum intermissione magna ad fratres utilitas perveniret. Tu vero contra nihil videris prius aut antiquius habere, quam in summis ministerii tui laboribus necessaria et ecclesiæ Christi utilissima studia, idque non ad exiguum tempus, ut misello huic adesses aliquibus jam in difficultatibus constituto, intermittere. Ego igitur libenter aliqua grata testificatione complecterer, quanti æstimem illam tuam in me voluntatem: sed superat omnem orationem, imo etiam et cogitationem, hæc tua erga me plus quam paterna pietas. Quod igitur superest, ut ne indignum commendasse videre magnopere laborabo. Quod autem excusatum te apud me habeas, bone Deus! quis ego sum, ut tu talis cum sis, qualem omnes debent revereri, in summis tuis occupationibus ægre feras homuncioni huic etiam beneficiario tuo non responsum esse, qui quidvis malit suscipere quam aliqua in re studiis tuis impedimento esse? Quocirca quam maximas possum pie-

tati tuæ gratias ago; cumque nihil aliud in me sit situm, semper ero bonitatis tuæ in precibus memor: quam Deum Optimum Maximum per Christum Servatorem oro, ut quam diutissime velit ecclesiæ suæ conservatam. 9° Januarii, (1555).

Pietatis tuæ studiosissimus,

JOAN. BANCHUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendissimo in Christo patri D. Henrico  
Bullingero, Tigurinæ apud Helvetios  
ecclesiæ antistiti lectissimo et patrono  
suo summo, S.*

EPISTOLA CXLIV.

THOMAS HARDINGUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SI, quod a veteribus dictum accepimus, ἀπροσηγορία πολλῶν φιλίαν διέλυσε, quid est, doctissime Bullingero, quo minus speremus bonorum amicitias conciliari et constitui posse, si officiose salutentur; maxime si justis id de causis fiat, sic ut omnis color absit vel adulationis vel ambitionis? Mihi vero satis magnam ad te scribendi occasionem fecerunt et officii mei ratio, et horum juvenum, ut tibi commendarentur, justissimæ petitiones. Quis enim ab omni humanitate tam alienus est, quem illa ad scribendum agendumque gratias non impellerent, quæ tu in me præsentem officia contulisti, cum circiter calendas Maii fere jam ante triennium isthac iter facerem in Italiam, quo tum proficiscebar ad capiendum ingenii cultum? Neque enim oblivisci possum, qua me humanitate acceperis, qua liberalitate sis complexus: ut non dicam interim, quam erudito et pleno gravitatis sermone animum meum tui congressus cupidissimum in ædibus tuis ad aliquot horas retinueris et plane paveris, cum de rebus quibusdam haud parvi momenti, ut mihi quidem videri solent, quærentem et hæsitantem omnino prorsus scrupulo et dubitatione liberares. Huc accessit et aliud amoris ac benevolentiae (sic enim interpretari debeo) non vulgaris argumentum, quod nomen quoque meum, perinde quasi ego aliquid essem, jam tum sciscitatus fueris, et in codices tuos inscripseris. Quorum sane beneficiorum quoties mihi venit in mentem (venit autem sæpissime), quod de Platonis cœna dixit Timotheus, cum ab eo invitatus esset, et eidem postero die occurrisset, cœnas Platonis non modo in præsentia, sed in posterum quoque diem esse jucundas; idem mihi multo prolixius de tua humanitate dicendum esse videtur, non solum in præsentia fuisse jucundam, sed in plures menses jam fuisse, atque eandem (ut spero) in multos annos futuram. Et sane nisi vitæ meæ rationes aliter tulissent, et in alia loca pene in-

vitum eo tempore me traxissent, a tua doctissima consuetudine, cujus ego suavitatem tum primum gustare cœperam, tam cito dirini me et disjungi haudquaquam sivissem: quam felicitatem quia rerum mearum conditio præter animi mei voluntatem perpetuo mihi interclusit; reliquum esse videbatur, ut per literas tua aliquando consuetudine et congressu fruendum mihi proponerem. Me vero his diebus in Angliam reversum, cum hujus rei exitum aliquem quærerem, et de scribendo ad te cogitarem, commodum invisit Joannes ab Ulmis, discipulus, ut refert, olim tuus. Orat ut hos juvenes scripta epistola tibi commendarem. Quod equidem libenter recepi me facturum, cum ipsius, quocum mihi consuetudo aliqua intercessit, tum etiam illorum nomine, quos video tales esse, qui propter singularem modestiam, probitatem, eruditionem, eximiæ commendationis officium optimo jure mereantur. Tu itaque velim commendationem hanc meam pro suavissimo ingenio tuo ne contemnas, et hos juvenes, Andream Croariensem et Stumphium, ad vos reversos tua benevolentia ac favore complectare. Tibi interim ex honestissimis et humanissimis illorum moribus confirmare audeo, quantuscunque solet fructus ex optimorum hominum studiis ad te pervenire, haud minorem ex horum gratia ad te perventurum, foreque ut cognoscas juvenes cum spectata probitate, humanitate, observantia, tum vero gratia constantissima. Me certe maximo beneficio devinxeris, si talem te erga eos exhibueris, ut intelligant hanc commendationem meam aliquod apud te pondus habuisse. Vale. Oxoniæ, Collegio Novo. 14 Calend. Novemb. anno Domini 1551.

Butlero nostro ex me salutem dicito quam diligentissime.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Henrico Bullingero, verbi divini in ecclesia  
Tigurina antistiti, hæc reddantur.*

EPISTOLA CXLV.

HENRICUS SYDALLUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. P. SUPERIORE anno, vir colendissime, literas a tua humanitate in gratiam hujus juvenis ab Ulmis accepi, quæ mihi multis nominibus fuerunt longe gratissimæ, sed, si verum fateri velim, supervacaneæ. Nam illius pietas, morum probitas, et in bonas literas ardor, me illi ita prius astrinxerant, ut beneficium accepisse judicarem, si quod in illum conferre potuerim. In quocunque enim tales reperio mores, non potest mihi non esse carissimus, cujuscunque fuerit; nam illam *προσωποληψίαν* ex animo odi. In his amplissimis ædibus mea opella parum illi prodesse potuit; sed animus semper

fuit promptissimus, et eundem illi semper polliceor, modo mores (quod absit!) suos non mutaverit. Sed jam cum ad vos est reversus, et de reditu in Angliam admodum (ut videbatur) incertus, non video, quomodo ulla in re in posterum illi prodesse possum, nisi fortasse tuam clementiam exorare valeam, ut majore quam antehac benevolentia ac amore illum prosequaretur; id quod precibus a tua pietate contendo ardentissime. Mores etenim illius in hac frequentissima doctorum societate tam candidi, tam impolluti, tam omnibus nostris statutis ac domesticis legibus obtemperantes semper fuerunt, ut apud omnes maximam laudem, apud me vero plus quam paternum amorem, justissime meruerint. Ad hæc illius prudentia summopere mihi approbata fuerit, utpote quæ nostris moribus ita se accommodavit, ut a nullo quasi barbarus vituperari merito aliquando poterit, sed ab omnibus laudari, ut legis et regionis memorem, merito obtinuit. Hæc tuæ præstantiæ bona fide indicare mearum partium esse duxi, ne qua tibi suboriretur suspicio, aliter sese hic gessisse, quam honestissimum decet juvenem.

De nostra Oxoniensi academia, et de religionis instauratione, deque piorum apud nos numero pauca tibi in præsentiarum libenter scripsissem, nisi hic juvenis omnia per otium tibi melius referre potuerit. Hoc certissime sciat tua pietas, multos apud nos spiritu tibi esse conjunctissimos, etiam si corpore per maria et terras disjungantur; inter quos primus haberi volo: nulli etenim hac in re cedam, etsi aliis dotibus multo sum inferior. Vale in Domino. Oxoniæ, in ecclesia quæ dicitur Christi, quarto nonas Octobr. (1552.)

*Inscriptio deest.*

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## EPISTOLA CXLVI.

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RODOLPHUS SKINNERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM et pacem in Domino! Sæpius invitavit me antehac Joannes ab Ulmis, ut ad te scriberem, optime Bullingere; sed nuper nullum non movit lapidem, quo mihi paucula hæc ad te extorqueret. Et, ut ingenue fatear, vix potuit adducere, ut etiam in præsentia scriberem: non quod quicquam dubitaverim de tua humanitate, aut quod candor ille ingenii tui non sit jamdiu ex ipsis tuis scriptis et multorum sermone probe cognitus: sed partim quod longa dissuetudine Latine scribere dediscerim; partim quod verecundior sim, quam ut ausim tibi, tot tantisque rebus ecclesiæ implicito, incultis jam literis meis negotium facessere. Debere me hoc officium tibi lubens fateor, doctissime vir, et deberi a me etiam tibi multas et magnas gratias ob honestam illam

mentionem, quam de me in literis ad Dominum meum, marchionem Dorcestriæ, feceras, agnosco. Certe jam olim summo amore summaque reverentia ob veram illam religionem te prosequutus sum, meque plurimum tibi debere sum arbitratus Christianorum omnium nomine. Verum nuper, mi Bullingere, meo ipsius et patriæ meæ nomine adeo devinctum reddidisti, ut posthac non poteris magis. Videris enim paterno quodam animo amoreque non vulgari erga Angliam nostram affici. Multis modis optimis tuis lucubrationibus eruditissimisque libris editis ubique terram publice illam adornasti. Atque hinc tu veram justamque laudem apud omnes bonos eruditosque consequutus es, quorum magnus numerus (Deo Optimo Maximo sint gratiæ) reperitur apud nos in præsentia. Et tu vel hinc scire possis, quam non frustra apud nos in vinca Domini laboraveris; quantusque honor et gratia debetur regi nostro optimo, et quantum nos nostris magistratibus debemus, qui non solum ipsi veritati favent optime, verum etiam se bonos strenuosque patronos præbent omnibus, qui hanc veritatem amplectuntur. Nec tu certe immeritam aut indignam laudem his in scriptis tuis contulisti: jure enim merentur illam, ex omni parte laudandi; meritoque gaudemus nos, quoties vos vestras lucubrationes hujuscemodi viris inscribere contigerit. Currentibus enim magnum hinc calcar animosque mirum in modum additis, ut quod bene cœperint, optime perficere non graventur. Quod futurum prope diem spero. Synodum nuper enim convocarunt, delegeruntque quosdam, qui ecclesiam nostram ab antichristi sordibus purgent, Romanique pontificis impias leges, quibus misere turpiterque jam diu contaminata est sponsa Christi, abrogent, novasque et meliores et sanctiores substituant. Interim nostrum erit Deum Patrem et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sedulo precari, ut non solum hic sed ubique terrarum vera, pura, sinceraque veritas florere tandem incipiat. Plura, optime Bullingere, quam in initio decreveram, scripsi; et tamen multa supersunt, de quibus a te certior fieri libenter velim, si tempus ad id suppeteret: sed differam in præsentia. Proximis forsitan libere impertiam quidquid torquebit. Interim bene vale, optime vir, Deumque precor, ut te diu incolumem nobis servet ad gloriam suam manifestandam. Oxoniæ, nonis Januarii.

Tuus ex animo,

RODOLPHUS SKINNERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Optimo ac doctissimo viro D.  
Bullingero tradantur hæc  
literæ.*

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## EPISTOLA CXLVII.

JOANNES WILLOCKUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

IN Christo salus! Oxonii transii quinto idus Maii: id simul ac primum cognovit Joannes ab Ulmis ad te, vir præstantissime, ut dem literas, finem rogandi omnino facere noluit. Itaque ei et justa petenti, et me officii mei pulchre admonenti, refragari haudquaquam potui. Scripsi ergo ad te literas paulo post Natalem: utrum vero redditæ sint, nescio. Capita earum in præsentiarum breviter tantum attingam. Primum gratias pietati immortales ago, qua adductus mei in præfatione ad principem nostrum peramanter mentionem fecisti. Amavi ego autem tuam prædicatam semper ab omnibus doctrinam et eruditionem; nunc vero etiam tuam summam humanitatem et incredibilem erga nos amorem etiam atque etiam amplector et mehercule lubens agnosco. Princeps certe ipse gratissimo animo atque optimo munusculum illud tuum accepit: nec vero tam honorifice a te factum scias quam utiliter plane accipie: sunt enim, ut ait Socrates, cohortationes magnorum virorum stimuli et calcar ad laudabilem vitæ cursum feliciter transigendum. A me singulis noctibus, cum versaremur in finibus Scotiæ, post acceptum illic librum a Joanne ab Ulmis magno suo labore, justam lectionem e libro tuo suæ celsitudini non solum legi, sed diligenter examinari voluit: quare sane illum vehementer natura alias optima præditum profecisse sensi; iisque etiam multoties se tibi devinctissimum affirmabat. Hæc hactenus.

Rerum mearum quis sit status, ex hoc ipso nuncio optime cognosces. Plura scribere principio statueram, sed negotia ac iter ipsum alio necessario me vocant: hæc tamen pauca his addam; quibus si respondeas, rem gratissimam haud dubie feceris. Primum quæro, utrum sit legitimum et verum matrimonium, quod contrahitur nesciis vel invitis parentibus: et an dicendi sint pie et legitime vivere in sacro conjugio, qui sic nupti in eodem perseverant; vel num possint se iterum disjungere voluntate parentum. Secundo quæro, an mulier proprium virum relinquens, et alteri adhærens ipso vivente, possit illi nubere post proprii mariti mortem, cui adhæserat cum adhuc viveret proprius maritus. Tertio quæro, an judicandi sint in sacro conjugio pie vivere, qui tempore persecutionum metu mortis mutuo inter se matrimonio conjuncti sunt sine testibus; sed tamen affirmabant coram multis, se conjugatos esse, communiterque vivebant per spatium viginti annorum. De iis quid sentias, breviter mihi exponas, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Festinans hæc ad te ac raptim dedi: ea tu boni consulas velim, quod sane te facturum non dubito. Vale, vir præstantissime mihi que carissime, D.

Bullingere, meumque ministerium tuis precibus semper commendatum habe. Oxonii, quarto idus Maii, 1552.

Tuæ amplitudini addictissimus,

JOANNES WILLOCKUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino D.  
Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ pastori et  
episcopo fidissimo, dentur hæc.*

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## EPISTOLA CXLVIII.

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BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

NÆ ego sim vere inhumanus, doctissime Bullingere, ni te literis meis salutem, qui me cum apud vos essem tanta humanitate tractaris. Quod autem proximis nundinis nihil scripserim, tu causam conjicere potes. Nunc etiamsi eadem causa fortassis remaneat, silentium tamen rumpendum duxi, ne non tam temporis quam negligentiae atque oblivionis cessatio mea videri possit: id quod, crede mihi, in mores meos non cadit. Nam neque animus meus a mutuo amore abhorret, et humanitatis mihi exhibitæ, ut si quis alius, minime immemor sum. In præsentia nihil est quod scribam, quam omnes monachos nostrates nomen suum amisisse, aliquot ex maximis monasteriis facta esse scholas studiosorum, paulo ante festum natalitium supplicium sumptum esse de tribus opulentissimis abbatibus, quod inter se de restituendo papa conspirassent. Non est prætereundum, episcopum Wintoniensem adverso populi fremitu admodum papistice concionatum esse primo Dominico quadragesimali, huicque sequenti Dominico doctorem Barnes egregie respondisse gratissima pene omnium admurmuratione. Quæ potissimum tractavit episcopus, ad Joannem Butlerum scripsi, ex quo cognoscere potes. Alia ab aliis accipies. Dominus Audlæus, vir egregius, famulus regis, ex nostra prædicatione factus est tui amantissimus, jussitque ut non modo te suis verbis accurate salutarem, verum etiam ut tibi indicarem, si filium tuum huc miseris, se illum ea humanitate tractaturum, qua proles carissimi et singularis viri tractari debet. Salvere plurimum jubeo matrem tuam, uxorem, fratrem, liberos, totamque reliquam familiam. Parem salutem meis verbis ascribes D. Pellicano, D. Judæ, D. Rhelicano, D. Megandro, viris optimis atque lectissimis. Vale. Londini, 20 die Februarii.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Henrico B.*

## EPISTOLA CXLIX.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SCRIPSERAM ad te multis abhinc hebdomadibus, easque literas D. Calvino, mei tuique amantissimo, tradideram Bernam proficiscenti, ut inde ad te perferrentur. Verum quantum ex literis, quas per nuntium D. Butleri misisti, coniecere potui, meæ tibi non sunt redditæ. Non enim dubito, quin carum mentionem alicubi facturum fuisses: proinde hæc res animum meum non mediocriter angit atque excruciat. Nam cum ceteri mei conterranei ad te literas darent, cumque ipse alios Tigurinos epistoliis salutassem, potuisti jure me ingratitude notare, qui te prætermiserim, cui ego plurimum debeo. Si hoc certe fecissem, non dubitarem quin dignas aliquando pœnas daturus essem Jovi ξένιω. Sed nihil, mihi crede, minus in animo fuit, eoque ad te meas literas misi, priusquam D. Butlerus, singularis amicus meus et frater multo carissimus, hunc nuntium nactus fuisset. Sed infeliciter, ut video, cecidit. Mihi certe gravissimum dolorem attulit, non quod aliquid in literis fuerit, quod lectione tua dignum putem, sed ne vel amicitia tuæ contemptor, vel benignitatis erga me parum memor sim tibi forte visus: quorum utrum minus velim, haud satis scio. Illud est singularis humanitatis tuæ, quod me conjunxeris in literis tuis ad D. Butlerum. Unde etiam mihi bona spes est, te hanc meam purificationem non illibenter accepturum, tametsi, τοῦ Θεοῦ μάρτυρος, in amicitiam nostram nihil peccavi, nisi forte hoc est peccasse, quod alias literas ad te non dederim, cum certus nuntius adesset; in quo nonnullam culpam meam agnosco. Sed quis putasset, eas literas ad te non perventuras, quas D. Calvino tradidissem, illeque rursus D. Megandro? Posthac si permisero ad te a nobis ullum nuntium venire sine literis meis, non obstat, quin me in numerum τῶν ἀχαρίστων aut etiam τῶν μισοφίλων conjicias; quod tamen seclus in me hæcere minime omnium velim. Sum enim, ut si quis alius, ad mutuo amandum propensus, ut interdum etiam eos, qui mihi parum bene volunt, tantum non depercam. Doctos certe omnes, quique de me bene meriti sunt, ita in deliciis, ita præ oculis semper habeo, ut nec illis dulcius quicquam sit, nec penitius animo insideat. Qui igitur tui oblivisci queam, cujus et eruditio mihi semper jucundissima et utilissima fuit, et beneficia in me extant plurima? Non est igitur, quod existimes tui oblivione factum esse, quod literæ meæ jam ad te non pervenerunt; sed est quod expostules cum D. Megandro, qui literas meas tibi perferendas non curarit. Me extra omnem culpam esse, ut spero, vides, nisi quod tibi bis non scripserim. Te filiolo auctum esse, et eo quidem primo etiam die Χριστοφόρω, ex animo gratulor, nec minus gaudeo, uxorem tuam fœminam laudatissimam hoc periculo esse perfunctam. Quid Lutherus cum suis περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας molitur, scire pereupimus. Ru-

musculus hic est, nescio quis, de Bernatum animis in Buceri partes non-nihil inclinatis. Hic, quantum perspicere haecenus potuimus, omnia pure prædicantur. Tibi, liberis tuis omnibus, uxori optimæ, aviæ, Rodolpho, τὴν εὐτυχίαν, τὴν πολυδαιμονισύνην<sup>1</sup>, τὴν ἀληθῆ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγαλλίασιν ὀρτο. Vale, animo meo carissime, D. Bullingere, cum tuis omnibus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eruditissimo Tigurinæ ecclesiæ episcopo  
D. Henrico Bullingero, amico suo  
singulari.*

## EPISTOLA CL.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

QUID mihi tandem contingere potuit gratius aut optabilius, quam ut literas a tam longinqua regione acciperem a viro multis mihi nominibus carissimo, quemque ob singularem tum pietatem tum eruditionem nunquam satis suspicere possim? Etiam humanitatis laudem mihi præripuisti, optime Bullingere. Verum mei diurni silentii causas referre nec opus est fortassis, nec sane possum sine ingenti dolore. Missa ergo isthæc facio, tibi que magnam habeo gratiam, qui me suavissimis literis tuis sis dignatus, quæ me profecto, plusquam verbis consequi possim, exhilararunt. Sic enim arbitror genuinam religionis faciem apud vos tantum hoc tempore extare, teque in ea re tam bonam navasse operam, ut tui memoria sit mihi semper futura jucundissima. Quod spectat ad res nostras, quousque progressi simus in religionis negotio, te ut opinor latere non potest. Istuc scito, omnes nostrates, qui quidem ex animo faveant renascenti veritati, vobiscum per omnia sentire, tam qui in honorum fastigio collocantur, quam qui in doctorum numerum referuntur. Excipio Cantuarenses et Latimerum et pauculos præterea ex doctis; nam ex nobilitate neminem habeo quin optime sentiat. Ac Cantuarensis quidem nescio quomodo ita se gerit, ut vulgus nostrum non valde multum illi tribuat, nobiles habeant pro frigido. Alioqui vir est humanus et clementi ingenio. Latimerus tametsi non liquido perspicat quid veri insit in causa eucharistiæ, tamen æquior est vel Luthero, vel etiam Bucero. Hoc nobis persuasum est, illum nunquam obfuturum huic causæ. Altius enim quam ceteri rem ipsam introspicit, ut est ingenio plane divino, cupitque in nostram sententiam descendere; sed est cunctabundus, et ægre atque etiam meticulose renunciat opinioni semel imbibitæ. Sed bona spes est illum aliquando totum futurum nostrum. Neminem enim ex nostris aversatur, imo

[<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.]

amplectitur, auditque avidissime de hac re disserentes, tanquam qui supra modum optet hanc causam sibi totam patefieri, atque etiam persuaderi. Sed de his plura, ubi plus dabitur otii. Salutes oro meis verbis accurate optimos doctissimosque viros D. Theo. Bibliandrum, egregium non modo Helvetiarum sed totius etiam Germaniæ decus, D. Gualterum et ceteros, una cum præposito humanissimo meo hospite et uxore tua eximia matrona. Vale. Londini, 1 Augusti.

Tuus,

BARTHO. TRAHERON.

P. S. Juvenem illum quem mihi commendasti, quod abessem Londino quum ille eo venisset, nondum videre contigit: si qua in re illi gratificari poterem, in tuam gratiam libentissime præstabo meum officium. Audio illum nunc agere xonii. Iterum vale.

## EPISTOLA CLI.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

QUANTUM tibi debeo, Bullingere optime, qui non solum me humanissimis tuis literis invisere, sed doctis etiam et piis tuis lucubrationibus donare sis dignatus! Non videor mihi verbis assequi posse, quanta me voluptate hic tuus erga me amor affecerit. Lubentissime te jam pridem meis literis salutassem, sed tantæ tragiæ apud nos hoc anno excitatæ sunt, tamque plane inauditæ, ut animum ad scribendum inducere non potuerim, imo ut omnino vivere non libuerit. Non dubito, quin audieris omnia. Nunc admiranda Dei bonitate omnia videntur sedata. Christi religio, quæ nutare videbatur, firma stat, idque soli Dei providentiæ referimus acceptum. Timemus tamen, ne Flandria nobis aliquam tempestatem immittat. Regem habemus supra ætatem constantem, doctum et pium. Si quis unquam extitit Josias a primi illius ætate, hic est haud dubie; qui ut nobis incolomis servetur, vos quoque communem Patrem dignemini publicis precibus implorare. Crede mihi, mi Bullingere, sanctior indoles nostro tempore nusquam extitit. Solus iste incredibili pietate, sanctissimis moribus, prudentia plane senili, constantia in hac ætate omnino inaudita, evangelium sustinere videtur. Tantum Dei miraculum piis ignotum esse non debet. Sed ut plus etiam addas Dei laudibus, scito Latimerum, quod ad eucharistiæ veritatem spectat, in nostram sententiam descendisse una cum Cantuariensi et ceteris episcopis, qui antehac Lutherani videbantur. Dominum communibus votis interpellemus, ut rem pulcherrime inchoatam pertexere dignetur, qui te tuosque diu servet incolomes! D. Pellicanum, Biblian-

drum, Gualterum, fratres carissimos, plurimum salvere jubebis. Vale.  
Londini, 4 Calend. Oct.

Tuus,

BAR. TRAHERON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro domino Bullingero.  
Figuri.*

## EPISTOLA CLII.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

NON possum mihi temperare, Bullingere optime, quin ea tibi scribam quæ nuper nobis maximam attulerint voluptatem; ut tu cum tuis symmystis parte aliqua fruaris. Habita est Londini decimo nono Calendas Januarii, ni fallor, disputatio *περὶ εὐχαριστίας* in consessu omnium pene procerum totius Angliæ. Decertatum est acriter inter episcopos. Cantuariensis præter omnium exspectationem sententiam vestram de hoc negotio apertissime, constantissime, doctissimeque defendit. Hæc fuerunt illius argumenta, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνελήφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. ὁ Χριστὸς κατέλιπε τὸν κόσμον. Πτωχοὺς πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε, &c. Sequutus est deinceps Roffensis, qui tanta eloquentia, perspicuitate, eruditione atque argumentorum *δεινώσει* hanc rem tractavit, ut acerrimo papistæ Wigorniensis os obturaverit. Nunquam splendidiorem victoriam veritas apud nos reportavit. Video plane actum de Lutheranismō, cum qui prius habitī sunt summi ac pene soli illius fautores, nostri toti facti sunt. Multum debemus Domino, qui hac quoque in parte nobis consultum vult. Noli te fraudare, carissime, tanta voluptate, qua Deum precor ut diu fruaris. D. Bibliandrum et ceteros carissimos fratres salutabis accurate. Uxori tuæ et liberis omnibus opto salutem ex animo. Vale.

Chaoniæ<sup>1</sup>, pridie Cal. Januarias.

BARTHOL. TRAHERON.

P. S. Ecce, cum suas esset traditurus literas D. Trehernius, forte fortuna adveni: facere non potui quin et tibi salutatiunculam scriberem; plura enim pro festinatione nimia tabellarii scribere non possum: propediem de omnibus rebus certior ut fias faciam. Raptim. Londini mira fit stultorum episcoporum recantatio.

JOANNES AB ULMIS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
amicorum summo. Zurich.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sic, ut videtur, MS.]

## EPISTOLA CLIII.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

QUANTUM ego tibi debeo, Bullingere optime, qui non solum me literis amicissime scriptis salutare, sed etiam doctissimis libellis tuis erudire digneris, cum ego interim nihil habeam quod rependam præter animum tui amantem, quem, mihi crede, præstabo tibi, quamdiu licuerit spirare. Ac si quando aliquid præterea suppeteret, non obliviscar, quantum tibi sim obærat. Tu vero perge Christianam religionem eruditis istis scriptis promovere. Habes nostros prorsus omnes tibi faventes atque applaudentes. Si quo in statu nostræ res sint scire cupis, religio quidem salva manet, sed vitia eorum, qui profitentur *εὐαγγέλιον*, mire invalescunt. Plebs hoc anno nihil hactenus molita est: timendum tamen, ne partim suo inquieto ingenio, partim nobilium avaritia concitata, turbas aliquas sit datura, nisi Dominus ipse avertere dignatus fuerit, in gratiam regis nostri solius, qui in bonis literis, pietate et prudentia mire proficit. Hunc amplissimæ spei principem, et Christianæ religionis etiamnum ad miraculum usque propugnatorem, vos dignabimini precibus vestris Deo commendare. Nisi enim Deus nostris vitiis offensus hunc nobis ante maturam ætatem eripuerit, nil dubitamus, quin Anglia alterum Constantinum sit datura, vel eo etiam præstantiorem. Rogo ergo per Christum, ut huic felicia omnia precemini. Nam vos quoque, tametsi procul absitis, hinc fructum aliquem capietis. Vos enim et amat, et Christi religionem apud vos optime constitutam agnoscit, eamque semper salvam atque illæsam cupit. Vale, frater in primis observande. Oxfordiæ, 12 Junii, 1550.

Tuis,

BARTHO. TRAHERON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLIV.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

MAGNAM tu quidem iniisti apud me gratiam, doctissime Bullingere, qui me et longe suavissimis literis tuis invisere et fœtu præterea tuo donare sis dignatus. Nihil enim abs te proficiscitur, quod mihi non semper et gratissimum fuerit et futurum sit. Non parum certe interim dolet, quod nihil mihi meæ facultates aut hactenus permiserint aut ad-

huc permittant, quo declarem quantum et te amem et tibi me debere agnoscam. Verum si res meæ aliquando melius habituræ sunt, officiam profecto ut intelligas, me et singularem tuam pietatem ut par est colere, et memorem esse eximiæ illius humanitatis, quam erga me Tiguri ostendisti. Nunc autem cogor, dum nihil quod in te conferre possim reperio, novum beneficium abs te poscere. Vehementer cupio scire, quid tu et ceteri doctissimi viri, qui Tiguri agitis, de prædestinatione et Dei providentia sentiatis. Si causam quæris, sunt hic quidam qui apud vos aliquando egerunt, qui vos asserant nimium *μελαγχθονίζειν*. Plurimi vero apud nos, in quorum numero me fateor esse, Joannis Calvini sententiam ut perspicuam et sacris literis maxime consentaneam amplectuntur. Ac Deo quidem gratias maximas agimus, quod nuper doctissimi et optimi viri Joannis Calvini opusculum egregium contra Pighium et Georgium quendam Siculum prodierit eo tempore, quo hæc quæstio apud nos agitari cœpit. Fatemur enim eum multum lucis attulisse, imo totum hoc negotium ita tractasse, ut nihil neque doctius neque dilucidius hactenus viderimus. Cupimus tamen scire quid vos sentiatis, quibus jure plurimum tribuimus. Speramus certe vos ab illius optima et doctissima sententia nihil dissentire. Saltem dignabimini exponere quid in eo libello vel probetis, vel desideretis, vel omnino rejiciatis: si tamen aliquid sitis rejecturi, quod non facile credimus. *Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα*. Quis sit rerum nostrarum status, Joannes ab Ulmis optimus adolescens, qui suorum literis in patriam revocatur, melius exponet. Religio integra manet. Præstantissimus rex optime valet, et eruditioni pietatique multum quotidie adjicit. Sed hæc latius et melius, ut dixi, Joannes ab Ulmis. Vale, carissime vir, meque mutuum ama. D. præpositum hospitem meum cum ceteris optimis et doctissimis fratribus salutabis meo nomine accurate.

Londini, 10 Septembris, 1552.

Tuus ex animo,

BARTHOLOMÆUS TRAIHERON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo atque optimo viro D. Henrico  
Bullingero, fratri imprimis colendo.  
Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CLV.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SINGULAREM tuam humanitatem, optime Bullingere, agnosco; qui ut mihi serio flagitanti satisfaceres, tam fusc tamque accurate de providentia et prædestinatione Dei scribere nihil sis gravatus. Quanvis autem in illis tuis scriptis eximiam et eruditionem et modestiam admirer, tamen,

ut verum fatear, tecum per omnia sentire non possum. Nam quædam ita Deum permittere scribis, ut illi omnem actionem tollere videaris. Permittere Deum multa nos tum dicimus, cum suo Spiritu non renovat, sed homines cupiditatibus suis auferendos tradit. Et quanquam Deus ipse malas cupiditates in nobis non creat, quæ alioqui nobiscum nascuntur, tamen locum, tempus, modum præscribere asserimus, ut nihil aliter fiat quam quomodo ipse antea statuerat fieri: nam, ut Augustinus habet, etiam tenebras ordinat. Breviter actiones omnes Deo tribuimus, vitium autem, si quod inest, hominibus relinquimus. Quod opinor his verbis Augustinus extulit: Peccare est in hominum potestate; ut autem peccando hoc vel illud opus homines edant, non est ipsorum, sed Dei ordinantis tenebras. Rursum: Deus quasdam voluntates suas utique bonas implet per malorum hominum voluntates malas. Huc denique pertinet illud: Propterea namque magna opera Domini, ut miro et ineffabili modo non fiat præter ejus voluntatem, quod etiam contra sit ejus voluntatem.

Sed parum prudenter facio qui te horum admoneam, cui omnia Augustini sunt notissima. In Calvino non probas, quod scribat Deum non modo primi hominis casum et in eo posterorum ruinam prævidisse, sed arbitrio etiam suo dispensasse. Quod certe nisi concesserimus, omnem providentiam et sapientiam Dei e medio tollemus. Equidem non video quomodo hæc Salomonis sententia minus quippiam complectatur, "Omnia propter semetipsum operatus est Deus, etiam impium ad diem malum:" et ista Pauli, "Omnia ex illo, per illum, et in illum." Alias phrases quibus utitur doctissimus Calvinus, quoniam passim in sacris literis occurrunt, omitto. Nec vero aut ineptum aut periculosum arbitrari possum, si eum loquendi modum imitemur, quo Spiritus Sanctus utitur. Ac nisi supervacaneum videretur, te etiam atque etiam rogarem, ut caveas ne quid dissidii inter vos harum rerum causa oriatur. Nam et cursum evangelii haud parum retardabit, et vos causam sua sponte labentem non ita diu, nisi me omnia fallunt, sustinebitis.

Liberos tuos si huc miseris, erunt mihi loco carissimorum fratrum. Egi cum carissimo viro D. Checo de Cœlio Secundo, quem arbitror per literas tibi significasse, quid vel fecerit vel facturus sit. Vale, carissime Bullingere, et fratres omnes meo nomine salvere jube, maxime vero D. præpositum humanissimum hospitem meum, D. Gualterum, D. Butlerum nostratam, etc. Vale iterum. Londini, 3 Junii. (1553).

Tui amantissimus,

BARTHO. TRAHERON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Optimo doctissimoque viro, D. Henrico  
Bullingero, patri et domino vere  
colendo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLVI.

BARTHOLOMÆUS TREHERNIUS JOANNI CALVINO.

RE ipsa exerior, eruditissime Calvine, quicquid homines deliberaverint aut statuerint, omnem tamen eventum pendere ex Dei voluntate; sæpeque fieri, ut quod nos primum agere decreverimus, id aut nunquam aut longo post tempore fiat. Nam cum mihi in animo fuisset certum fixumque, ut te brevi reviserem, ita nunc evenit ut quando id sim facturus plane nesciam. Tales enim literas a patria accepimus, ut nobis Anglia, velimus nolimus, propius sit adeunda. Quo mihi haud scio an quicquam accidere potuerit tristius, insuavius certe nunquam: cupiebam enim unum saltem annum apud te transigere, utpote cujus consuetudo mihi longe cum suavissima tum fructuosissima visa est. Sed, ut video, quo fata trahunt, nobis eundem est. Quæso itaque ut tametsi corporibus longe sejuncti fuerimus, animis tamen συνοικῶμεν. Longe enim de me aliter meritus es, quam ut tui aliquando immemor esse queam: non enim alia re tuis in me beneficiis respondere possum, quam fideli amicitia nostræ memoria, quam tibi diligentissime diutissimeque præstabo. Quod superest, de decem coronatis, quos tibi tradidi, non peterem, nisi vererer ne mihi defuturum sit viaticum. Vide tamen ne ipse ullum capias detrimentum. Eximium virum D. Pharellum meis verbis salutabis, cum reliquis amicis omnibus nominatim. Vale, carissime, feliciter diuque.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro eximia pietate parique doctrina  
D. Joanni Calvino, amico cum  
primis observando.*

## EPISTOLA CLVII.

PETRUS ALEXANDER PAULO FAGIO.

QUOD hactenus, vir candidissime, nullas ad te literas dederim, nulla alia de causa factum existimes, quam quod eas, quas ad virum clarissimum D. Bucerum scripsi, et tibi scriptas esse putarim. Nunc vero quoniam a reverendissimo domino meo mandatum habebam, te suo nomine literis meis invisere, prætermittere nequaquam potui, quin breves saltem literas ad te darem, deque sua voluntate optima, animoque tibi rebusque tuis deditissimo, certiore facerem. Ne igitur longioribus te differam ambagibus, breviter reverendissimi nostri voluntatem, omnesque Christi ministros

singulare promovendi studium accipe. Intellexit vir optimus, ecclesiaeque Christi in hoc regno reducendae suoque nitore restituendae praecipuus auctor, te a senatu urbis vestrae dimissum esse; quumque pro maxima erga ecclesiarum pios ministros sollicitudine de te rebusque tuis ardentius cogitaret, grave tibi tuisque fore dixit, tam inopinato de conditione certa extrudi. Cum vero hae nostrae ecclesiae doctis viris indigeant, teque amplius in tua patria conditionem aliquam honestam non habiturum arbitretur, te quamprimum in hoc regno videre desiderat, mihiq; negotium hoc dedit, te suo nomine literis meis vocare. Tu itaque quam celerrime poteris venias quaeso, et reverendissimum nostrum tui amantissimum adventu tuo citissimo exhilara. Non est, vir clarissime, de conditione aliqua honesta in hoc regno adipiscenda quod ambigas: certo enim scio te in academia aliqua vel Oxoniae vel Cantabrigiae honestissimum locum habiturum esse, ubi de tuis lectionibus plus stipendii capias, quam unquam in patria ob concionandi gravissimum munus habuisti: ne igitur adventum tuum longius differas quaeso, sed confestim venias. Habemus hic reverendissimum nostrum dominum Cantuarensis, ecclesiae Christi verissimum alumnum, una cum illustrissimo principe domino Protectore, qui quasi alter Josephus, secundus a rege, quidquid vult modo pro Christo et ejus gloriae amplificanda impetrare valet: hocque egregie facit ille; Christi enim ecclesiae ejusque veris membris opera et industria sua in hoc regno nequaquam deest: quidquid enim ad laudem nominis Dei et emolumentum ecclesiae cessurum videt, hoc ut quamprimum fiat, omnibus animi sui viribus contendit. Est praeterea senex ille episcopus, dominus Latimerus, utriusque vestrum videndi cupidissimus, qui et suam (quoniam non postremae auctoritatis apud regem est) operam vobis in rebus omnibus defert. Veni igitur, domine, et noli tardare. Salutabis meo nomine uxorem, una cum Caritate vestra. Vale.

Datae Lambeti, anno 1549, die 24 Martii.

Tuus, hospesque tuus futurus cum veneris,

PETRUS ALEXANDER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo et pientissimo viro Paulo Fagio,  
ecclesiae Christi apud Argentinenses quondam ministro, amico suo amantissimo.  
Argentorati. In absentia ejus D. Christophoro Montio.*

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## EPISTOLA CLVIII.

PAULUS FAGIUS JOANNI ULSTETTERO.

SALVE plurimum, dulcissime gener! Sexto Aprilis Argentorato discessimus D. Bucerus et ego, 18 ejusdem per Lotharingiam, Galliam, Campaniam, Picardiam, Flandriam et Artesiam, Caletum primam Angliæ civitatem tutissime sine omni periculo pervenimus; et nusquam melius habuimus quam in Cæsaris ditione, a quo tantum itinere biduo abfuimus. Humanissime excepti sumus Caleti a proceribus urbis, qui omnes cupidissime nostrum adventum exspectabant; ubi quoque D. D. Petrum Alexandrum, eo ab archiepiscopo missum nostrum adventum expectaturum, invenimus. Manent nos optimæ conditiones. Tantum Dominus det, ut aliquid boni, quod ad nominis sui gloriam et ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem faciat, efficere possimus; et salva erit omnis res. Tu quoque cum tua, filia mea carissima, Domino plurimas ages gratias, quod nos tam paterne per omnes hostes nostros deduxit, quem et porro nobis clementer adfuturum non dubitamus. Caleti nobis per unum atque alterum diem manendum erit propter ventorum tempestatem. Mare ubi trajecerimus, duce Christo, atque in Angliam pervenerimus, tum operam dabo ut, quamprimum fieri potest, de rebus meis quoque certior fias. Tu quoque fac, ut quamprimo quoque tempore sciam, quo in statu sint res vestræ. Literas mitte Argentoratam ad dominum Conradum Hubertum, qui ad nos semper commodissime transmittet. Paulus filius meus Cantuariæ est, et optime habet, ut narravit mihi D. Petrus, quem spero me postridie paschatis aut citius visurum. Vale quam felicissime, carissime gener, cum costa tua, filia mea carissima, et saluta ex me quam officiosissime omnes fratres, cum primis Erbiuni et Scribam. Raptim ex Caletto, 18 Aprilis, an. 1549. Valeat quoque vobiscum rectissime filius meus Timotheus, qui si pergat emendare mores suos, ut de eo domi spem fecisti, non minus mihi carus erit posthac, ut antea. Efficias ut literas ejus videam primo nuntio.

Socer tuus,

PAULUS FAGIUS, sen.

## EPISTOLA CLIX.

PAULUS FAGIUS JOANNI ULSTETTERO.

S. P. CARISSIME gener! Non dubito quin maximo desiderio tenearis cognoscendi, quomodo et quando in Angliam venerimus. Scias ergo 18 Aprilis nos Caletum primum Angliæ portum, duce Deo, feliciter pervenisse, ubi propter maris tempestatem nos usque ad 23 diem Aprilis

hærerere oportuit. Eodem die secundissimo vento mare trajecimus, Londinum venimus 25 Aprilis. Hinc Lambetum transfretavimus, arcem archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui ibi nos humanissime excepit. Cupit me Oxonium transferre ad universitatem, cui præest D. Petr. Martyr, (est enim celebrior,) D. Bucerum vero Cantabrigiam. Verum nos instamus apud ejus celsitudinem, ne velit nos disjungere, sed permittere, quo aliquandiu una versari queamus, quod utrique magno solatio foret. Verum quid futurum sit, adhuc ignoramus; nam omnia aguntur decreto regio. Det Dominus, ut ubicunque tandem futuri simus, ipsi nos adprobemus; quod tu nobiscum ab illo nobis credentibus precibus contendas rogo. De rebus Anglicanis nihil adhuc certe scribere possum. Hoc quidem animadvertimus, quod copiosa sit messis, paucissimi vero operarii. Rogemus ergo Dominum, ut extrudat operarios commodos. Paulum filium meum Cantuarie salvum invenimus. Optime didicit linguam Anglicanam, et Gallicam medioeriter, ita ut jam nobis vice interpretis sit. Ita se gessit, ut probetur omnibus bonis et doctis viris, quod me maximopere exhilaravit. Adhuc hæremus Lambeti apud archiepiscopum, exspectantes quotidie ut transferamur ad destinatum locum. Rogo etiam atque etiam me certiorum facias de statu rerum tuarum. Spero fore, ut brevi conveniamus. Optime vale cum carissimis pignoribus meis Sara et Timotheo. Saluta ex me officiosissime omnes fratres symmystas, imprimis D. Erbium et Scribam. Raptim ex Lambeto, arce archiepiscopi, 26 Aprilis, anno salutis, 1549.

Tuus Socer,

PAULUS FAGIUS, senior.

P. S. Plurimum vos quoque salvere jubet D. Bucerus cum Negelino et Paulo nostro.

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## EPISTOLA CLX.

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PAULUS FAGIUS CONRADO HUBERTO.

SERVET te, tuam, tuosque omnes unigenitus Filius Dei in vitam æternam! Mi carissime frater in Domino, quo in statu nunc sint res nostræ, abunde intelliges ex literis D. Buceri, et meis ad uxorem meam perscriptis, quas te legere valde cupio: scripsi enim in illis, quæ ad typographicam meam spectant. Prima die Maii ex Lambeto Croidonium, ubi archiepiscopus per æstatem agere solet, translatus sumus. Quinta ejusdem mensis in aulam regiam ducti sumus, ubi statim a prandio accessus ad regiam majestatem nobis datus est. Exprimere nequeo, quam humanitater cum D. Protectore aliisque proceribus nos exceperit, deque nostro adventu gratulatus fuerit: qua re certe supra modum exhilarati fuimus. Adolescens licet

adhuc, et admodum formosus, pro ratione ætatis suæ mira dat specimina pietatis, ut universo regno omnibusque piis de eo maxima spes sit. Deus Optimus Maximus in multos annos incolumem conservet, ut regno suo diu et feliciter præesse, simul atque regnum Christi multis nominibus promovere possit, quod certe omnes illi a Deo ardentibus precibus contendere debemus!

Sperabamus fore, ut brevi Cantabrigiam veniremus; sed mutatum est consilium. Visum est enim regiæ majestati, D. Protectori, et reverendissimo, ut sacra Biblia ex fontibus in Latinam linguam transferamus, cum succincta aliqua explicatione locorum difficilium in singulis capitibus, et adjectis simul summariis et ostensis locis communibus. Quæ omnia postea in linguam Anglicam transfundi cupiunt, propter concionatores et plebem. Opus certe est laboriosum. Deus det vires!

Hæc, optime mi frater, paucis ad te perscribere volui. Rogo meæ uxori adesse velis. Reliqua omnia ex aliis literis. Vale cum tota domo et fratribus symmystis omnibus, imprimis D. D. Marbachio, D. Lenglino, D. Christophoro, D. Martino et D. D. Udalrico, simulque D. D. Andernaco, cum suis carissimis conjugibus. Raptim ex Croidonio, domo reverendissimi D., 7 Maii, 1549.

Totus tuus,

PAULUS FAGIUS, senior.

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## EPISTOLA CLXI.

BERNARDINUS OCHINUS WOLFGANGO MUSCULO.

S. D. ! ALLATÆ sunt mihi literæ ex Augusta, in quibus de statu ecclesiæ ac reipublicæ tristia nova continentur. Accepi enim, in multis civitatibus Germaniæ receptam esse impiam doctrinam a Carolo Imperatore proditam, quarum aliquæ metu percussæ, aliquæ fœda superstitione adductæ, non ausæ fuerunt impio decreto refragari. Hæc nimirum est gravissima punitio divina, quæ animos in abnegationem veritatis extremamque perniciem adducit, multo sane nocentior et calamitosior quam bellum internum ac civile noxium esse posset corporibus. Inter alias vero respublicas, quæ ad hanc miseriam pervenerunt, civitas quoque Augustana nominatur, quæ, minis imperatoris adacta, interimendum illud Interim recipere cogitur. Te vero scribunt, quia locum tuæ vocationis integre et fideliter tueri non poteras, deseruisse civitatem, atque in alium securiorem locum pervenisse. Cum igitur tuæ virtutis ac doctrinæ, atque istius præsentis calamitatis mentionem facerem apud reverendissimum Cantuariensem, respondit mihi, si in hanc regionem venire velles, se tibi prospecturum esse de aliqua honesta conditione. Hoc officium veteri amicitiae nostræ me debere putavi;

proque meo in te amore te monco et hortor, ut ne velis aspernari propositam vocationem, in qua multo fortasse cum majori utilitate versaberis, quam in ullo Germaniæ loco, ut nunc est rerum status. Bene vale. Non potui te illi non commendare et ostendere, quantæ utilitatis esses, si huc venires; et ille dixit se provisurum pro te et familia tua. Londini, 17 Julii, 1548.

BERNARDINUS OCHINUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Volfjango Musculo,  
Theologo observandissimo ac amico  
optimo, Basileæ, vel ubi fuerit.*

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EPISTOLA CLXII.

BERNARDINUS OCHINUS WOLFGANGO MUSCULO.

S. D.! LITERAS tuas perlegendas dedi reverendo Cantuariensi, quibus perlectis ostendit se non mediocriter desiderare adventum tuum: insuper dixit de Germania superiori spem esse valde infirmam, iterumque pollicitus est pro te et familia tua omnia necessaria, si huc venires. Imposuitque cuidam Ricardo (Hilles) mercatori, ut suo ordine ministrentur tibi pecuniæ necessariæ pro itinere, casu quo venires. Habebis literas illius mercatoris, ut puto, simul cum meis. Addam et hoc, quod Londini sunt plus quam quinque millia Germanorum, quibus posses concionari et sacramenta ministrare; et si velles prælegere Cantabrigiæ, posses. Reformabuntur, ut spero, omnia. Feci quod meum erat; Christus modo te edoccebit. Uxor mea et filia bene valent, et te cum uxore et liberis salutant. Vale, mei memor in Christo. Londini, 23 Decembris, 1548.

BERNARDINUS OCHINUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Volfjango Musculo,  
Theologo observandissimo.*

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EPISTOLA CLXIII.

WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

...BERNARDINUS suis me literis, quas binas jam accepi 23 et ult. Decembris datas, vocat in Angliam, hisce verbis: "Literas tuas ostendi reverendissimo Cantuariensi, et cum perlegisset, mirum in modum ostendit se cupere adventum tuum in Angliam, ac denuo quod antea promiserat confirmavit. Quia vero scribebas adhuc te in Germania nonnihil sperare,

subjungebat illico, hujusmodi spem admodum tenuem esse; sed quoniam tibi numerosam esse familiam aiebas, timebasque ne majores fierent sump-tus quam posses ferre, alloquebatur quendam mercatorem, ut tibi omnia necessaria suppeditaret. Mittet, ut puto, pro viatico centum coronatos. Ego vero, si mei animi sententiam requiras, suadeo atque adhortor ut venias. Non deesset tibi Cantabrigiæ lectura, quæ conditio si non arrideret, posses Londini publice concionari, ubi non deesset frequentissimum auditorium: sunt enim hic supra quinque millia Germanorum, quibus citra dubium esses gratissimus. Itaque valde cupio, ut si absque tuo magno incommodo fieri possit, quamprimum venias. De reverendissimo nihil aliud est quod possim perscribere, nisi quod veritati evangelicæ quotidie magis ac magis favet. Et quanquam nonnihil sinistrum de illo hactenus spargebatur, nunc tamen re ipsa ostendit se piissimum esse, nihilque magis velle quam ut floreat et regnet Christus. Itaque cum eo mihi perbelle convenit."

Hæc ille. De vocatione hac nulla mihi cogitatio est, nisi nulla futura sit in Germania Christo serviendi commoditas, sicut et antea Bernardino rescripsi. Illud tamen vehementer arridet, quod puritas Christianismi quotidie magis ac magis in hoc regno obtinet: quod dubio procul multos exules ad se confugientes recipiet. Quapropter indesinenter pro illo oran-dum est ad Dominum, ut periculosum illud Scoticum bellum tandem con-sopiat, unde haud modica mala in id regni irruere possunt, nisi illa Dei clementia avertat.

Vale, virorum clarissime. Bernæ, 12 Martii, 1549.

Tuus in Domino,

W. MUSCULUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ad Bullingerum.*

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## EPISTOLA CLXIV.

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PETRUS PERUSINUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D.! Etsi tibi sum ignotus de facie, doctissime atque humanissime Bullingere, non tamen id obstat, quo minus te omni benevolentia observan-tiaque complectar, tibi que in omnibus gratificari cupiam. Non enim is sum qui non videam, quantum tibi tuisque similibus nos omnes, qui sin-ceriores doctrinam profitemur, debeamus ob præclarissimos labores et monumenta, quibus ipsam Christi ecclesiam, quæ misere ab antichristo depravata fuerat, repurgastis. Velim igitur, piissime Bullingere, ut de me omnia tibi pollicear, quæ a grato discipulo in suum preceptorem præstari queunt, quod sane potius re ipsa quam verbis hoc tibi persuasum cuperem.

Anglicanæ nunc reipublicæ status quietissimus est, præ illo qui fuit anno superiori. Dux Somersetensis, qui fuerat regius gubernator, et

qui tam ignominiose in Turrem Londinensem conjiciebatur, nunc tandem divino munere liberatus est atque honorifice dimissus. Quanquam vero est privatus priore officio, poterit tamen satis honeste ac splendide vivere ex suis quos ei reliquerunt redivitis. Vides igitur admirabilem Dei liberationem erga suos electos: nam ab initio universi aiebant eum moriturum; sed longe aliter evenit. Evangelium hic subinde latius propagatur quam immutetur. Dominus Bucerus, Bernardinus, et Petrus Martyr, strenue laborant in suo ministerio, et sane multum proficiunt.

De pace inter nos et Gallos magna spes est, quanquam nondum scitur quibus ea conditionibus incunda sit. Faxit vero clementissimus Deus ut omnia feliciter succedant; quem etiam maximopere oro, ut te una cum D. Pellicano, Bibliandro, Gualtero, Vergerio, totaque ecclesia diu conservet incolumem ad gloriam sui nominis. Dominus Bucerus, qui nunc est in academia Cantabrigiensi, ubi Paulinam epistolam ad Ephesios maxima cum eloquentia et pietate profitetur, te vestramque ecclesiam peramanter salutatur. Cantabrigiæ, 10 Februarii, 1550.

Tui studiosissimus atque addictissimus,

PETRUS PERUSINUS, profugus

Italia, sua patria, ob evangelicæ doctrinæ confessionem.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
pietate ac eruditione præstanti, et domino  
ac patri suo longe observandissimo.  
Figuri.*

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EPISTOLA CLXV.

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THOMAS MORTONUS JOANNI CALVINO.

POSTQUAM ex tuis ad D. Ricardum, in Gallicana apud nos ecclesia verbi præconem, literis intellexi, cupere te quid de D. mei ducis quondam Somerseti liberis actum sit scire, eximiam, ita me amet Deus, attulit mihi lætitiæ ac jucunditatis humanitatis tuæ consideratio; visusque sum viri optimi et vere Christiani pastoris ingenium agnoscere, qui eo, quo nunc prolapsi sunt a tanto quo prius steterunt fortunæ fastigio, dejectos, memoria tamen curaque non indignos putes. Itaque quantumvis ad me parum videatur attinere, ut pro alio ego responsum faciam, tamen ipsius Ricardi rogatione adductus, cum quia me nemo ea de re te certius certiozem potest facere, qui etiamdum apud illos hæreo, tum quia literas non ingratas ad te meas venire ex humanissima tua ad postremas responsione perspexi, scriptis significandam tibi per me eorum conditionem duxi. Posteaquam Deus ipsum ducem nobis capite mulctatum

sustulit, quod suo timens capiti aliis aliquot de senatu regio eadem machinari diceretur, hoc, coactis regni comitiis quæ Gallico nomine parlamentum a proloquendi libertate vocamus, actum est ut ipse filiique ex Anna conjuge, ea quæ tibi, quantum nunquam visa potuit, non est ignota, quæ apud illum in Catharinæ prioris mortuæ torum successerat, ducatus, comitatus, baronatus (ut appellatur), et quorumvis aliorum honoris et bene de republica meritorum ratione additorum agnominum titulis spoliati, ad infamam nobilium conditionem redeant. Quod attinet ad victum, ita illis consultum est. Anna, filia natu maxima, ad quam tuæ extant literæ, a tribus ferme annis comiti Warvici, ducis Northumbriæ filio hæredi, nupta, apud virum bene et honorifice habetur. Aliæ quatuor, Margarita, Jana, Maria, Catharina, virgines, ad amitam suam reguli Cromwelli viduam a senatu ablegatæ sunt, cui ad alendas illas a rege quotannis ex parlamenti consulto marchæ nostrates quadringentæ solvuntur. Habent marchæ singulæ coronatos aureos 2, solidos 3, denarios 4. Filia omnium minima, quæ nunc annum agit secundum, Elizabetha, apud amitam Smitham, jam a quatuor mensibus viduam, persolutis pari ratione in annos singulos marchis 100 alitur. Filio hæredi Edouardo annos nato tredecim, vivo patris quasi simulacro, ex terrarum vectigalibus, quæ patri quatuordecim annis nostratium (quarum quævis quatuor coronatos, ut vocant, aureos efficit) fere millia reddebant, ejusdem senatus plebisque scito, millia librarum duo cum paulo plus minus quadringentis relicta sunt. Quod erat reliquum cum omni supellectile in fiscum, ut solet, cecit. Is cum duobus fratribus, Henrico, Edouardo, hoc quintum, illo decimum secundum agente annum, apud principem Angliæ quæstorem est. Illic regi servantur, ad quem, dum per ætatem immaturi sunt, pertinet nobilium orphanorum tutela, et possessionum usus, fructus, ac procuratio. Educantur liberaliter; non alios habent famulos aut moderatores, quam quibus a vivo patre committebantur. Philippo Gilgato, viro nobili et probò, gubernandorum illorum, mihi erudiendorum pristinum manet officium. Sed hoc te forsitan habebit male, quod in illius ædibus sint, qui tibi per aliorum sermones de religione suspectus sit, marchionis Vintoniensis. At ego hanc possum dubitationem eximere. Est is vir optimus et religiosus, quantum video; quid a nobis discrepet non video. Quare etiamsi aliud, quod non credo, sentiat, tamen quia nos non alio trahit, sed suo etiam exemplo ad rectam religionem prærit, nihil est periculi; multo autem minus quod et præceptis obfirmati, et nostra qui illis adhærescimus præsentia communiti sunt adversus papismum animi. Mater adhuc agit in carcere, quam Arcem Londinensem vocamus. Illic quia anxie custoditur, quid agat, quo merito hæc patiat nescimus: speramus tamen brevi liberatum iri, quia in carcerem, non quia malefecerit sed ne malefaceret, conjectam nonnulli suspicantur, quo metu quum immunem rempublicam fore sentient, non dubito, restituent suis. His tuæ interrogationi satisfactum puto.

Itaque hoc tantum a te si impetraro, ut me rescriptione beare velis, molestus esse desinam. Vale. Londini. Idibus Novembris.

Tui studiosissimus,

THOMAS NORTONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Optimo viro et sincerissimo verbi præconi  
apud Genevenses, D. Joanni Calvino.*

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EPISTOLA CLXVI.

HIERONYMUS MASSARIUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

DIEBUS præteritis Argenterati fui, filium tuum vidi, allocutus sum, interrogavi etiam quomodo valeret, quam societatem haberet. Sæpe dominum Zanchum alloquitur, et ab eo omnia bona de adolescente illo intellexi: cumque abire vellem, indicavi me Tigurum venturum, et literas ejus allaturum, si quas mihi daret. Has igitur mihi dedit, et una obsecravit ut si Basileæ nuncium invenirem, eas ad te per ipsum mitterem, (ego enim Bernam prius iturum me indicavi quam Tigurum venire:) mitto igitur illas. Infra quatrimum Bernam abibo; ubi cum per duos tresve dies fuero, recta Tigurum veniam, ut omnium vestrum dulcissima consuetudine per aliquot dies fruar: de his hætenus. D. Petrus Martyr, dominus Zanchus te plurimum salutabant. De Anglia nihil boni auditur: per literas accepimus, piissimum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem patibulo primum adjudicatum, deinde ut in quatuor partes tanquam regiae majestatis proditor secaretur. Damnati item fuerunt omnes ducis Northumbriæ filii, item filii ducis de Suffolk, una cum Joanna ipsa quæ in reginam electa fuerat. Sed num de aliquo horum sit sumptum adhuc supplicium, nihil certi intelleximus. Pridie quam Argenterato abirem, capsæ D. Petri Martyris omnes, Deo favente, sunt advectæ; speroque illum a dominis iterum conditionem honestissimam habiturum. Domum conduxerat, illamque indies vario suppellectile instruebat, exspectans auxilium atque vocationem Domini. Singulis diebus habebantur publicæ preces pro ecclesia Anglicana; certumque est reginam Mariam sororem Cæsaris Caletum petere, quo etiam impiissima Angliæ Jezabela ventura est: omnes asserunt, matrimonium factum esse intra Hispaniæ regem et Jezabelam; quod etsi per leges pontificias fieri non licebat, fertur pontificem consensisse, cum hac tamen conditione, ut ipse pontifex iterum in supremum Anglicanæ ecclesiæ caput recipiatur: precandum igitur assidue est pro misera illa atque fere perdita ecclesia.

Vale, et me ames, dominumque Gualterum meo nomine obsecro salutes. Basileæ, die 21 Decembris, 1553.

Tuus ex animo,

HIERONYMUS MASSARIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo domino Henrico Bullingero,  
ecclesie Tigurinae pastori vigilan-  
tissimo. Tiguri.*

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EPISTOLA CLXVII.

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JOANNES BYRCHMANNUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

ORNATISSIME D. Bullingere, tuas literas, quæ mihi gratissimæ fuere, accepi: respondi per meum correctorem, ad D. Froschoverum missum, si maturius tuas accepi. Si opus esset ulla admonitione apud D. Froschoverum, optarem tuam operam in imprimenda Biblia Anglicana: mei boni amici Angli valde me urgent, optantque absolutionem. Cæsar enim apud Anglicos legatos graviter institerat de componenda religionis forma ad doctrinam metaxicam. Sed illi re deliberata eam, quam D. Bucerus instituit, per universum regnum edictis publicis confirmarunt. D. Bucerus gravissime decubuerat, sed restitutus jam magna auctoritate et gratia apud Londinenses fruitur. De Floriano Polono nihil audivi.

Oceanicæ urbes per Hamburgenses, Lubecenses, Luneburgenses, de componendis Bremensibus et Magdeburgensibus sollicitè agunt: nisi religionem paciscantur, nihil efficient. Si T. D. quid habet de novo electo pontifice, ne graveris indicare. Hic omnes in illum suspensi videntur.

Cæsar, mutato consilio, natalitium diem peracturus est Bruxellæ. Parat profectionem in Italiam. Exspectamus tuas literas ad archiepiscopum nostrum, et libellum tuum et Calvinii. Petrus Martyr edidit disputationem de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, habitam in universitate Oxoniensi in Anglia, 43 foliorum. Misissem, si nuntium Basileam habuissem. Has literas dedi ad D. Froschoverum, ut quamprimum bibliorum absolutionem moliat. Saluta omnes amicos.

Tuus ex animo,

JO. BYRCHMANNUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero,  
domino et amico summo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLXVIII.

GULIELMUS SALCHINUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

CUM in hunc tam opportunum nuncium incidissem, sanctissime pater, cui literas meas ad tuam pietatem deferendas commodissime darem, non poteram ullo modo tantam scribendi occasionem præterire, quin per eum pro mea capacitate scriberem, et tuam prudentiam a rebus longe gravioribus (in quibus semper versaris) per aliquod tempus, dum ista legis, detinerem. Qua in re meæ ruditati ignoscas oro: neque enim vel summam illam humanitatem, qua me (cum essem Tiguri) excepisti, oblivioni potuissem committere; vel sermonem de domino meo, in quem incidimus, nunc quovis modo reticere. Illud quidem gratam memoriam et recordationem postulat, quam depositurum me nunquam spero. De hoc vero ut aliquid dicam hoc tempore, officii mei ratio exigit, atque ut nunc scriptis a tua pietate impetrare contenderem, quod tum (cum tecum eram) verbis commode præstare non licuit. Hoc enim, quod tum dicebas, te scilicet pro veteri consuetudine inter te olim et dominum meum Ricardum Hillem voluisse ad eum scribere, sæpius, postquam discessissem, animum meum subibat. Sic enim mecum cogitabam: si dominus Bullingerus, tantæ auctoritatis et eruditionis, nomine tam celebris, in scriptis suis, quæ ad dominum meum omnino missurus sit, pauca de fugienda missæ abominatione (quam frequentando jam in Anglia animæ suæ periculum facit) interponat; futurum omnino ut suis vel rationibus victus vel antiqua amicitia permotus (quam scio apud illum maximi esse momenti) exhortationi ejus præ ceteris omnibus cedat, et de fuga a tam turpi idolo suscipienda cogitet. Cogitavi præterea tuam pietatem (fortassis absque mea monitione) id ipsum prorsus facturam: ego tamen pro meo erga dominum officio, et debito quo eum prosequar amore, maximoque desiderio, quo, donec eum ab his sordibus extricatum liberatumque videro, tenebor, non poteram hujus rei præ ceteris non meminisse, atque tibi, sanctissime vir, nunc in memoriam revocare. Quam ob rem ego te per Deum oro et obsecro, ut istius rei (cum ad eum scribis) non obliviscaris: ita tamen scribas velim, ne quicquam quasi me impulsore factum suspicetur. Scripta autem tua cum absolveris, ad eum tuto deferri omni diligentia curabo. Vale. Deus Optimus Maximus tuam pietatem in gloriam suam et ecclesiæ utilitatem diutissime incolumentum servet. Argentinae, ex ædibus D. Petri Martyris, 26 Novembris.

Tui studiosissimus,

GULIELMUS SALCHINUS,

*D. Ricardi Hilli famulus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendissimo patri D. Bullingero, circo omni pietate  
et bonarum literarum instructissimo, atque ecclesiæ  
Tigurinae dignissimo episcopo. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLXIX.

GULIELMUS SALCHINUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

UTRASQUE literas tuas, reverende pater, tam ad me quam ad dominum meum scriptas, in ipso (ut dici solet) tempore accepi. Cras enim (volente Deo) iter Antwerpiam versus institui; unde literas tuas, quæ alioqui alteri committendæ erant, per me ipsum longe commodius atque tutius deferri curabo. Proinde non immerito duplici nomine fuerunt mihi admodum gratæ; vel propter temporis opportunitatem qua venerunt, vel propter summam utilitatem fructusque uberrimos, quos inde certo futuros spero. Quod profecto ut singulare pietatis tuæ officium fuisse agnoscam, ita prorsus non dubito quin Deus Optimus Maximus, cum mearum virium non sit, tibi abunde compensabit. Id autem tum demum pro votis tuis satis erit, quando finem suum literæ, in quem eas scribebas, nactæ fuerint, eumque habuerint exitum quem et uterque nostrum plurimum optaret, et illi futurus esset salutaris. Posthac vero ad illum si quid tuæ pietati scribendum foret, ad Christoferum Goodmannum Anglum in ædibus D. doctoris Petri Martyris optime poterit mittere, isque ad me Antwerpiam, quidquid sit, commode transferendum procurabit; cujus opera ego, si quæ isthic eveniant audiantur, i. e. quorum tua intererit scire, posthac utar.

Nova petit tua dominatio ex Anglia: multa quidem sunt, sed mala admodum et tristia; ea tamen quibus Dei prudentia tum ad gloriam suam illustrandam, tum ad futuram piorum consolationem majorem uti possit. Cardinalis Polus, summi antichristi legatus, magna (de more papali) solennitate et pompa jamdudum in Anglia receptus fuit, præsentibus Philippo Anglico-Hispano rege cum sua regina Maria ad crucem Paulinam, locum celeberrimum et in medio Londini positum; ubi in magna et nobilium et vulgi hominum frequentia orationem habuit Wintoniensis Gardinerus, qua papæ auctoritatem, quam olim oppugnaverat, tum fronte meretricia et impudentissimo orè commendavit, et erroris pristini (ut dicebat) veniam precatus est. Cardinalis vero cum reginam salutaret, nec ulla humana verba occurrerent tali muliere digna, sanctis scripturarum verbis abuti non verebatur: sed in primo congressu iisdem, quibus matrem Dei salutavit angelus, reginam Polus alloquitur, sicque adulator maximus exorsus est, "Ave Maria, gratia plena," &c. Paulo post papæ primatum introduxerunt, et Polum episcopum Cantuarensem, summum Angliæ primatem denunciarunt, et in senatum, vel (ut nos loquimur) in parlamentum introduxerunt, ubi prædictus Wintoniensis nomine omnium procerum, qui tum ad pedes cardinalis turpiter prostrati erant, veniam et indulgentiam papalem, qua se omnino indignos dicebat, vulpina astutia petiit. Regina pro certo gravida dicitur. Philippus nondum coronatur, neque hoc parlamento coronandum credunt, quod brevi dissolvetur, et aliud suo tempore ab integro instituetur,

in quo reliquum votorum suorum papistæ se consequuturos confidunt. Multi quotidie incarcerationum, et episcopi in eodem loco captivi manent. De imperatore accipi ab hominibus fide dignis, quique id in literis ad se habent, quod in Hispaniam profecturus sit atque expectaturus ibi extrema; Philippum vero in Flandriam venturum atque ibi mansurum. Hæc sunt quæ nunc habui. Si quæ posthac meliora audiero, tuam pietatem participem faciam. Vale, sanctissime vir, et hæc boni consulas precor. Argentinae, 28 Decembris.

W. S.

## INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo Domino, D. Henrico  
Bullingero, ecclesiae Tigurinae summo  
pastori. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLXX.

## FRANCISCUS DRYANDER HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. PAULO ante quam Argentinam relinquere, significavi tibi de meo instituto et professione. Interea non scripsi, quoniam non habui commoditatem mittendi literas, et maximam partem temporis consumpsi peregrinando, quæ res fuit mihi sane permolesta; donec tandem post longam jactationem fixi sedes in hac universitate, ubi professionem habeo Græcarum literarum, in qua conor præstare mediocrem diligentiam et fidem. Cum igitur haberem aliquam respirationem, et commoditas mihi daretur mittendi literas per eos qui ad mercatum Francofordiensem proficiscuntur, volui ad te scribere, ut veterem amicitiam nostram renovarem, et tibi argumentum rescribendi præberem. Sum quidem a vobis corpore sejunctus magno locorum intervallo, sed animo, studiis, et religionis sententia sum profecto conjunctissimus. Nam ut prætermittam religionis doctrinam, in qua excellitis, laudem integritatis et fidei semper vobis tribui, et ubi ubi sum, non desino prædicare, et eas virtutes in multis aliis gentibus requiro. Arbitror autem non sine certo numinis consilio nos in istum angulum esse rejectos, ut ad temporis aliquod spatium tuti maneremus ab insidiis, quas nobis tendebant tyranni, etiam cum essemus Basileæ. Sed in manu Dei sumus, qui potest ubicunque servare suos; nosque illi hanc obedientiam debemus præstare, ut perpetuo simus parati ad hinc emigrandum, quoties a duce nostro fuerimus evocati. De statu autem publico istius regni, sic habe: finita esse publica comitia, in quibus communi ordinum decreto audio esse condemnatum atque etiam capite truncatum præfectum maris, domini Protectoris fratrem, qui multis modis deprehensus dicitur in crimine diminitæ majestatis. In negotio religionis audio quoque factam esse re-

formationem laudabilem, quæ nondum venit in lucem, sed propediem dicitur ventura. In pervulgatis hominum sermonibus circumfertur, abrogatam esse missam, et concessum usum conjugii sacerdotibus. Quæ duo capita arbitror esse præcipua in tota reformatione, quæ non hoc agit, ut opinor, ut informet integrum corpus doctrinæ christianæ, ac de singulis articulis certam et firmam sententiam sine ambiguitate explicet; sed in hoc tota versatur, ut ministerium templorum recte instituat. Audio fuisse habitam inter episcopos magnam disceptationem de transubstantiatione; quæ omnia tanquam Eleusina sacra in abdito acta sunt, quoniam erat nefas hæc tanta mysteria communicare profanis hominibus. Puto autem non reprehendendo consilio ab eis aliqua esse puerilia relicta, ne offendantur populus nimia novitate; quæ tamen ipsa frivola paulo post emendari poterunt. Sed nihil certi pronuncio, donec res mihi omnino constet. Cum primum editus fuerit in lucem libellus, si Latinus erit, mittam ad te; sin aliter, scribam de singulis articulis certiora. Hæc poteris significare domino Hopero, ad quem scribam modo, si tempus permittet. Cuperem autem eum præstare officium patriæ debitum, graviter in hoc tempore laboranti inopia bonorum concionatorum. Et in vocatione omnium maxima opem ferre ecclesiis hominis est non solum ingenii præstantis, sed heroici quoque pectoris, quod puto eum facere posse cum dignitate. Salutem meis verbis dices domino Pellicano et reliquis fratribus, quorum precibus cupio Deo commendari totum vitæ meæ cursum. Bene vale.

Cantabrigiæ, 25 Martii, 1549.

Tuus ex animo,

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro domino Henrico  
Bullingero, verbi Dei ministro  
fidelissimo. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CLXXI.

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. SCRIPSI nuper ad te, cum nondum esset evulgata ecclesiarum reformatio. Jam ante mensem unum aut alterum editus est liber, quem æquissimis animis acceperunt ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Ejus libri compendium Latine scriptum mitto ad dominum Vadianum ea lege ut tibi communicet. Videbis summam doctrinæ non esse reprehendendam, quamvis ceremoniæ quædam in eo libro contineantur, quæ videri possent inutiles, fortassis etiam noxiæ, nisi adhibeatur candida interpretatio. Sed ego in causa

religionis, quæ omnium res maxima est in tota rerum natura, statuo neque ambiguitate neque præstigiis verborum esse ludendum. Erit etiam quod reprehendas in causa de cœna Domini: nam liber loquitur obscure, et quamvis coneris candide interpretari, non poteris effugere magnam absurditatem. Ratio est, quod episcopi inter se longo tempore convenire non potuerunt in hoc articulo, ac multum diuque inter ipsos disceptatum est, utrum esset stabilienda an repudianda transsubstantiatio. Vides igitur certo argumento in istis hominibus non esse vera et solida fundamenta doctrinæ, qui in rebus minutissimis atque adeo etiam absurdis multum laborant, et ea negligunt, in quibus erat præcipue elaborandum. Sed hoc est fatum ecclesiæ, ut major pars vincat meliorem, et quamvis multa perpoliantur, reliquantur tamen aliqua *πταισµατα*. Speranda nobis erunt meliora. Interim hæc reformatio non est contemnenda, præsertim in hoc regno, ubi antea erat in publica forma doctrinæ verus papismus sine nomine. Jam exoriuntur Anabaptistæ et alii fanatici spiritus, qui exercebunt ecclesiam. Ita semper erimus in hac vita sub cruce et in exercitatione permolesta. Bucerus et Paulus Fagius venerunt huc incolumes. Sunt in hoc tempore in aula episcopi Cantuariensis, venturi in hanc universitatem intra duos menses, ubi sacras literas profitebuntur. Nuper scripsi ad dominum Bibliandrum et Gesnerum, quos jam meo nomine salutabis diligenter, una cum domino Pellicano et Frisio. Bene vale. Cantabrigiæ, 5 die Junii, 1549.

Tuus ex animo,

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro domino Henrico  
Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigu-  
rinæ ministro fidelissimo.*

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## EPISTOLA CLXXII.

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER JOACHIMO VADIANO.

S. D. Ut nulla est in vita possessio præstantior bonorum amicitia, ita est magna cum diligentia conservanda et stabilienda, neque ullum locorum intervallum aut intervertere debet bonorum usum et conjunctionem, aut minuere benevolentiam. Ego sane memoriam tui, Vadiane doctissime, quamvis absentis integram et præsentissimam retinco in animo meo, neque unquam apud me intermorietur amicissimi hominis gratissima recordatio. Idem abs te postulo pietatis atque amicitie jure, quod sine justa reprehensione prætermittere non poteris. Statum nostrum jamdudum te a domino Hieronymo accepisse arbitror: nunc mitto ad te publicam in hoc

regno factam reformationem doctrinæ religionis, in qua ut desideres iudicium et accuratam rerum maximarum considerationem, tamen in præcipuis religionis articulis veritatem non multum desiderabis. Cupio etiam hoc scriptum domino Bullingero communicari, ut is quoque intelligat non ex pervulgatis hominum sermonibus, sed ex ipsa veritate, qualis sit in Anglia religionis permutatio. Si quid præterea extiterit novi, mittam quoque.

Permissum est Germanis, ut habeant suam ecclesiam privatam et concionatores Londini, ubi dicuntur esse quatuor millia Germanorum. Hanc functionem ecclesiasticam præclare posset subire Musculus cum sua et reipublicæ utilitate. Scio quid responderit ad literas Bernardini, cum eum in Angliam nomine Cantuariensis vocarit; et meo iudicio prudenter sane respondit. Hanc vero conditionem concionandi et administrandi sacramenta inter suæ gentis homines non putarem fore incommodam. Si habet animum ad hanc rem propensum, admonitus tentare potero viam et modum convenientissimum. Hæc autem scribo non alia ratione, nisi quod illi et reipublicæ bene esse cupio. Bene vale cum omnibus piis, et de statu Helvetico cupio ex tuis literis aliquid certi cognoscere.

Cantabrigiæ, 5 die Junii, 1549.

Tuus ex animo,

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro domino Joachimo  
Vadiano, consuli Sangallensi.*

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## EPISTOLA CLXXIII.

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FRANCISCUS DRYANDER HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. QUONIAM audio pervagatos hic esse rumores non minus tristes quam vanos, cum de ipso Angliæ regno, tum de nostris, qui apud Anglos literas et religionem profitentur, existimavi ad me pertinere, ut vos omni sollicitudine liberarem, quemadmodum Basilienses liberavi. Erat hic multis persuasum, una cum protectore regni captum esse Bernardinum et Bucorum; et cum eo religionis formam universam, quam paulo ante constituerant, concidisse. Sed non ita est. Ego fui spectator totius conversionis, et non solum externam et miserandam faciem mutationis vidi, sed consilia etiam primorum mihi constant, quæ vobis per Dei gratiam præsens præsentibus referam, ubi tempestates erunt mitiores. Interim de Bernardino et Bucero illud affirmo, nunquam eos antehac, meo iudicio, vixisse vel felicius vel utilius. Nam Bernardinus totum tempus consumit scribendo, et quidem eo impetu et celeritate qua antehac nunquam, sicut ab eo

accepi; et nuper illi nata est mascula proles, qua unice oblectatur. Bucerus autem creatus est professor theologiæ regius, et uno aut altero die post meam profectionem erat profecturus Cantabrigiam propemodum sanitati pristinae restitutus. Religionem item dico in meliore nunc esse statu, quam erat ante captivitatem protectoris. Nam vidi ego edictum publicum, auctoritate regia provulgatum et typis impressum, in quo non solum confirmatur ea, quam ad te misi, reformatio, sed alia quædam, nondum attacta, affirmat fore ut juxta evangelii formam refoventur. Hæc vera sunt, et quinto die Novembris ego eram Lambeti apud archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et Bucera, quo die negotia publica et privata erant in eodem, quo nunc scribo, statu. Quid interea sit actum ignoro, nec arbitrator Basilienses aut Tigurinos scire posse. Nam ego veni ea celeritate, qua quisquam alius venire potuisset, et non ob aliam causam, nisi ut hic ederem in hac hieme, quæ in Anglia elaboraveram, relicta interim familia mea Cantabrigiæ, ad quam per Dei gratiam revertar ineunte vere. Hæc vos scire volui, quæ sunt verissima: scriberem etiam plura, si per tempus liceret, vel non potius ea in meum adventum differenda putarem. Cupio enim videre vos, et mutua communicatione fidei nostræ vobiscum recreari, quos veros ministros Dei semper agnovi et multis in locis non obscure prædicavi. Salutate meis verbis omnes fratres et totam ecclesiam. Bene valete. Basiliæ, 3 die Decembris, 1549.

Tuus ex animo,

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro domino Henrico  
Bullingero. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CLXXIV.

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER HENRICO BULLINGERO.

S. D. ETSI non frequenter ad te scribo, tamen tibi certo affirmare possum, eundem mihi adversum te animum esse, qui semper fuit: id quod multis rationibus probare possem, si opus esse judicarem. Nam et tua insignis virtus excellensque doctrina meretur omnium bonorum perpetuum favorem, et honestos docet prudenter eligere quos ament, et constanter amicitiam retinere. Ac nisi me istæ bellorum turbationes domi retinuissem, constitutum mihi erat vos invisere, ut post diuturnum laborem languiscentem animum communicatione vestra recrearem. Sed manendum mihi est in statione mea, et cum republica periculum subeundum, quod impendere videtur, nisi Dei benignitate a nobis aver-

tatur. Cum igitur esset profecturus Tigurum adolescens Paulus Fagius, filius viri doctissimi et memoriæ honestissimæ Fagii, statui ad te breves literas scribere, ut veterem amicitiam renovarem, et ipsum adolescentem tibi commendarem. Venit superioribus diebus ex Anglia, qua in regione dedit operam literis; a quo poteris cognoscere de ejus regni statu, quod fortasse aliorum literis non significatur. Et quoniam apud nos scholæ non sunt admodum frequentes, de amicorum consilio voluit se ad scholam vestram conferre, ut isthic in doctrina literarum et religionis instituatur. Curabis igitur pro tua innata pietate, ut in aliquo bono loco collocetur, ubi multum in literis et pietate possit promovere. Cuperet habitare apud D. Gualterum, quem arbitror non gravatim ei locum in ædibus concessurum. Quid hic feratur, ab adolescente cognosces; ac si Deus permittet aliquam tranquillitatem, vel ad vos veniam vel scribam copiosius. Interea hoc tantum dico, quæ olim ad me scripsisti Basileam de Frisio, vaticinia fuisse verissima. Sed ego deceptus sum specie pietatis, quam in homine esse putabam, cum experientia me docuerit nihil eo esse magis impium. Saluta meis verbis D. Pellicanum, D. Bibliandrum, D. Gesnerum, Lelium, et reliquos amicos. Bene vale. Argentinae, secundo die Maii, 1552.

Tuus ex animo,

FRANCISCUS DRYANDER.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Henrico Bullingero, ministro verbi Dei fidelissimo. Tiguri.*

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## EPISTOLA CLXXV.

FRANCISCUS WARNERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

GRATIAM ac pacem in Domino! Cum accepissem a domino Ricardo Hilles quanto nonnunquam tenearis desiderio, vir humanissime, cognoscendi ea quæ apud exteras nationes gerantur, tum vero præcipue apud Anglos nostros, isque me instigasset, ut ea quæ nuperrime apud nostrates indignissime acta sunt, tibi literis nostris significarem; primo sane hoc facere multum dubitavi, non ignarus quam esset temerarium hoc ausum, me hominem imperitissimum nullius fere ingenii te in tanto fastigio doctrinæ atque existimationis hominum jam diu versantem nostris scriptis compellare. Tamen posteaquam tua erga quosvis vel infimæ sortis et conditionis homines facilitas mansuetudoque pluribus verbis mihi ab eo esset deprædicata, imo tu ipse in ultimis ad illum literis

(dum me tam amice salutas) satis luculentum testimonium tuæ comitatis edidisses; tandem ejus hortatu et re ipsa quæ accidit victus sum et impulsus, ut hanc provinciam in me susceperem. Nam et res ipsa utrique nostrum non indigna scitu videbatur, et te tuique similes ejus habere notitiam maxime nostratum et totius ecclesiæ interesse putabam. Siquidem cum Domino sint nobis egregia præsidia, Deo Optimo Maximo commendata, adversum omnes omnium temporum procillas, unum vestri prædicatio, alterum divinæ opis imploratio, ad utrumque horum commodius atque efficacius incendendum non mediocriter fortassis facere poterit hujus tragœdiæ indicatio: quandoquidem et indicatis inimicis evangelii, ingenioque hostium nostrorum armis et pugnæ genere penitius introspectis, facilius erit in deliberando decernere quomodo contra eos instruenda sit nostra acies; et vehementius etiam inflammabimur ad pugnam, quando scimus nobis tam acres et impudentes hostes superesse: rursusque quum e regione videamus recentem ecclesiæ calamitatem, valde incitabimur ad efflagitandam illi a Christo ex his malis ac ærumnis liberationem: quam Dominus illi opportune pro suo beneplacito concedat! Amen.

Ut vero nunc ad rem ipsam descendam, accepturus es his literis inclusum edictum quoddam publice affixum, in quo interdicitur certo hominum generi lectione sacræ scripturæ. Quod sane edictum decreveram verbatim Latinis verbis exponere, id quod feci usque ad 13am sectionem, nisi quod omiserim titulos quosdam adulatorios: ad hanc enim cum venissem, cernebam demum me per angustiam temporis et meam in agendis rebus tarditatem non posse institutum ita prosequi, ut decreveram; nam ante diem Jovis exemplar typis excusum ad nos non pervenit, cum jam propter nundinas tam essemus circa alia occupati, ut vix his describendis concederetur otium; quare in illis quæ restabant coactus sum summam tantum excerpere. Nunc tuum est pro solita morum suavitate hæc boni consulere, et si quid incultum, obscurum, et quod solœcismum respiat, inerit (ut sunt forsân plurima), id ignoscere. Vale. Salutaris plurimum una cum tua conjuge a domino Ricardo Hilles ejusque uxore, abs qua par cultorum recipies pro uxore tua, quod tibi D. Henricus Falkner est redditurus. Raptim. Argentorati, 8 Julii [1543].

Tuus,

FRANCISCUS WARNERUS,

*Anglus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Henrico Bullingero, christianæ  
gregis pastori vigilantissimo, hæc  
tradantur literæ. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLXXVI.

THOMAS KNITHUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUTEM in Christo! Eo quod compertum habeo, reverende et pie pater, te non vulgarem sed singularem amicum esse domino Ricardo Hilles Anglo, dignum duxi, ut si Joannes Burcherus Anglus, vestræ civitatis incola, ab itinere Anglico nondum reversus fuerit, sarcinulam istam tibi committere, quo tutius et citius ad manus præfati Ricardi pervenire poterit. Pro conductura si quid exposueris, Joannes Burcherus, ubi redierit, tibi restituet. Evangelium indies multo sincerius hic, quam alibi in Italia, prædicatur, senatusque consulto decretum est concionem habere quotidie in palatio majori futura quadragesima: quod nunquam ab urbe condita visum est. Crescit numerus fidelium magis ac magis. Tua commentaria indies pluris fiunt apud Italos, et nisi essent tam magna et cara, nulla essent magis vendibilia. Tuæ caritatis erit igitur pergere, et ex penna tua secunda rara illa dona Spiritus propinare pusillo illi gregi, famelico et sitibundo Si quid præterea novi fuerit, tibi fas erit elicere ab illo latore. Dominus, qui te nobis pium et fidum pastorem selegit, diu nobis feliciter servet, et tandem ad promissam terram una pervenire concedat. Commendes me Christo cum tuis, vehementer obsecro. Venetiis, 23 Januarii, 1547.

Tuus humilis filius, et ad omnia obsequia promptissimum mancipium,

THOMAS KNITHUS, *Anglus, Bibliopola.*

P. S. Recipies cum sarcinula unum vasculum Ricardi nomine signatum. Tuæ caritatis erit per amicos curare, ut ad illum transferatur. Vasculum ficuum jam non recipies, eo quod non potuit habere locum in cista istius; sed solummodo sarcinulam per istum mitto signatum duabus literis R. H.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo patri domino Henrico Bullingero,  
Figuriniensis ecclesie pastori vigilan-  
tissimo. Figuri.*

## EPISTOLA CLXXVII.

RICARDUS MASTERUS RODOLPHO GUALTERO.

S. D. P. QUOD toties abs te provocatus tam amicis literis quam crebris salutationibus haecenus non responderim, suavissime Gualtere, occupationes causare non possum, quo minus id præstiterim: quin potius id scribendi dissuetudini, ne dicam imperitiæ, et non tui oblivioni imputabis. Verebar

enim indoctus tam doctum et omnibus numeris absolutum hominem indoctis meis literis interpellare: hunc tamen subrusticum pudorem tandem ex animo discussi, pluris tuum sincerum animum ac candorem faciens, quam propriam barbariem timens. Rogas, ac facile pro tua erga me benevolentia impetras, ut mei status ac conditionis te certiolem faciam: scito igitur post unum vel alterum elapsum annum ex tuo a nobis ad tuos habitu sacerdotium satis opimum procuratum mihi fuisse; quod, ut ingenue fatear, quia minus aptus eram probi sacerdotis functioni, tum ob verbi Dei ac rerum imperitiam, tum quia tunc temporis papatus apud nos viguit, utcumque ejus nomen abolebatur, penitus recusavi ac in procuratoris manus resignavi. Ex quo tempore medicinæ speculationi decem perpetuis annis operam dedi, nunc ex praxi ejusdem victitans; ex malo theologo non malus fortasse medicus factus, ut olim ex malo monacho bonus ille theologus, de quo D. Augustinus. Non tamen ita theologiæ valere dixi, quin quæ piissimus Bullingerus ac ejus simillimus discipulus Gualterus scribat ex animo salutem, amem, atque exosculer.

Decreveram longe ante ad te scribere, sed quartana trimestri detentus, ac in natali solo procul ab Oxonio agens, id præstare non potui: huc accedit quod, postquam ipse pristinam sanitatem recuperaverim, in consimilem febrem pius meus pater inciderat, ac tandem sexagenarius evasit tamen mortem. Utinam sensisset Parterigijs olim noster, nunc Christi! Ulmensis Joannes tabellarium nactus nuper opportunum, dum hujus me admonuit, simul et promissi ac potius officii admonere visus est: non potui igitur sinere, ut inanis ad te veniret ac literis vacuus, quas non dubito gratas tibi fore, quod ex animo bene volente ac optima quæque tibi precante profluxerunt. Avide exspectabam affinis tui ad nos adventum, sperabamque inde aliquam gratificandi ansam datum iri; sed quia alio nunc peregrinatur, nulla res est in qua amoris mei erga te periculum facere possis. Conterranei tui optima sunt valetudine, homines profecto ab omnibus honestis adamati ob morum ac vitæ probitatem; inter quos Joannes Ulmensis eorum veluti antesignanus ex nostro sodalitis est in collegio regio, baccalaureatus gradu insignitus, ac brevi in proximis, ut opinor, comitiis magistratus gradum suscipiet, ut nunc dicatur magister magistrandus. Vir est profecto sinceræ religionis acerrimus propugnator, et fucatæ bellator strenuus; non domi tantum hac de re, sed et in aula regia bene notus et marchioni Dorecestrensi in tam honesto loco habitus, ut facilius sit concipere quam scribere, quanti illum faciat virtutis causa. Nunc quoniam alio vocor, jubebo te valere, Deum precans ut vos diutissime ecclesiæ suæ incolumes servet. Oxonii, 14 Junii, 1551.

Tuus ex animo,

MASTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo viro D. Rodolpho Gualtero,  
amico suo carissimo.*

## EPISTOLA CLXXVIII.

AUGUSTINUS BERNERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

SALUS in Filio Dei! Joannes noster ab Ulmis, hinc in patriam abiturus, ut ad te scribam vehementer contendit, atque adeo efflagitat, ita ut nisi vel officii immemor vel plane ingratus haberi velim, hoc negare omnino non queam. Summa tua in me fuit humanitas quamdiu istic vixi apud D. Wolfium præceptorem meum observandissimum; qua in re me tibi sentio vehementer esse obstrictum: nunc vero etiam quod Alexandrum meum nepotem ex sorore tam diligenter tamque amanter tuis commendationibus apud clarissimos viros juveris, sum ego tibi longe devinctissimus. Itaque sic velim, doctissime vir, de me habeas persuasum, me tuis in rebus aut tuendis aut ornandis sine ulla exceptione aut temporis aut loci, quoad vixero, finem nullum unquam facturum. Pollicerer ego hoc tibi pluribus verbis, si vel te de mea fide gratoque animo dubitare putarem, vel ipse non verbis sed re potius hæc comprobare studerem. Ceterum de vitæ meæ studiorumque ratione, quis sit status, ex Joanne meo plane cognosces. Dominus meus D. doctor Latimerus statuerat ad te scribere: sed cras, Deum testor, difficile ac longum iter est suscipiendum, ut omnino hoc tempore optimus senex tuique amantissimus nihil quidquam literarum ad te dare possit; hoc vero unum me jubet, ut suo nomine scribam tibi salutem quam honorificentissime et amantissime. Extremum est ut valeas, nosque, hoc est, me et Alexandrum, tibi semper commendatos habeas. Deus misericors, pater et rex omnis liberalitatis, tibi omnia in extremo die compenset fideliter; quem uti salvum te ac incolumem diu conservet, toto animo precor atque obtestor. Iterum atque iterum vale. Datæ ad Baxterlye in Anglia, pridie Calendas Junii, 1552.

Tuæ humanitatis studiosissimus,

AUGUSTINUS BERNERUS, *Helveticus.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro domino Henrico Bullingero,  
summo concionatori apud Tigurinos,  
domino suo observando. Tiguri.*

## EPISTOLA CLXXIX.

MATTHÆUS PARKERUS ET GUALTERUS HADDONUS BUCERI  
PUPILLORUM TUTORIBUS.

CUM D. Martinus Bucerus, optimæ memoriæ pater, quasdam ultimæ voluntatis particulas moriens fidei nostræ commiserit, et executores instituerit: nos omnibus adhibitis de rebus, quantum tempus et causa ferebant, tantum in eo progressi sumus, ut et muneribus nostris et con-

scientiis non dubitemus esse satisfactum. Quod si uberius vestræ dominationes cognoscere velint, ex separatis bonorum partibus inspectis facile intuebimini. Nunc vero quoniam illa vobiscum futura est, potestatem nostram in illam transfudimus: nec enim dubitamus quin et mater liberos amare velit, et uxor viri voluntatem supremam inviolate sit conservatura. Itaque illam una cum omnibus bonis, et toto hoc munere administrandi testamenti, vobis representamus, ut cum nos diligentis nostris ad summum usi simus, vestræ subsequantur, et totam hanc optimi et excellentissimi viri D. Buceri voluntatem firmam et ratam in omnes partes custodiant: quod et nos fecimus, quantum potuimus, et vos idem facturos esse cognoscimus. Reliqua, si quæ per se consideranda sunt, in minutis rationibus apparebunt quas ad hoc ipsum perpolivimus; ut totam hanc rem, quantum festinatio uxoris D. Buceri sinebat, vobis explicatissimam relinqueremus. Valet in Christo, optimi domini. In Anglia, Cantabrigiæ, anno D. 1551.

Vestrarum dominationum amantes,

MATTHÆUS PARKERUS,  
GUALTERUS HADDONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Carissimis dominis Tutoribus et Curatoribus Pupillorum D. Martini Buceri. Argentorati.*

Summa totalis ultra res non venditas nec æstimatas ut in dorso . . . . . 380 Lib. xx.

IN DORSO.

Ratio eorum quæ non vendita sed domum revecta sunt.

Duo tapetia viridia. 2 longa pulvinaria plumis plena. Rubrum tegmen. Omnia vasa stannea ponderant xxiiii. lib. 5 ollæ aeneæ. Ahenum magnum. 8 opercula cuprea. Mortarium. 3 vasa cuprea ad radendum apta. 2 ollæ cupreæ. 4 lecti superiores plumei. 3 cervicalia majora et 6 minora. 4 pulvinaria. 5 tegmina, 2 rubra, reliqua viridia. 2 panni virides ad operienda scamna. 26 paria linteaminum. 20 mappæ. 21 manutergia. 30 mantilia. Nigræ cistæ 2 itinerationibus accommodata. 3 longæ togæ. 2 tunicæ interiores breviores, una pelle subducta. 2 paria caligarum. 3 diploides. Pallium.

EPISTOLA CLXXX.

BUCERI VIDUA ARCHIEPISCOPO CRANMERO.

BENEVOLENTIAM ac beneficentiam Dei Patris per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum R. P. T. precor ex animo. Etsi R. P. T. auctoritas atque amplitudo multum me a scribendo absterruerit, faciunt tamen ingentia

P. T. beneficia, et in conjugem meum dum viveret, et in me post obitum ejus collata, ut (quamvis nihil R. P. T. dignum haberem) tacere tamen omnino, non nisi ingratitude vitio notato, non potuerim. Etsi vero ea pro dignitate explicare, vel dignis laudibus evelere non possim, aut digna remuneratione recompensare; gratias tamen Deo ago, eumque pro R. P. T. quotidie interpello, ut ipse qui ditissimus et potentissimus est, sua inexhausta bonitate ac infinita beneficentia prosequatur. Memini, reverendissime præsul, R. P. T. mihi, cum adhuc in Anglia essem, scriptum aliquod promisisse, quo serenissimæ regis majestatis donum mihi soli confirmaretur, integrumque maneret; id quod justum æquumque esse videtur: quandoquidem eorum tantummodo bonorum distributionem jura civilia legesque permittunt, quæ ante obitum testatoris in ejus possessione fuisse deprehenduntur; quæ vero post obitum ejus donantur, merito integra atque inviolata manere ei cui donata sunt debent. Cum itaque R. P. T. hoc mihi scriptum promiserit, speremque me ejus auctoritate atque efficacia mihi meæque filiolæ, quæ ipso maxime indiget, serenissimi regis donum obtinere posse, oro et obsecro R. P. T. ut illud vel per Ricardum Hilles vel alio modo mihi mittat. Si enim hoc comparare potero, spes est me donationem hanc soli mihi ac filiolæ meæ retenturam; id quod sine eo legibus reipublicæ nostræ impediendis fieri non potest. Ceterum nolim R. P. T. suspicari, me vel ex avaritia quadam, vel quod aliis hæredibus invidiam, hoc petere, verum hanc solam ob causam, ut filiolæ meæ, quæ minimam ex bonis paternis portionem nanciscitur; cuique vix tantum accedit ut honeste educari omnibusque necessariis provideri possit, tenuitatem ac defectum sustentare atque adimplere possim. Ceteri enim liberi partim eo pervenerunt, ut (præter id quod longe plura ex patrimonio quam filiola mea adepti sunt) pro ætate facile sibi ipsis victum acquirere possint. Quare R. P. T. rursus oro, ut hanc causam respiciens scriptum hoc, quamprimum fieri poterit, ad me transmittat: pro quo beneficio, quemadmodum pro ceteris, me semper gratam, pro eaque jugiter orantem habeat. Dominus Deus R. P. T. ab omni malo defendere, omnibusque bonis augere, dignetur! Amen.

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### EPISTOLA CLXXXI.

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ULRICUS CHELIUS ET CONRADUS HUBERTUS MATTHÆO  
PARKERO ET GUALTERO HADDONO.

NOTUM vobis facimus, postquam ex Anglia ad nos rediit honesta matrona Wibrandis, vidua defuncti D. Martini Buceri viri optimi, quod omnium bonorum relictorum diligens facta est recensio, et deinde juxta municipale jus reipublicæ Argentinensis ac consuetudinem eorundem divisio secuta est in illos, ad quos hæreditas illa pertinebat: qua de causa nos ambo nominati, ego Ulricus Chelius tutor Elizabethæ filiæ dicti D.

Martini Buceri, et ego Conradus Hubertus tutor Nathanaelis filii ejusdem dicti Martini Buceri, fatemur his literis nos partem nostram, quæ hæreditatis nomine nostris pupillis debetur, et in divisionem venit, recepisse, beneque contentos esse. Quapropter reverendi M. N. qui a D. Martino Bucero felicitis memoriæ testamentarii constituti fuistis, vestram fidem et aliorum interpositam, quantum ad nos attinet, liberamus præsentī hæc *apocha*, quam sigillis nostris signavimus. Præterea tutores ambo et nobiscum Windelicus Richelius, viduæ tutor, quam possumus maxime rogamus, ut humanitas vestra diligentia non minore quam qua priora executā est procuret, quo reliquum debitum, vobis bene cognitum, primo quoque tempore expediatur et ad nos mittatur. Qua in re beneficium nobis et gratum et suo tempore demerendum omnino præstiteritis. Valete optime. Argentorati, 20 die Junii, 1553.

## INSCRIPTIO.

*Pietate et eruditione clarissimis viris D. Matthæo Parkero et D. Gualtero Haddonò, professoribus in academia Cantabrigiensi, dominis suis observandissimis.*

## EPISTOLA CLXXXII.

## JULIUS TERENTIANUS JOANNI AB ULMIS.

AD tuas perhumanissimas literas, optime Joannes, quas 18 Septembris accepi, paucis nunc respondeo; sum enim variis negotiis impeditus. Et primum, quod et ipse cupis, [res] Angliæ perstringam. Die 6 Julii obiit spes nostra in terris sanctissimus Josias, tabe ut referunt medici, veneno ut fama volat: invulgarunt enim id papistæ, ut conflarent omnium odia in Northumbrium, nec, ut verum fatear, suspiciones decrant, et quidem magnæ; sed tamen, si quod sentio dicere licet, credo papistas ipsos tanti sceleris esse auctores; nam mœroris signa nulla dedere, et de tanto scelere nulla est habita quæstio. Mortem et mala, quæ nunc vexant Angliam, portendere visa est tetra tempestas, cui parem non memini: habuit ista conjuncta, maximam lucis obscuritatem, ventos validissimos, fulgetra innumera, horrendum tonitruorum strepitum, et aquæ maximam vim, ita ut cooperiretur nostra culina. Radicitus evulsa est nux illa, quæ posita fuit in angulo, ad nostras ædes: corrui etiam alia arbor in horto nostro.

Paucis diebus ante mortem conscripsit rex testamentum impulsu Northumbri: eo testamento exhæredavit utramque sororem, regni hæredem instituit dominam Franciscam uxorem ducis Suffolciæ; recusavit illa, et dictatum est regnum Joannæ ejus filiæ, quæ ad duos menses ante nupserat D. Guilfordo, Northumbri natu tertio. Subscripsit testamento fere universa nobilitas; aliqui, id quod postea compertum est, ut facilius fallerent Nor-

thumbrum, ejus consilio hæc omnia videbant fieri, et tegerent conspirationem, quam adornabant in auxilium Mariæ, quæ nunc rerum potitur; alii vero metu perculti ipsius Northumbri, (nosti enim ingenium hominis;) quidam etiam meliores, ut ita caverent religioni, quam prorsus labefactandam videbant, si Maria obtinisset, et ipse Northumbrus egregiam spem religionis promovendæ faciebat. Accedebat, quod ipse rex exhæreditatis Mariæ, ad id quod spuria erat, causam religionis in testamento potissimum urgebat. Summa summarum, consensum fere totius nobilitatis extrinsecus habebat, deducitur Joanna ad capiendam Turris possessionem, atque eodem die Londini regina proclamatur, et eadem hebdomada in multis regni partibus.

Maria, quæ habuit fidissimos consiliarios, illorum consilio tanquam inops in Norfolciam se recipit, a plebe recipitur, magno cum applausu est regina salutata, statimque ipsa curat, ut quam multis fieri possit proclamationibus regina declaretur, cum magna attestatione in omnibus proclamationibus, quod per prodicionem Northumbri regnum sibi eripiat, atque ideo obtestetur omnes subditos, ut velint sibi regnum conservare. Statim insurgit plebs fere universa in auxilium Mariæ: primi fuerunt Norfolcienses, Suffolcienses, deinde Oxonienses, Buckinghamenses, Barchenses, Essexiani. Pars nobilium etiam, quæ subscripserat Joannæ, studio fallendi nimirum, statim ab illa deficit, et omnia sua studia in Mariam confert.

Qui Londini erant, alii metu perculti vere, alii dissimulantes, mandant Northumbro, ut videat, ne respublica detrimentum capiat, et ideo festinet Mariam capere, antequam illius auxilia conveniant. Ille impigre quidem, utpote ejus res agebatur, proponit magna stipendia, conducit militem, partim invitum, partim perfidum; constabant enim majori ex parte satellitio nobilium, qui secreto Mariæ favebant. Egreditur Northumbrus equitatu et bombardis optime instructus, sed adversantibus fatiis. Qui remanserant Londini, tanquam Joannam tutaturi, et urbem in officio retenturi, statim incipiunt agitare consilia de deserenda Joanna, et pulchre partim obtendunt metum plebis, quæ accurrat universa ad Mariam, partim salutem regni, ne intestino bello se conficiat. Quid plura? Mariam proclamant statim reginam maximo cum applausu; duci Suffolciæ minantur excidium, ni decedat e Turri. Cedit optimus dux. Scribunt ad Northumbrum, ut copias dimittat: ille jam destitutus a plebe, proditur ab aliis, inops consilii, dilabente indies milite. Cantabrigiæ etiam ipsam proclamat; et post tres dies nomine Mariæ ab ipso Arundelensi comite captivus abducitur cum omnibus filiis, et multis aliis nobilibus e summis viris Londinum, ubi cum in Turrim deduceretur, innumeris fuit exceptus conviciis.

Sic Joanna tantum novem dies, et quidem turbulentissimos, regina fuit. Maria post aliquot dies ad urbem est deducta maximo cum triumpho, ad capiendam Turris possessionem, quam cum esset ingressa, statim libertate donavit Wintoniensem, Norfolciensem, Cortneum, et viduam Somersetensem. Wintoniensem et Norfolciensem statim in numerum consiliario-

rum cooptavit. Postea de Northumbro et captivis est cœptum agi. Sed regina post dies quinque Richemondiam se recepit: interim sumptum est de Northumbro et duobus aliis simul supplicium; quam vero impie et turpiter mortuus sit Northumbrus, audivisti.

Mandatur etiam sepulturæ sanctissimus rex: rem agit divinam in exequiis Westmonasterii juxta receptum morem, hoc est, Anglice seu Christiane, optimus Cantuariensis, multis cum lacrimis; coram vero regina ipse Wintoniensis, more papistico. Nostri concionatores, qui jam vident certam imminere ruinam evangelio, populum ad pœnitentiam adhortantur, monentes ut perstent in sana doctrina. Wintoniensis una cum aliis, qui una interitum evangelii conceperant, papisticissimum concionatorem, nomine Burn, instituunt ad crucem Paulinam: convenit numerosior populus, ut audiat quid iste proponere velit. Ubi audire incipiunt blasphemias et mendacia, tumultuari incipiunt, et alii ad mortem poscunt hominem, alii silentium clamant. Præfectus urbis una cum aliis senatoribus sedare conantur populum, sed nihil proficiunt: interponit suam auctoritatem Cortneus, sed negligitur. Prodit ipse Bradfortus, metuens populo; statim illi acclamant, silentium pollicentur, quod ille sit fidelis verbi præco. Interim quispiam contorquet pugionem ad illum papisticissimum concionatorem, atque iterum concitatur multitudo; actumque erat in summa de sceleratissimo nebulone, ni Bradforti opera Deus illum ad deteriora servasset. Sed quam reportavit gratiam Bradfortus pro tam præclaro facinore? Nimirum quæ ab hujusmodi bestiis expectari poterat. Altero die conjectus est in Turrim, nullo alio crimine objecto, quam quod qui populum tumultuantem sedare, eundem etiam concitare poterit. Conjiciuntur etiam alii concionatores in idem ergastulum, prohibentur conciones, et tantum relinquitur locus papistis, qui, ut tuto virus suum effundere possint, muniuntur satellitio reginæ: prohibentur omnes, ut dicuntur, apprehendici<sup>1</sup> a Paulina cruce, ne denuo turbam excitent. Et quia Londinum ad tumultum spectare videbatur, proponitur a regina præfecto urbis, ut vel ipse urbem compescat, vel præsidium militum expectent et abrogationem omnium privilegiorum. Tum mœror omnes, piorum præcipue, familias occupat. Regina, ut partim plebis animum exploret, partim suis ut currentibus animum addat, proclamationem proponit, qua religionem papisticam se amplecti, tueri, et promovere velle asserit; atque adhortatur omnes, ut illi assentiri velint, sed tamen tum temporis neminem se velle ad eam rem cogere.

Papistæ, qui optatissimum hunc diem semper in votis habuerant, ex sepulcris vestes, calices, portitoria eruunt, et missare festinant. In his vero primas nostri Oxonienses tenent, de quibus aliquando latius narrare licet. In proclamatione Joannæ nihil nisi luctum ostenderunt. In proclamatione Mariæ, cum adhuc Londini proclamata non foret, et anceps esset eventus, tanta lætitiæ signa dederunt, ut nulli rei parcerent. Primo adeo strepitu volarum per totum diem omnia oppleverunt, ut adhuc meis

[<sup>1</sup> Sic Fuessl.]

auribus hæere videatur; pecunias sponte etiam ipsi pauperrimi erogare studebant; se quisque adhortabatur ad tuendam Mariam; postremo ad noctem convivium publice celebrare, et omnibus piis incendia, suspendia, cruces, et aquas minari.

Interdicitur domino Petro, ne ædes suas egrediatur; mandatur Sydallo, optimo sane viro, ut caveat, ne dominus Petrus fugiat: sic dominus Petrus proprios lares pro carceribus ad sex hebdomadas habuit. At ego, cum jam apertum viderem periculum, Londinum sum profectus, amicos prehensandi gratia. Verum jam in parvum erant redacti numerum, et illi iidem in maximo versabantur periculo; tantum abest, ut nobis opem ferre possent. Consilium capimus Wittingamus et ego exhibendi libellum supplicem reginæ et consiliariis, quo universum statum D. Petri complectimur; quomodo sic huc vocatus ex Argentina a rege defuncto, postea superiori anno sit revocatus a magistratu Argentinensi, et rex copiam abeundi facere noluerit; exstare omnium istarum rerum scripta in archivis regis, esse præterea ex consiliariis, qui id ample testari possent. Addimus, D. Petrum nihil in reginam vel regni leges commisisse; si quid adversarii comminisci velint, paratum causam dicere; videre jam reginam nolle amplius uti illius opera, propterea se petere ab ea, ut cum bona majestatis ejus venia e regno discedere liceat. Petimus Richemondiam Wittingamus et ego, offert libellum de Petro secretario; ille in mensa consiliariorum de more proponit, jubet ut exspectemus: eo die nihil fit, jubemur reverti altero die; adsumus hora conducta, nihil fit; sentimus tandem verba dari. Decernimus inter nos, ut Wittingamus Oxonium revertatur, et sit cum D. Petro: jam enim agebat in magna solitudine; nam subdlexerant se omnes ab illius consuetudine præter unum Sydallum et D. Haddonum: ego vero Londini maneo sollicitaturus quoscunque potero. Tandem per multos dies revertitur Wittingamus, convenimus una Massonum: ille cum prius recusaret, quod causa esset odiosa, et diceret se destitutum omni favore, postea tamen instat, ut tandem liceat D. Petro venire Londinum, et agere causam suam cum consiliariis. Rem conficit; imo etiam fit potestas nobis distrahendi omnia bona nostra.

Venit Londinum D. Petrus. Cantuariensem, antiquum et sanctissimum hospitem, adit. Quis queat dicere, quam gratus fuerit? Adeo illius adventum exoptaverat, ut sæpius id a consiliariis contenderit, et omnia bona sua vadari voluerit, si dubitarent de fuga D. Petri. Cum venit ad illum D. Petrus, narrat ei Cantuariensis, quomodo affigi curaverit schedas per totum Londinum, quibus offert se velle probare doctrinam, quæ fuit recepta sub Edouardo Sexto, sanam esse, scripturis consentaneam, eandem cum primitiva ecclesia, et auctoritate patrum veterum comprobata, si Petrum Martyrem collegam admittere velint, et unum atque alterum. Laudat factum D. Petrus, imo, ni foret factum, ait se voluisse hoc illi suadere. Parant se ad disputationes. Debes autem scire, papistas concionatores, cum viderent jam multos ex nostris in carcerem detrusos,

alios fuga sibi consuluisse, multa jactare de disputationibus. Ceterum, cum fuerunt affixæ schedæ Cantuariensis, aliam cantilenam canere cœperunt, nempe disputandum non esse, standum receptis, fidei hoc opus esse, non rationis. Confirmarunt autem adeo illæ schedæ Cantuariensis animos piorum, ut jam non dubitarent pro veritate mori; at adversarios adeo exacerbarunt, ut e vestigio novum crimen prodicionis in Cantuariensem intenderint, atque ad judicium citarint, quo tum Septembris non memini die, Jovis sat scio contigit. Pransum tum est D. Petro cum Cantuariense, a prandio cubiculum D. Petri accessit Cantuariensis; indicat se oportere sisti judicibus, atque certum esse amplius non visurum illum: monere eum, ut instet pro fide publica; quam si impetret, discedat; sin minus, sibi fuga consulat: nihil æqui exspectandum ab adversariis.

Sed, O Deus! quis abyssum tuorum consiliorum exploret? Postquam in Turrim conjectus fuit Cantuariensis, ad dies quinque post, datur salvus conductus a regina D. Petro et amplissimus. Itaque ille, habita fide publica, suadentibus reliquis amicorum, memor etiam ipse sermonis Cantuariensis, mari se committit, rumorem interim spargens de Amburga, revera Antwerpiam petens: fecerat hoc, ut falleret insidias papistarum in ditione Cæsaris, et, ad melius fallendum, me Londini ad aliquot dies agere voluit. Interim post 14 dies ipse nactus ventum solvi Antwerpiam versus; atque eodem die et simul D. Petrus et ego Antwerpiam pervenimus diversis navibus, ignarus uterque alterius interim: quod quidem mirum fuit; arbitrabar enim illum jam ferme Argentinam pervenisse. Verum cogito voluisse Deum utrumque nostrum mutua sollicitudine liberare, et præterea sumptibus consulere. Non commemorabo autem quæ pericula pestis, quæ militum, quæ Rheni evaserimus, quam etiam clementi cœlo in itinere usi fuerimus Argentinam usque; ut quis conjicere posset Deum certo nos eo revocare. Verum in ipso urbis ingressu moritur optimus Jacobus Sturmus, qui nihil aliud magis quam adventum D. Petri præstolabatur; et ita decidimus spe magna.

Sed Angliam repetam. In tanta regni perturbatione isti fuerunt conjecti in Turrim (loquor de spiritualibus): Cantuariensis, Eboracensis, Londinensis, Latimerus, Hoperus, Coverdallus, Badoniensis episcopus. Exuti præterea suis episcopatibus Ponetus Wintoniensis, Scoreus episcopus Cicestrensis. Amoti ex parlamento Eliensis, Lincolnensis, Herfordiensis; et omnes uxorati ministri vel valedicunt uxoribus, vel exuntur suis sacerdotiis. D. Coxus exutus est omnibus bonis: successit illi Oxonii, pro Deum immortalem! Martialis, Westmonasterii Westonus. Quid non speremus, cum tales promoventur? Restituti porro sunt omnes papistæ, sive fuerint episcopi, sive alii. Quotquot sunt vere pii studiosi Oxonii valedicunt omnes Oxonio. Jamque ejecti erant aliquot ex nostro collegio. Vere jam ignis purgatorii est incensus in Anglia; jam patefit, cujus quisque fit fidei. Curtopus egregie descivit, Hardingus, et innumeri alii. Sed nimis est molesta hujusce rei comme-

moratio. Coronata fuit regina 4 calend. Octobris. Auspicati sunt parliamentum calendis Octobris, restituta est transubstantiatio; sed quid mirum? veritati non patet locus. Restiterunt valde strenue decani: nomina jam non occurrunt. Decretum præterea in parlamento, ut 20 Octobris publice ubique missa illa papistica restituatur. 14 Novembris sistebantur iudicibus ad Whitehall (nosti locum Londini) Joanna olim regina, una cum Cantuariense, et omnibus filiis Northumbri. Lata est capituli sententia in omnes. Verum singulare supplicium est destinatum Cantuariensi, nempe suspendium, et postea dissectio totius corporis in quatuor partes. Sed atrociora adhuc expectare debemus, ni Deus sua misericordia illam ecclesiam respiciat, pro qua ut te ad fundendas preces horter, mihi opus esse non puto; nosti et expertus es, quam sint illic præclara Christi membra. Vale. 20 Novembris, Argentinæ, 1553.

Tuus in Domino,

JULIUS TERENTIANUS.

### EPISTOLA CLXXXIII.

MICHAEL RENIGERUS HENRICO BULLINGERO.

QUAMVIS tanta sit rerum implicatio et occupatio tuarum, observande domine, vix ut tibi a gravissimis rebus tuis quicquam sit relaxamenti; quum tamen ea tua sit in omnes nos pietas et indulgentia, ut rerum etiam curationem et constitutionem nostrarum aliquam tuis in negotiis partem tenere putes oportere; feci rerum importunitate et voluntatis erga nos tuæ inductione, ut per literas tecum agerem. Quod autem mirationem aliquam possit afferre, quamobrem, in tanta ædium conjunctione et prope coagmentatione, literarum apud te interventu quam sermonis congressione uti malim, id esse propterea putes: quod et mihi subabsurdus adhuc quidam rubor insitus est, qui privatarum relatione et sermocinatione rerum nimium colliquescit; et qui tabellarii et internuncii recepit partes, is omnes animi mei sensus non secus ac si adessem præsens explicare potest. Rem in summa sic intelligat humanitas tua. Detulit mihi suasionem cujusdam amici mei D. Burcherus in unum annum 20 florenos. Hanc ego conditionem, quamvis in convictione Anglorum manerem, non esse putavi recusandam: primum quod necessitas mihi quædam imponeretur ejus recipiendæ; posita enim erat rogatio quædam et constitutio apud nos, ut singuli adlaborent apud familiares et amicos suos de conditione aliqua et levatione sibi concilianda, quo in illorum locum indigentioribus, qui Argentinæ essent, Anglis introitus pateret; unde mihi tum sanctionis illius religione, tum aliorum ratione non illa fuit conditio repudianda: accedit quod cujusmodi est (ut est perliberalis), non ingenuitatis esset meæ aut gratitudinis recusare: tertio, quod est ad studiorum quandam rationem et commoditatem meo-

rum convenientior. Ut breviter, egi cum D. Richardo, ut quoniam vix esset ea mihi summa convictum suppeditatura, de collecta aliquid mihi supplementi adderet: is satis etiam mea sententia rationabiliter respondit, perniciosum se toti sodalitati exemplum esse inducturum ut et alii alicubi similiter aliquam sibi attributionem efflagitent. Porro rogavi, an ad familiares quosdam et necessarios meos, homines negotiatores, liceret perscribere de aliqua accretione (quanta necessaria foret) adhibenda: putavit etiam, me hoc non posse facere sine incommodatione societatis. His interclusus viis, communicavi cum amicissimo homine D. ab Ulmis propter eam quæ mihi cum eo ex antiquo usque intercessit necessitudinem. Eo venimus, vir ornatissime, ut tentatis et perquisitis omnibus hoc ultimum perfugii videremus: nam amplius aliquid sperare a D. Burchero esset nimie intolerantiæ et importunitatis non ferendæ; præterea is literis datis admodum titubanter perscripsit de rebus suis, ita se esse hanc pensionem posteris annis adhibiturum, si facultates illius ferendo sint. Hoc ad extremum venit nobis in mentem, D. Vergerius qua pietate et animi effusione apud nos concionem habuerit, sic profecto, ut non solum omnibus universe, quantum maxime posset facere, gratificaturum se ostenderet, sed singulis etiam seorsim modo ut illius experiri operam velint. Quod inter nos quum pervolutarem, illud occurrit, non multum sine tuarum interpositione literarum esse nos perfecturos: quod ideo dico, quod D. ab Ulmis, qua est, ut erga alios omnes, ita in me caritate et benevolentia, non solum putat ad se rerum mearum statum pertinere, sed ipse etiam paratus sit (modo tibi ex usu videri possit) necum una cum molestias viæ, tum rei sollicitationem et accuratorem, sustinere. Jam posita res est in tua pietate, ad quem seu miserorum jam et ejectionum ex Anglia hominum patronum et antehac concursum sæpe est, et jam pari confusione a me confugitur; cui etiam minime laboriosum videri solet, quantum quantum sit, quod aliquid rebus nostris levamenti adferre possit; ut primum videat prudentia tua, an hoc ita expediat tentare, tum ut me consilio et opera tua (quod commode possis facere) juves. Hoc in summa est. Scio cujus sit futilitatis prolixitate uti apud eum, qui sua magis pietate et rerum studio exsuscitatur quam vel personæ aliquo respectu vel aliqua circuitione verborum. Dominus Jesus ecclesiæ te suæ conservet, ac ex divitiis suis rependat tibi hanc gratiam, qua viscera sanctorum quotidie refocillas!

Addictissimus tibi in Christo,

MICHAEL RENIGERUS,

INSCRIPTIO.

Anglus.

*Venerando domino et singulari Anglorum patrono D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiæ dignissimo ministro.*













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✓ on Tavis list













